

Monfieur de *THOU*'s
H I S T O R Y
O F
His Own TIME.

To which is prefixed,
The Life of the **AUTHOR**,
In Six Books, from his own Memoirs.

TOGETHER WITH

A short **A P P E N D I X**, containing
the **CASTRATED PASSAGES**, taken from the First
Edition printed by *Patiffon*.

Translated from the Geneva Edition of 1620.

By **BERNARD WILSON**, A. M. Vicar of *Newark*
upon Trent, and Prebendary of *Lincoln*.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed by E. SAY; and fold by F. FAYRAM, under the *Royal-Exchange*,
and W. MEADOWS in *Cornhill*, B. MOTTE and T. WORRALL in
Fleet-street, J. STAGG in *Westminster-hall*, T. GREEN over against the
Meuse-Gate Charing-Cross, T. JACKSON in *Pall-mall*, and J. ROBERTS
in *Warwick-lane*. M. DCC. XXX.

Monsieur de THOU'S
 HISTOIR
 OF
 HIS OWN TIME.

To which is prefixed,

The Life of the AUTHOR
 In six Books, from his own Memoirs.



A third APPENDIX, containing
 the CATALOGUE of MSS. taken from the first
 Edition printed by Paris.

Translated from the Geneva Edition of 1750.

By BERNARD WILSON, A.M. Vicar of Westwick
 upon Tyne, and Prebendary of Lincoln.

VOL. II.

LONDON.

Printed by R. S. and sold by F. FARRAR, under the Royal Exchange
 and W. MADDAMS in Old St. Martin's Lane, and T. WOOD in
 Strand, near the Temple Church, T. GREEN over against the
 Temple Church, J. JACKSON in Pall Mall, and J. ROBERTS
 in St. Martin's Lane.



To His GRACE

JOHN, Duke of Rutland,

*Marquess of Granby, Earl of Rutland,
Baron Roos of Hamlake, Trusbut and Belvoir,
and Baron Manners of Haddon; Lord Lieutenant
and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Leicester;
Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster; One of the
Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council,
and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter.*

My LORD,

I HAD for some time determined within myself, and indeed had received Your GRACE's Permission, to commit this Volume of Monsieur DE THOU's History to Your Protection; to which I was induced by Your GRACE's Humanity and Love of Letters, as well as by an Ambition of appearing under the Advantage of Your Countenance, and publishing to the World the sincere Veneration, which I had always entertained for You, out of a pure Regard to Your Person, and to those many excellent
A Qualities,

D E D I C A T I O N.

Qualities, which adorn Your Character. I had Reason to believe, Your GRACE would be glad, by Your Name and Authority, to introduce an History so general, so impartial, and so celebrated, to the Acquaintance of the *British* Nation: An History, My LORD, wherein the Actions, Rights, Claims, and Pretences of almost all the Princes and States in the World are, with great Justice and Exactness, recorded and described; from which Politicians themselves may draw the most useful Lessons; where, in particular, the present Times may be instructed in deciding the Controversy now on Foot, in Relation to the *Tuscan* Dominions; by reviewing the antient State of that Country, and the great Change which it underwent, when the *Medicean* Family was imposed upon it by the Emperor, in Conjunction and Compliance with an ambitious Pope of That House; where, in a Word, it will be seen, with what little Foundation Those Territories are claimed at this Time as an Imperial Fief.

This useful History I had obtained Leave to recommend to the Publick, under the Sanction of Your GRACE's Patronage. But when I had lately received a very singular Mark of Favour from Your GRACE, conferred upon me in the most obliging Manner, I thought that antecedent Permission an extraordinary Instance of good Fortune; as it gave me an Opportunity of returning Thanks for so generous a Benefaction, and expressing the Happiness I feel in the Distinction paid to me by Your GRACE, of whose Temper, Principles and Abilities I had, with the Rest of the World, conceived a very high Esteem.

And herein, My LORD, I should have been justified to the World, however I might stand in need of Excuse with Your GRACE, if the fresh Sense of the Obligation had drawn from me some Expressions, which are only the Tribute due to Your noble Qualities. That Hereditary Affability, and Sweetness of Temper,

D E D I C A T I O N.

Temper, That strict Justice, which accompanies all Your Words and Actions, ought not to be observed without being celebrated. These Accomplishments make the Neighbourhood of such a Nobleman as Your GRACE the Delight of the adjacent Country; because every one, who has the Honour to be near You, has a double Security to what he possesses; He has both the Law and Your GRACE on his Side. Whenever I have viewed that lofty Castle of *Belvoir*, looking, as if it commanded all the petty World below it, I have considered it in a different Light from an ordinary Spectator: I have thought, that if it were inhabited by an haughty, tyrannical and capricious Lord, it would appear with all the Terrors of a threatening Precipice, ready to fall upon, and to crush the inferiour Part of Mankind. But now that it is possessed by the most humane, peaceable, just and disinterested Owner, I consider it as the Seat of the Genius of the Country, as a Bulwark for the Defence of the Neighbouring Inhabitants.

To this known Principle of Justice Your GRACE has added a very great Degree of Knowledge, through Your uncommon Application to Books, assisted with a Quickness of Parts, and a Solidity of Judgment, which discovers itself in all Your Reasonings and Observations.

With these Qualifications Your GRACE very worthily fills the Office of Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, which had been before possessed by Persons of the most distinguished Abilities; and which His Majesty would not suffer to be less faithfully discharged, by conferring it upon any Other than Your GRACE.

I must not omit Your GRACE's Tenderneſs in making Promises, and punctual Observance of all such as You condescend at any time to make. Your GRACE never thinks it for Your Purpose to amuse
others

D E D I C A T I O N.

others with Expectations only to serve a present Turn. You, my LORD, scorn the Assistance of such low and unworthy Methods. Those are the Arts of the falsely Politick, and the truly Unjust. But Your GRACE so wisely weighs the Sacredness and Importance of Promises, that neither can any Importunity draw a rash or insincere Declaration from You, nor any Distance of Time and Place affect Your Memory or Resolution. It is no wonder, if this religious Observance of Your Word and Honour produces a proportionable Sincerity and Fidelity in all Those, who have the Honour to depend upon You: And I should be singularly unhappy, if it had not its due Influence upon Him, who professes himself to be, with a more than ordinary Zeal, Veneration and Gratitude,

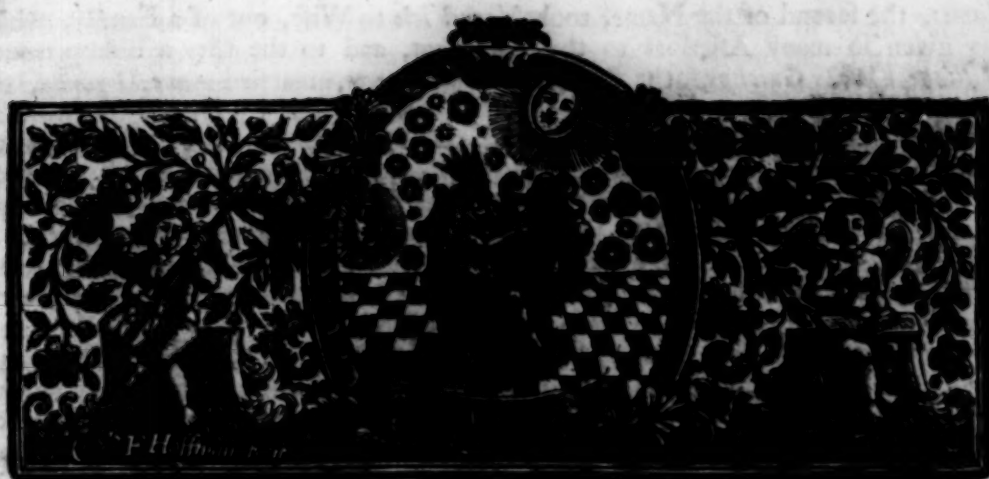
My LORD,

Your GRACE's most Obliged

Most Devoted, and

Most Obedient Servant,

BERNARD WILSON.



THE
L I F E
O F
Monsieur De THOU,
FROM HIS OWN
MEMOIRS.
In SIX BOOKS.

BOOK I.



JAMES-AUGUSTUS De THOU was born at *Paris* on the 9th day of *October*, about seven o' clock in the Morning, in the House of his Family, which he now inhabits, in the Year of Salvation 1553. A.D. 1553. And on the same day *René Rouiller* Bishop of *Senlis*, *Francis Denis* a Gentleman of the *Limousin* and a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, with *Margaret Bourgeois* his Uncle *Augustin's* Wife, stood Sureties for him at the Font in the Church of *St. Andrew des Arcs*: In him the Name of *James*, almost a common one to the Family (for, beyond his Grandfather *Augustin*, three *Jameses* are reckoned successively), and also the Mother's Name, by the direction of his Father, were revived. His Uncle *Adrian* was likewise present, who to *James* added the ominous Name of *Augustus*. This Person, a Man of great Genius and uncorrupted Probity, was first a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris* of the Ecclesiastical Order, then Master of the Requests at Court, before That Honour had fallen into Disrepute by its Frequency; and just, when he was nominated Embassador into *Spain* by King *Charles*, who highly valued him, was hastily snatched away by Death about eighteen years afterwards. Amongst his Ancestors,
James

James, the second of the Name, took *Mary Viole* to Wife, out of a Family, which has given so many Assessors to the Parliament, and to the City a Bishop named *William Viole*. *Guichard*, the Brother of that *James*, married *Anne Deganay*, the Sister of *John Deganay*, so often mentioned with Honour by *Francis Guicciardini*, and who was afterwards the worthy Chancellor of *France*; in relation to whose Matrimonial Cause, the Answer of *Nicolas Boyer*, a celebrated Lawyer for those times, who was consulted, may be seen in his *fortieth Determination*. The Principal Branch being then extinguished, or translated into another Family; the Children of the second Branch passed from the *Equestrian Order* into the Function of the *Robe*; in which *James* the third lived, and by *Genevieve le Moine des Allemans* became the Father of *Augustin*; who, when he had been chosen President in the Parliament of *Paris* by *Francis I.* died shortly after in the Month of *May*, in the Year 1545: And when the Parliament was invited, as usual, to his Funeral, the First President answered, that *Augustin's* Integrity and consummate Virtue, wherein he had excelled, whilst he lived in their Body, had deserved, that not only the Funeral Honours, usually paid to other Presidents, should be done to him, but that the Parliament, for ever after, as long as it retained any Love for Justice and Rectitude, should lament the unseasonable Death of so great a Man. And this was registered amongst the Acts of That Court. This Person also married *Claude de Marle*, Great Grand-daughter of *Eric de Marle* Chancellor of *France*, who with the Constable *Bernard d'Armagnac* was unworthily murdered at *Paris*, under *Charles VI.* in the Year 1418; which Lady, with wonderful Fertility, bore him *Christopher* and one and twenty other Children, Male and Female, in the space of twenty Years. By *Jacqueline Tuleu*, Dame de *Celi*, nearly related to *Deganay* just mentioned, (as being the Grand-daughter of his Sister *Denise*) and to *Francis Olivier* likewise Chancellor of *France*, *Christopher* had three Sons and four Daughters, and six others besides who died in their Infancy. *John* the Eldest, in the Flower of his Age, when he had raised vast Expectations of himself in Our Court, being taken off by a Distemper, left a Son *René* by *Renee Baillet*, and three Daughters remaining out of a greater number; viz. *Renee* married to *John Bourgneuf de Cussé* First President of the Parliament of *Bretagne*; *Isabelle*, espoused to *John de Longueval de Manicamp* of the Count de *Buquoi's* Family in the *Netherlands*; and *Jacqueline*, the Wife of *Frederick de Hangest d'Argenlieu*. *Christopher*, *John's* Younger Brother by less than two Years, perished by an unhappy Mischance, in the Course of these Wars, with a Son of the same Name, which *Frances Allegrin* had born to him. Of the Elder Sisters, *Jacqueline*, having professed the Monastick Life in the Abby of *Mallenoue*, died in a few days after she had been elected Abbess of that Convent: *Mary*, a Religious likewise at first in the Abby of *Poissy*, and afterwards Abbess of the Nunnery des *Clairnets* in *le Perche* not far from *Nogent le Rotrou*; as also *Anne*, who was married to *Philip Huraut* Count de *Chiverny* and Chancellor of *France*, and *Catherine*, the Wife of *Achilles de Harlay* First President in the Parliament of *Paris*, have long since departed to a better Life.

There remains *James-Augustus*, the Subject of this Discourse; who was brought up with great difficulty, as he has often told me he had heard from his Nurse; being frequently tortured with the Gripes, and generally passing his Nights with very little Sleep; so that his Parents were apprehensive, lest he should burst himself with intense and constant Skreamings: Besides that for two whole Years he took in nothing but Milk (rejecting all sorts of Pulse, from which he was all his Life-time averse), and a sort of Cake of fried Bread and Oil, commonly used in *Italy*; and, being therefore weaned sooner than ordinary, from thence grew so slender and meager, that every body despaired of his Life; 'till he attained his fifth Year, at which time he began to thrive and to be full of Flesh and Juice; such as he appears in the Picture drawn by *George the Venetian*, a Domestick of the illustrious Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who lodged in the adjoining *Hôtel de Fécamp*: For he was then in his seventh Year. From thence it happened, that he was treated at home with more Indulgence and Negligence with regard to the Culture of his Mind; for, as long as he was but well, he was thought to learn enough. Nor yet, in that tender Age, did he keep himself unemployed, as far as he was permitted; being assiduous in Painting; to which laudable Exercise of the Mind, to the neglect of all other Childish or Boyish Diversions, he was carried by a natural Inclination. This was an Hereditary Taste. For his Uncle *Adrian*, just recorded, and his Brothers *John* and *Christopher* painted finely. He used carefully to imitate the Sketches of *Albert Durer*, a most excellent Painter, by drawing his Pen over the Lineaments; and, by the same Practice, before he could read, he learnt to write. At length in the tenth Year he began the Elements of Learning; and upon this occasion he was shortly after sent to the *Burgundian College*, because it was nearest, together with *René Roulier*, Brother's Son of *René* Bishop of *Senlis*, his Godfather. He had hardly been a Year in the School, when he was seized with a violent Fever and carried home.

His

His Physicians were *John le Grand* and *Le Jay*, who, despairing of their Patient, for three days gave him over. He was therefore removed from the Antichamber, in which he lay, next to his Father's Apartment, into another Room; his Mother saying, that, if he should happen to die in that Chamber, his Father would never afterwards make use of it. During all that time, in which he was abandoned by his Physicians and near Relations, *Gabrielle de Mareuil*, the Heiress of the illustrious House of *Mareuil* in *Le Perigord*, who frequently came to his Father about Business, sat by his Bed, and generally watched with him; and when she was intreated by his Parents, not to fatigue herself about a Boy whose Fate was determined, she answered, that she not only entertained better hopes of his Health, but, from the ingenuous and grateful Disposition of his Mind, conceived a strong Presage, that he would some time or other repay his Relations for their Trouble. By *Nicolas d' Anjou* Marquess of *Mezieres* she had an only Daughter, named *Renée*, who about that time was married to *Francis de Bourbon* Prince Dauphin d' *Auvergne*; from which Match sprung *Henry* Duke of *Montpensier*, the Favourite, but (O unhappy Case!) the short-lived Delight of his Age; whom *De Thou* most devoutly honoured, not without a suitable Return of Affection from Him. After seven long Months (all that time being necessary for the Recovery of his Strength after so dangerous an Illness), being sent again to School, he studied under *Henry Monantheuil* of *Rheims*, then under *John Martin* of *Paris*, and lastly under *Michael Marefcot* and *Peter du Val*, Gentlemen of *Normandie* and Philosophers; who All, being afterwards presented, according to Custom, with the Lawrel, practised Physick at *Paris* with great Reputation. *Monantheuil*, being educated in the College de *Presles*, and addicted to the Doctrine of *Ramus*, joined Mathematicks to Medicine; and, being chosen a Professor in the Royal College, worthily discharged that Trust to the End of his Life. Under this Master, *De Thou* learnt the Elements of Arithmetick and Geometry. And here he used to say, that he discovered a grievous Fault usually committed by Fathers, who deliver their Sons to Tuition; that, relying on the Care of the Tutors, they take too little Pains themselves with them; and that they would act more cautiously, by employing trusty Attendants about them, to see, that they do not let their Time perish unprofitably, and that in their Carriage and Discourses they do not behave themselves indecently and immodestly. From seeing this to be neglected in his Own Time, he became more solicitous of advising Others, and resolved, if God should so far compleat his Wishes (which a long time after, but with full Measure, was indulged to him) that he would use more Diligence in the Education of his Sons, than had been used in His: He would say, that for his Own Part he had begun to study rather too late: But yet, that he did not approve the vehement Desire of Those, who, out of an excessive Eagerness, oblige their Children, before they are full five Years old, to apply themselves to Learning: And wondered at *Quintilian*, the great Ornament of the *Roman* Gown, who, being incapable of teaching, imposed upon Infants the Necessity of Learning; wherein his Counsel appears to have been more laudable than successful; from the Example of his own hopeful Son, who, by making too much haste to be a Scholar, wasted his Spirits, and was buried by his sorrowful Parent; though this Loss was happy for Posterity, as it furnished an occasion for that admirable Specimen of Eloquence, with which he inconsolably laments the Child in the sixth Book of his Institutions. *De Thou's* Affection for Learning was greater, than either his Strength of Parts, or Quickness and Tenaciousness of Memory: And he profited more by Assiduity and a Conversation with Scholars, than by his own Labour, which his Constitution would not bear to any considerable degree. He used the fullest Liberty, as in the whole tenour of his Life, so more especially in his Studies; because, being from his early Childhood left as it were to his own Discretion, he had formed the Plan of his Conduct upon his own Rules, and not in Subjection to others. From this Love of Letters, sprung a no less earnest Affection towards all Those, whose Reputation and Writings made a Noise throughout *Europe*, whom he early coveted both to see and to discourse. And when *Adrian Turnebe* had come about that time to visit his Friend *Godfrey Faye*, and *De Thou* had been carried by *Faye* to salute him; from thence the Image of this famous Man sunk so deeply into his Mind, that, upon *Turnebe's* dying shortly after, it haunted his sleeping Fancy, and could never be blotted out of his Imagination. After five Years, when he left the College, he became a Hearer of *Denis Lambin*, and of *John Pellerin*, Royal Professor of the *Greek* Tongue, who interpreted the *Greek* Text of *Aristotle*; almost about the same time, that the illustrious Youth, *Francis Just de Tournon*, was also a constant Hearer of the same Person. *John d' Aurat* had now resigned the Professorship, and retired into the Suburb of *S. Victor*; whither *De Thou* frequently resorted, and came back always better instructed from his Conversation; using earnestly to ask him after *Budé*, whom the other had seen in his Infancy, and after *Germain Brisse* and *James Tousan*. By the favour
of

A. D.
1570.

of this Person he had fallen into the Acquaintance of his Scholar *P. Ronfard*; whose Friendship he had already merited by a certain Talent of Poetry; so that, when he committed the Care of reprinting his Works in the last Edition to *John Galand*, he dedicated his *Orphea* to *De Thou* with Expressions of high Esteem. From the same Occasion he insinuated himself likewise into the Familiarity of *John-Antony Baif* and *Remi Belleau*, which he afterwards more strictly cultivated. From thence he went to *Orleans*, with *Christopher-Augustus* his Cousin-german, almost of his own Age, the Son of his Uncle *Augustin* Royal Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and with *René Rouillier* his Chamber-fellow, in order to learn the Civil Law; in the same Year very nearly, wherein the fourth Pacificatory Edict was published, and King *Charles*, in the Month of *November*, consummated his Marriage with *Elizabeth* Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian II.* at *Mezieres* upon the *Meuse*. The following Year was spent in publicly hearing the Law-Professors: These were *John Robert* and *William Fournier*; and also *Anthony le Conte* lately come thither from *Bourges*, whose Writings, scattered up and down in Parcels, it would be highly for the Interest of the Publick to have collected into one Body. In this Year died his Uncle *Adrian* before mentioned, and his Sister *Catherine* the Wife of *De Harlay*; and *De Thou*, immoderately fond of hearing *James Cujas*, of whom he had even then conceived a great Admiration from his Writings, leaving his Companions, with whom he lived in the strictest Union, travelled towards *Dauphiné*; when he had first spent a few Months at *Bourges*, where he heard *Francis Hotman*, reading his *Illustrious Questions*, which were afterwards published, and *Hugh Doneau*. To *Valence*, the Capital of the *Segalauni* (for *Avignon* is the Capital of the *Cavares*) he repaired, near a Year before the *Parisian* Tumult; where *Cujas* was explaining his *Papinian*, and where *Francis Roaldez* and *Desmond de Bonnefoy* taught with him.

Here the Friendship was first contracted with *Joseph Scaliger*; who, in order to pay a visit to *Cujas*, had come thither upon his Invitation some time before, with *Lewis de Montiosieu* and *George du Bourg*; whom, by conversing, and afterwards, as long as he could, by eating with him, and in absence by Letters, he incessantly courted with incredible zeal and affection for the space of thirty eight Years; and on the account of that acquaintance, for which he knows himself to be blamed and calumniated by wicked Men, he both secretly rejoices, and openly glories; and takes so much pleasure even now in the Remembrance of it, that, if the Choice were given him, he would not buy off the Contumelies, Reproaches, Dangers and Inconveniencies, which he has suffered by God's permission from their unjust Malice for the sake of it, with the Loss or even the Forgetfulness of so sweet and honourable and learned a Correspondence. And This he desires to say to them instead of returning any other Answer to their Virulence. He can also solemnly affirm, that, in all that time, wherein he was allowed to enjoy the Familiarity of so Great a Man, he never heard him dispute upon the Controverted Points of Religion, nor ever found that he used to write about them to Others. And indeed he never discoursed upon those Subjects, but when he was provoked, and That too very unwillingly: And this is known to be true by all the illustrious Family of *Châteigner*, the Head of which is *Lewis Seigneur d'Abin*, who with so much Reputation discharged the Function of the King's Ambassador to the Pope. The same is known by his Sons, *John Seigneur de la Rocheposai*, and even *Henry-Lewis* Bishop of *Poitiers*, who both at home in his Father's House, and in *Holland* was for a long time with him; Both whom were rendered more learned by his Conversation, yet did not, for That reason, in the least swerve from the Religion of their Fore-fathers. As if, apart from the business of Religion, there were not many excellent things in point of Learning, even beyond human Conception, to be admired in him, which every Good Man might justly desire to know and be taught of him! and as if, for the sake of those singular Endowments bestowed upon him by God, he himself did not deserve to be esteemed and had in high Veneration by all Worthy Men! But so it is; Religion, which formerly consisted in Faith, and a certain confidence of God's Goodness, and also in Charity, and made every day greater Advances, is now-a-days thought to be best supported by Faction and the carnal Counsels and Cabals of Human Prudence; to which whatever we attribute (and we attribute abundantly too much) so much, by relying on our own Wit, we detract from the Divine Providence, by which we should rather believe all things to be governed and directed. From whence it comes to pass, that God, incensed against Our Sins, suffers us to be blinded with our private Lusts and to be hurried into a Reprobate Sense; so that, what is right, we see not, and what is not convenient to be done, we do: And that at last it is to be feared, if an Evil, great of itself, be longer neglected by Those, who, from too much Security or too much reliance upon themselves and their own Parts, generally pass an hasty judgment upon these things; lest all that Rectitude and Sincerity, which still remains from the primitive Union and lawful Succession, will be devoured by

BOOK I. The LIFE of Monsieur De THOU.

by a spreading Gangrene; and that the Time will come, when the Kingdom of God will in vain be sought for in this or that place, and will be preserved only amongst a Few, who shall maintain Union and Order with Gentleness and Equity. Many Persons have often heard *De Thou* and *Nicolas le Fevre* discoursing of these things; when, deploring the State of Christianity in these later Times, they mutually comforted each other, and in the mean while declared their Obligations, to persevere constantly in their Duty in opposition to the Publick Hatred, and to die, like valiant Warriors, in their Post: For that Good Men were always obnoxious to Afflictions and Calumnies, which ought to be taken as a certain Testimony of the Divine Favour and even as a Blessing. So much, by the way, is sufficient to be said, on occasion of the Friendship contracted with *Scaliger*, for which he is blamed, by a Race of Men, Enemies to Virtue and Learning.

The Father, who was unwilling, that his Son should be longer or at that distance from him, either foreboding Evil, or for some other Cause, called him home within a Year after his Journey to *Valence*. *Charles de Lamoignon* Master of Requests, a Good Man and related to the Father, had been sent with a Committee to inspect the business of the Salt, which was said to be ill administered throughout *Dauphiné*, *Provence* and *Languedoc*. He, being requested by the Father to bring the Young Man home in his Return to the City, after asking Leave of *James Cujas* carried him first to *Grenoble*, where he saw *Francis de Beaumont* commonly called the Baron *des Adrets*, when *Lamoignon* went to salute the Baron in the Bishop's Palace, and was going to *Saluzzo* with the Royal Troops designed for the Garrisons of *Piedmont*. *De Thou*, fixing his Eyes attentively, whilst he walked with *Lamoignon* in the Garden, upon a Person of his high Character, and not having forgotten his Faculty of Painting, as soon as he was gone, drew his Picture from Memory so exactly, that it was known by every body. He was then perfectly hoary, but of a vigorous and hearty Old Age, with a Fierceness in his Eyes, an Aquiline Nose, meager Visage but full of red Pimples, so that one would say his Face had been sprinkled (as it was observed in *P. Cornelius Salla*) with a mixture of Dirt and Blood; for the rest, of a Mien and Habit altogether Military. At length *De Thou* came with *Lamoignon* to *Liens*; and by the way of *Moulins*, *Nevers* and *Gien* passing down the *Loire* to *Orleans*, when he had spent a few days in saluting his Companions, whom he had left in that City, pursued his Journey directly to his Father.

And now all things rung with the Preparations for the Wedding, at which he himself was also present: and, on the Day of the Nuptials, after Mass, when, by leaping over the Bar set up to keep off the Rabble, he had entered the Choir, he hearkened with great Attention to a Discourse between *Gaspar de Coligny* and *Henry de Montmorency Danville*, which afterwards made a very great Noise. *Coligny* was wounded a few days after, and the Tranquillity of the whole Nation received a Wound in consequence of it; whereby the Publick Repose and Security was shaken, and a Civil War introduced, which, being terminated in an unfaithful Peace, was by Intervals renewed, and hardly composed by new Edicts one after another; inasmuch that the Peace is at this day preserved by a certain number of Cities and Castles pledged for Security, and yet remaining (a Precedent of ill consequence!) in the hands of the Protestants. So much has the King and the whole Kingdom suffered by the *Parisian* Tumult, which, it must be confessed, if we look upon the horrible things, which followed upon it, cannot possibly be commended or approved; unless it be by them, who delight in seeing Wars springing out of Wars in their own Country, and every method of Reconciliation destroyed amongst us: So that a *Frenchman*, and a Lover of Quiet, who always thought, that the present Convulsions of Religion throughout *Europe* might be more safely composed by Charity and Mildness than by Violence or Hatred, ought not to be blamed, if, having constantly pursued peaceful Methods even to his own Detriment, he still detests whatever is opposite to them. It is certain that his Father (in whose Steps if the Son can tread, he shall think himself wise enough in Matters of Religion and in the Conduct of Publick Affairs) so violently detested those Courses, that when, after the sad Accident, he was reading the *Woods of Statius Papinius*, and had lighted upon the Passage mentioned in his Annals, in the Margin of the Book he writ these Words, *The Day of S. Bartholomew*, in a Character peculiar to himself, but very neat, and sufficiently known from the Archives of Parliament: And this Book is preserved in *James-Augustus's* Library, on purpose, that it may serve as a Proof of his Sense in this matter in opposition to Calumnies. *De Thou* in the Books of his History relates, that Many had written largely to *Coligny*, in order to deter him from the thought of going to the King of *Navarre's* Wedding, by laying the danger of the thing before him: To which Advice he had always lent a deaf Ear, resolving sooner to die and be dragged through the Streets of the City (for these Words were caught from his Mouth, and *Villeroy* confirmed them to *De Thou*), than

shew any Tokens of Diffidence to the King, by whom he had lately been received into Favour, or return again to a Civil War: That one Captain *Maye* had foretold the same things to him, when he was travelling some time before towards *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, viz. That *Coligny* with prodigious blindness and imprudence neglected the Counsels of his Friends; not seeing, that he was invited to the Nuptials with so many Marks of affected Benevolence (which, if he was not intimated, he ought certainly to suspect after a Reconciliation), that by His Example the Lords of the same Party might flock thither with Emulation to bear him company; whereby They, who could not be destroyed in a Body, might, amidst the Nuptial Festivities, when they had no apprehensions of that kind, be murdered, at a Signal given, in their separate Lodgings. That when *De Thou* maintained the other side of the Question, and with many, and, as he imagined, excellent Reasons, urged the Injustice of either thinking or foreboding so ill of the King's or his Ministers Intentions; *Maye*, who had joined himself to him upon the Road, said at last, that the Event would shortly verify his Prediction; and thus they entered *Vienne* together: Where, the Rabble rising at the sight of a Person hated by them, *De Thou* ran a great Hazard, by standing up in the defence of his hitherto unknown Fellow-Traveller; who, it seems, as the Townsmen said, had done considerable mischief in the adjacent Country in the last War, by Murders, Ravages and hostile Inroads: *De Thou*, who nevertheless was of opinion, that the Danger of this Man was a matter, which concerned, not only his own Honour, but also the Publick Security, laboured heartily, to pacify the enraged Populace; and at last it was agreed, that *Maye* should quit the City, and lodge in the adjoining Suburb. Of this Person, never before, nor afterwards seen by him (who, after the Tumult of *Paris*, returning to his usual Excursions, was killed by the Peasants) *De Thou* had made mention in his Diary: And this he had done, both for a help to his Memory, having already begun the Design of writing his Annals (in which however he omitted it, as he did many remarkable things, which cannot easily, and indeed ought not to be cast into a Body of Universal History); and also to preserve a memorable Testimony of so considerable an Affair foretold before the Event, for the Use of Posterity: For that it was the ordinary method of Divine Providence, that signal Accidents should be generally presignified, either by the natural Foresight of Good Men, or the Apprehensions of Obnoxious Men, or by the Skill (perhaps) of Mathematicians; that Men may not pretend a want of sufficient Warning, nor, being admonished, neglect to prepare themselves for whatever may happen; which Remark is carefully made by *De Thou* in all proper places. At the sight of the Massacre itself, he could not help feeling an inward Horror of Mind; when, on the Lord's Day (upon which the Festival of St. *Bartholomew* fell that Year), as he was going to Mass, he was forced to see the Bodies of *Jerom Grôlot* and of *Calixte*, just slain, dragging through the High-way towards the River; and to suppress those Tears, which One of his tender Disposition could hardly have forborn at the Slaughter of innocent Beasts. And thus far his Eyes were Sufferers: For he took care afterwards, by not appearing abroad, that he should not be forced to behold such Sight. After some days, the Storm being allayed, when he went to the House of his Brother *Christopher*, who dwelt not far from the Gate of *Montmartre*; he was led by him to an Eminence, from whence the Gibbets of *Montsaucon* might be descried; to which Place the Rabble had dragged the Trunk of *Coligny's* Body, and hung it by an Iron Chain to the Cross-Beam: He was immediately struck with the Remembrance, and even with the Image of that Subduer of Cities, of that victorious General in so many Battles and lately in the *Netherlands*, whom a few days before he had viewed in the Church of *Notredame*: And as he beheld his Carcass fixed to the unfortunate Tree and treated with such Outrages, he one while admired the Depth of God's Judgments, and then fell into a Contemplation of Human Frailty, which, being bounded within the Circle of a short Life, warns us to cut off all long Prospects betimes, and every hour to meditate upon what must one day befall us. The Marshall *Francis de Montmorency*, who by his Absence, so beneficial to the whole Kingdom, had secured his own Person, and his Family, contrived by his Domesticks to have the Body stolen from that infamous place, and privately deposited at *Chantilly*, where he was at that time, in a leaden Coffin: For, for fear of giving Offence, he had forbidden, that it should be interred in Holy Ground; though it was afterwards removed to *Chastillon sur Loir* and buried in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors. From that time *De Thou* left his Father's House, and fixed himself with his Uncle *Nicolas* a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, who had a very fine House in the Cloyster of the Cathedral, belonging to him as Canon; formerly built by *William Briçonnet* Bishop of *Meaux*, the Son of the Cardinal; in which he remained for fourteen years successively, being himself also a Canon of the same Church: For, shortly after, *Nicolas* upon the Death of *Charles*

Guillard

Guillard was made Bishop of *Chartres*; where *De Thou* began to compile that copious Library, which still continues to receive daily Accessions. Being then designed for the Sacred Order, and to succeed his Uncle in the Bishoprick, he applied his whole mind to the Study of the Canon Law and to the reading of *Greek Books*: And as he burned with a vehement Desire of seeing *Italy*; when he had learnt that the Honourable *Paul de Foix*, who had lately discharged the *English* and *Venetian* Embassies with high Commendation, was going to be sent to the Pope and the *Italian Princes*, who had congratulated King *Charles* upon the Election of his Brother to the Crown of *Poland*, in order to return Thanks for that Compliment; and that, when he should have executed the like Charge in *Germany*, he was to go to *Poland*; he looked upon This as an opportunity, by no means to be slipped; and through the Recommendations of his Brother-in-law *Philip Hurault*, the King of *Poland's* Chancellor, entered into *De Foix's* Retinue, with *Christopher-Augustus* his Cousin-german, *Christopher Hector de Marle*, and *La Bordo-Arbaleste*, when the Ambassador had already reached *Gien*. Of so great a Man, to whom *De Thou* openly professed himself so highly indebted, and of his Domestick Conduct, it is thought worth the while to add a few things in this place. He was of the antient House of *Foix*, or *Fox*, as it is found written in the earliest Archives of the Family; descended from the Counts *De Carmain*; for That Race was divided into several Branches. Being left with a very moderate Estate for so eminent a Family, and That disputed, and being designed for Holy Orders; after he had finished the Studies of Humanity with wonderful Success, and could understand *Greek* very well, and write *Latin* elegantly, he studied the Canon Law (in which, by his excellent Parts, and extensive Capacity he made a vast Progress), and pursued it through his whole Life, following *James Cujas* before all the other Interpreters. From thence, he wholly dedicated himself to the Studies of Philosophy, and became a perfect Admirer of *Aristotle's* Doctrine; inasmuch that he exceedingly loved and valued all His Followers; and, amongst the rest, *Daniel Barbaro*, a Noble *Venetian*, designed for the Patriarchate of *Aquileia*; of whom he used to report This Saying, that, if he were not a Christian, he should entirely embrace the *Aristotelian* Doctrine in all its Branches. In this part of Learning, he used, not properly Masters, but friendly Monitors; particularly *James Charpentier*, who by his publick Lectures, and his Quarrel upon that account with *Peter Ramus*, had acquired a great Name in the University of *Paris*; and *Augustin Nipho*, the Grandson of that famous Philosopher of *Susa*, whom he also entertained in his Family: He had also several Philologers about him, as *Charles Utenhoue*, *Hubert Giffen*, and *Robert Constantin*, who by various Treatises have deserved well of their own Age and of Posterity. From the time that he quitted the Parliament of *Paris*, and gave himself up to the Discharge of Embassies, he had so laid out his Plan, that, after the conclusion of his business, which he managed with extream Care and Diligence, he never suffered one single Hour to be lost, or to be unemployed in serious Studies. He had a Boy, who, in the presence of a Teacher, read a Portion, on the Subject of Equity, either out of *Aristotle* or *Cicero*, whose Writings were seldom out of his hands. For, either that he might spare his weak Eyes, or exercise his Memory, he did not read himself, but attentively hearkened to the reading of Another, and, when the Lesson was finished, would repeat the same things himself by heart, and even improve them by an Explanation; so that with the same Pains he instructed the Reader, and the Hearers of his Retinue, whom he always obliged to attend, and by exercising his Parts fixed the Lessons more deeply in his Memory; by which Custom he had gained such an Habit, that, as often as he treated with Princes and others, in the King's Name, about important Affairs, he took care, that both what he had heard, and what he had answered, should be faithfully transcribed into a Book. For as he did not read, so neither did he write, but in each case used the Assistance of Others; unless at any time there happened a particular Circumstance, which could not safely be committed to the Fidelity of Another. I shall add nothing in this place, concerning his incredible Love of Virtue, Affection to his Country, Hatred of Rebels and of Vices, Greatness of Mind, solicitous Care of the Publick Welfare, Candor, inviolable Honour, and punctual Observance of the Duties of Friendship; which were all in an eminent degree conspicuous in this illustrious Person, and forced all people into an Admiration and Love of him. Add to these a graceful Aspect and venerable Mein, which seemed to entitle him to a sort of Sovereignty; his Affability in the Reception of Others; a mixture of Sweetness and Gravity in his Discourses, far removed from all servile Adulation: Which Quality rendered Him, notwithstanding his many other just Claims to a general Benevolence, less acceptable at Our Court: Of which he being sensible, and yet unwilling, as a Man born to great things, to lye idle at home, imposed upon himself a sort of honourable Banishment, devoting his whole Life to the discharging of Embassies. *De Thou* used to add,

add, that, although *De Foix*, in all things that could be required in a Man of perfect and consummate Virtue, had given full Satisfaction to Him and to all Men, yet, for his own part he could never satisfy himself in praising him sufficiently, and that, when he had said much, he had always left more unsaid. When *De Thou* came to him, he had in his Retinue *Arnold d'Offat*, whom, as he was going to *Italy*, he had taken into his Family, and drawn from the Courts, where he attended for the Practice of the Civil Law, which he had learned under *Cujas*. This Person had been a Disputant some years before, in the *Preslean* or *Ramean* College, and had born a part, if not in the Animosities, at least in the Controversies, carried on with such heat by *James Charpentier* with *Peter Ramus*; and there are extant at this day some Dissertations concerning *Method* written by *Charpentier* against *D'Offat the Thessalian*, which put the matter out of question. But at last, being a Person of exquisite Judgment, and no less ingenious in the Search of Truth, than grateful towards his Master, he embraced the *Aristotelian* Doctrine, which *Ramus* had set himself, right or wrong, to oppose. At this time, he was interpreting *Plato* to *De Foix*; and, because that Philosopher's Divine Writings, how much soever they please by a florid Copiousness, are yet interrupted with various Preambles, frequent Interrogations, far-fetched Digressions, and often with fabulous Stories agreeably to the Nature of *Dialogue*; He, who was heartily devoted to the Peripatetick Sect (which goes another way to work, and, laying aside all these things, hasts to the Point), was desirous, that these diffusive Writings might be drawn into a narrow compass, and ranged distinctly in one view: In which business he used the Assistance of *D'Offat*; who on horseback, in the open Fields, gave the Heads of the Platonick Doctrine, as it is comprehended in Dialogues; and then *De Foix*, in His Turn, by the help of his Memory, repeated what he had heard from *D'Offat*. And this they did between themselves. But when they had alighted from their Horses, *De Thou* and the rest of the Train being called together, whilst the Dinner, which they always eat in his Apartment, was getting ready; he ordered *Francis Choefne*, now President at *Chartres*, but then one of *De Foix's* reading Domesticks, to read *Cujas's Paratitla* upon the Digests of the Law, before *D'Offat*; which he himself, because they were very concisely written, explained more at large; a method, which he afterwards advised *Cujas* to follow upon the *Code*; who, in regard to His Admonitions, enlarged his Style, and dedicated that most compleat Work to *De Foix*; in the Preface whereof, it may abundantly appear to any one, how much that impartial Man esteemed *De Foix*. After Dinner he would in like manner order a Physical Dissertation, with *Alexander Piccolomini's* Paraphrase, to be recited in *D'Offat's* presence; and in this Field he mainly exercised himself, and kept pace with *D'Offat*. The first of the *Italian* Princes that he visited, was *Philibert-Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, whom he found indisposed with a Quartan Ague at *Turin*, whither he had lately come from *Nice*. The Duke generally did business by his Wife *Margaret*; and *De Foix*, who before and since the Marriage had always paid a particular Court to this Heroine, a Lady of admirable Parts and Candour, staid for some days at that Court. There *De Thou* struck up a Learned Friendship with *Guy de Moulins de Rochefort*, a Native of the *Blezois*, now very much advanced in years; which he continued with his Brother by an Interchange of good Offices, when he returned into *France*; and renewed the same, after some years, with *De Moulins* himself, at *Basil*, where he died. This Person was exceedingly beloved by *Margaret* and the Duke himself, for his rare knowledge of Natural History, which he explained in pleasant Discourses, and every day improved by new Experiments made with great Judgment; so that he was treated by them with more honour, than a meer Professor of Physick, which Art however he was thought to practice with Success. In a Vessel fitted out by *Philibert*, *De Foix* sailed down the *Po* with his Company, and came to *Casal* a Principal City in the Marquisate of *Montferrat*, distinguished by its strong Citadel. There, with *De Foix's* Leave, the Company made an Excursion for two days into the *Milanese*. At *Pavia* before they entered the chief Town, they halted at the Place, where Our Countrymen received a Defeat, and *Francis* himself was taken Prisoner; and from thence proceeded to the *Cartusian* Monastery, the most famous in all *Europe* for its building and the Sepulchres of the Viscounts; where *De Thou*, asking many questions, according to his Custom, of an elderly Monk of that College, heard a very remarkable piece of History; which, not knowing whether Others had taken notice of it, or not, he has noted in his Common-place-book. The Monk said, that *Francis*, being taken near the Park-wall then opened, was led through the midst of the Park to the Great Church; and, that whilst he stood before the High-Altar, the 70th verse of the 118th Psalm was read by the Monks assembled at Prayers in the Choir; after which, a Pause being observed as usually, the Captive King went before the Audience; and, recollecting the following Verse, as if he thought it fortunately appointed for his Consolation, repeated the Words with a loud Voice,

It is a good thing, that Thou hast humbled Me, that I may learn thy Judgment. From thence, after viewing the Churches of *Pavia*, they went to *Milan* one of the noblest Cities in the World for its Extent and Populoufness; and from thence, through *Lodi*, they travelled by night to *Piacenza*, where *De Foix* had already arrived by a Water-passage down the *Po*, and from whence he took a Turn to *Mantua*, to salute the Duke *William*. There *De Thou* saw *Camillus di Castiglione*, the Son of That *Balthazar* Count *di Castiglione*, who, though an excellent Scholar and Poet, gained a greater Reputation by his *Courtier*, which he composed in imitation of *Cicero*; and he looked with the more pleasure upon the Son of so considerable a Man, because by his Prudence, Manners, whole Aspect and decent Carriage, he seemed to resemble the Portrait left by his Father. There, amongst the other numerous Rarities, carefully collected and ranged in a beautiful Repository by *Isabella da Este* the Grandmother, a Lady of wonderful Accomplishments, *De Thou* tells a singular Accident which befell himself. A sleeping *Cupid*, of *Spezzian* Marble still fresh, carved by *Michael-Angelo Buonarotti*, who in our days is thought to have singly revived the long decayed Arts of Architecture, Statuary, and Painting, after a high commendation of the admirable Workmanship, was shewn to *De Foix*; which, being viewed by the By-standers, and curiously examined every way by *De Thou* himself, who took a vast pleasure in these Arts, seemed to exceed the Character which had been previously given of it. Then, after a sufficient Admiration, carried on to Astonishment; on a sudden, out of a silken Bandage, in which it was wrapped, Another was produced of antique Workmanship, representing him as he is celebrated with Emulation in so many *Greek* Epigrams; wonderfully curious, but rough, as it was first wrought out of the Clay; which, being compared with the New one, soon obliged the Company, one and all, to be ashamed of their former Judgment, and to confess that the Antient Marble really breathed, whilst the Other, which they had so highly praised, lay despised as a common Stone: Some of the Servants even said, that *Bonarotti* himself, the most ingenuous Artificer of his Time, when he presented his own *Cupid* to *Isabella*, upon seeing the Other, earnestly desired, that the two Images might be seen in that Order; that, from the Comparison, All Men might learn, how far the Modern Age comes short of the Antient in these Arts. From *Mantua* they proceeded to *Mirandula*, which was still held by a *French* Garrison under *L'Artuise*, an Officer who became more famous afterwards in the Civil Wars. *De Foix*, being entertained with extraordinary Humanity by *Fulvia* Countess Dowager of *Correggio* and Mother of the *Pici*, staid there two days; from whence, through *La Concordia*, another Town of the *Pici*, he came to *Ferrara*; where *De Foix*, with his whole Company, meeting with a very familiar Reception from Duke *Alfonso*, seemed to live as it were in the *French* Court: So thoroughly had this Prince, who was nearly related to Our Kings, and had been educated with Us from his Infancy, imbibed Our Customs; that in the whole Entertainment nothing seemed New, but the Place. At *Ferrara*, there taught at that time *Francis Patrici* a *Dalmatian*; whom, because he was said to maintain new, uncommon and erroneous Opinions, in explaining the Doctrine of *Aristotle* (as appeared by a part of his *Peripatetick* Discussions already published), *De Foix* did not think fit to admit to a Conference, and *De Thou* barely saw him, but did not discourse with him. In one of the Duke's private Yachts, finely adorned, *De Foix* was conveyed to *Venice*. They entered the City in a clear Night by the Great Canal, the Light of the Moon and the Reflection of the stately Edifices dancing in the curling Water, to the exquisite pleasure of the Beholders; so that they remembered the Words of *Philip Comines*, that famous Knight of *Argenton*; who, being sent to *Venice* by *Charles VIII.* declared, that it was the best built Town in *Europe*. *De Foix* went to lodge at the House of the King's Ambassador *Arnold du Ferrier*, and His Retinue in the adjoining Houses. *De Thou's* Quarters were assigned him by *du Ferrier* himself at *Donna Justina's*; because, of all the Women who let Lodgings to Strangers, she alone was said not to keep a House of Pleasure; and *du Ferrier*, who had an intimate Friendship with *Christopher de Thou*, *James's* Father, declared himself obliged to take a particular Care of him. *De Foix*, being conducted, according to Custom, by the Ambassador, was most honourably received by the Senate, both on the account of his Personal Dignity, and because he had lately discharged the Duty of Ambassador in Ordinary to the Republick with great Commendation. And because, from his Friends at *Rome*, he heard that the Pope (remembering the Mercenary Convention, whereat *De Foix* had been accused, and by a perverse method of Justice had been first condemned by the Delegated Judges, and afterwards acquitted, by a Reversal of the Judgment, by the whole Body of the Parliament) would hardly admit him; he found himself necessitated to stay for a while in some other place, 'till he might receive new Instructions from the King, and 'till the Royal Agents at *Rome* could procure him a favourable Reception at that Court. For this purpose

he pitched upon *Padua*, the strongest City in all the *Venetian Territories*, and the most flourishing with Professors of all Sciences; whither both He, and such as remained in his Retinue (for most of them, taking the opportunity of this Delay, had gone away to different places) repaired, and amongst the rest *De Thou*, who never used to depart from his Side. The latter, that he might not let the time be unimproved, with his Cousin-german *Christopher*, travelled through the whole *Venetian Territories* in *Lombardy*. After having viewed *Vicenza*, *Peschiera*, the Lake *di Garda* the finest in all *Europe*, where is the antient Seat of the *Scaligers*, *Verona* itself, still famous for the Sepulchres of that Family, as well as for its own Antiquity, *Brescia* the beloved Metropolis of *Catullus's Verona*, and *Bergomo* bordering upon the mountainous Country; from thence, by the way of *Cremona*, *Crema* and *Este* they returned to *Padua*; where *Jerom Mercurialis*, born at *Forlì* in *La Romagna*, still taught: This Person had lately returned from the Emperor *Maximilian's* Court, having gained a vast Reputation by his Learning, and his Works, published mostly by his Scholars, and admitted *De Thou* even Then into his familiar Acquaintance: Being afterwards invited to *Florence* by Duke *Francis* with Promises of large Rewards, he taught the Art of Medicine for a long time in the University of *Pisa*, and at last removed to *Florence*, where he lived to a very old Age. *Nipho* was then at *Padua*; who was labouring to revive his Grandfather's Glory by interpreting *Aristotle*, and who with good Credit had taught at *Paris*, whilst he was in *De Foix's* Family, to a large Audience; a Man impatient of an Equal, and whose constant custom it was, to be sparing in Praises, and to be perpetually detracting from his Rivals. He, resenting, that *Julius-Cesar Scaliger* (too great a Man to be the Subject of his Scandal, with regard to Learning or Parts) had entertained a mean Opinion of his Grandfather, and, by commending his own Master *Peter Pomponatius*, used to detract from Him; vented the Malice, first conceived against the Father, upon the Son; and, having nothing to say against either of them, took occasion to abuse the Family; and, when he knew, that *De Thou* was a Friend to *Joseph Scaliger*, led him into a Corner, and in a long Speech, according to his natural vehemence, endeavoured to persuade the incredulous Young Man, that *Julius*, the real Son of *Benedict Burdon*, had falsely assumed the Name of *Scaliger*: This gave the first rise to the *Burdonian Fable*, which Others afterwards maliciously dispersed, and at last, in voluminous Treatises, deserving the hand of the Executioner, published, to their own great Infamy. When at length, through the Labours of the King's Agents and Friends, *De Foix* received hopes, that his Arrival in the City would not be unacceptable; he puts himself upon the Road in the Depth of the Winter; and, taking the Rout of *Rouigo* and *Lignago*, reaches *Bologna*, a principal City in the Papal Jurisdiction; and, when he had for a considerable time declined the Invitation of *Alexander dall'Armi* and the Chief Nobility of the City, who came forth in Coaches to meet him, he at last took up his abode in *Alexander's* House; where, being received with all sorts of Joy, he continued for some days, all the Orders of the City flocking to salute him. *Charles Sigonio* also waited upon him; who, being weary of the Quarrel maintained with *Francis Robertello* of *Udine*, lately deceased, and not able to bear the concurrence of *Germans*, who favoured *Robertello*, had left *Padua*, the first Seat of his Studies, and upon the invitation of *James Buoncompagno* had retired to *Bologna*; where with diligence and extraordinary judgment he compiled the *Roman History* of the last Age, and dedicated it to the same *Buoncompagno*; for That of the former Age, and other pieces worthy of Immortality, he had composed at *Padua*. With him *De Thou* was for whole days together; and, knowing *Sigonio* to speak but indifferent *Latin*, chose to talk in broken *Italian*, rather than to lose his familiar Conversation. From him he at last drew This Secret, that the Books of the *Roman Senate*, published under the Name of *John Zari Zamofezzi* (who had afterwards not only his own Country of *Poland*, but the whole World, as a witness to the Glory of his Name); as also the *Polonia* of *Peter Crassinski*, and the Commentary upon the *Agrarian Laws* bearing the Name of *Bernardin Loredano*, were written by himself. He saw also *Ulfes Aldrovandi's* most noble Materials already provided for the illustration of *Natural History*.

From thence, through the *Apennine* white with Snow, they arrived at *Florence*; where, that Chain of Hills being passed, the Season appeared wonderfully mild even in the midst of Winter; as if it were another Climate and a different Country, far removed from the horrid Mountains, which run at the Foot of that famous Ridge. Prince *Francis* came out to meet *De Foix*, and in an honourable manner conducted him to the Palace, in which He and his Wife *Joan of Austria* dwelt. His Father *Cosmo* was yet alive, and resided in the other Palace *de' Pitti*, joined to the Ducal Palace by a Portico laid over the *Arne*; having transferred the Care of the Government to his Son, with a Reservation of the Honour and Majesty to himself. *De Foix* with his Company, being introduced to salute him, found him in the Great Hall, with a Night-cap on his head, sitting at a Table near the Fire: His Face,

Face, which had formerly been very beautiful, was become fallow and lurid; and he had begun to labour under That Illness, of which he shortly after died: He heard with difficulty, and did not speak distinctly; and *Camilla Martelli*, his second Wife, which he had taken after the Death of *Eleanor de Toledo*, served him as a constant Interpreter; speaking into his Ear whatever was said, and most commonly returning an Answer for him. *De Foix* was daily attended by *Anthony-Maria Salviati*, Bishop of *S. Papoul* in Our Country, who was afterwards made a Cardinal; and by *Robert Ridolfi*, who lately, at the extream hazard of his Life, had escaped out of *England*, where he was said to have concerted secret Measures in the Pope's Name with *Mary Queen of Scots*. *Peter Vittori* also came frequently, a venerable Old Man even at that time; who, when he had not an opportunity of doing it with *De Foix*, discoursed daily with *De Thou* upon the Subject of Literature: He complained, that Good Learning began already to fall into disesteem in *Italy*; that he had many things, which he would willingly present to the Publick, but that they were not valued by Many as they deserved to be: Besides, that the Printers did their Business lazily and unskilfully: That he had formerly given *Aeschylus*, which he had now by him more correct and enlarged, to a young Scholar and indeed a Frenchman, named *Henry Stephens*, who nevertheless by negligence and dilatoriness had too long deceived his expectation: That he had made a considerable number of Remarks, out of antient Books, upon *Tully's* Epistles to his Friends, and to *Atticus*; which, he feared, would be lost in this unfortunate Age. He carried *De Thou* to the Library of *St. Lawrence*, and shewed him a large Volume of Greek Interpreters, even such as were never published, upon *Aristotle*, intitled *The Ocean*, and also a *Virgil* written in Capital Letters; groaning at every Interval, that the antient *Medicean* Library, so highly celebrated, in the time of the Civil Seditions had been carried away to *Rome*, and from thence out of *Italy*. It is the same, that *Catherine*, the Mother of Our Kings, having purchased at a great price, notwithstanding *Cosmo's* utmost opposition, obtained leave to transport it into *France*, and kept it by her, as long as she lived, under the Care of a particular Librarian; which at last *De Thou*, having redeemed it with the King's Money out of the hands of her Creditors, took care to place in the Royal Library, and thus enriched the Treasure collected by Our Kings with a considerable Accession. The *Pandect*, formerly taken at *Constantinople* by the *Pisans*, met with better Fortune; for having been afterwards removed from *Pisa* into *Tuscany*, and kept in the Council-Room of the Commonwealth, it could not be exported with the Books of a private Library, and is even now religiously preserved apart, in the same Publick Room, with other valuable Rarities belonging to the Duke. *De Thou*, turning over this Book, observed the great Antiquity of it from the Writing, and from the Binding concluded it to be the Original, from whence all our Copies are drawn. For the Transposition, observed at the End of Our Common Editions, is here to be seen; so that it manifestly appears to have passed from hence into Our Books; which *Anthony Agostino* has also remarked: This brings to remembrance the longing Desire of *Cujas*, who frequently offered to deposit two thousand Crowns for the restitution of the *Pandect*, if it might be lent to him for one Year: For, although it is supposed to be faithfully expressed in the Edition published by *Laelius Taurelli*, yet that many things might have escaped him and the Copyers, which *Cujas*, by his fortunate Diligence, hoped to discover from his own View and handling of the Book. The same thing he had often said to *De Thou*, and, when he was at *Turin*, had left nothing undone, that by the Recommendation of Duke *Philibert*, and his Wife *Margaret*, and by an Offer on their parts to be Sureties for the return of the Book, he might attain this his passionate Wish; but he had not been able to obtain his Point. An Answer only was returned by *Cosmo*, that, if he would come to *Florence*, he should have the use of it to his full Satisfaction, nor should he repent of a Journey to His Court. This was the only thing, which, after the most accurate diligence in improving that Science, *Cujas* declared to be wanting to compleat his Desires, and that he should die longing for it. *De Thou* also saw, at *Florence*, *George Vazari* of *Arezzo*, a most excellent Architect and Painter; and, as he was led by him through the several Curiosities, when he came to the Effigies of *John* and *Garcias*, *Cosmo's* Sons, of whose unhappy Fate he had received some private Intimation, he secretly asked *Vazari*, whether the Report was true; and He by a silent Nod confirmed the private Story, and moreover said, that *Cosmo* had earnestly desired, though it was justly and generously done, to have the Fact concealed, least his Enviars, at the beginning of his newly-created Sovereignty, might take occasion to calumniate him.

From *Florence* they proceeded to *Siena*, where the Memory of the French Name was still fresh amongst the Inhabitants; the Situation of which place, *De Thou*, having already laid the Design of his History, diligently surveyed; that, by a curious View of the Posts, he might more deeply fix in his mind the Representation of

of that long Siege. Whilst *De Foix* was in the City, he visited *Alexander Piccolomini*, a venerable old Man, at his House; and surprized him in a leaning Posture upon his Couch, amusing himself with reviewing his *Aristotle*, that is, *Aristotle* illustrated by his own various Explications: For he was alone, and the Servants, it being a Holy-day, were gone abroad and dispersed: Which he excused with extraordinary Anxiety, and gave Thanks to *De Foix* for so honourable a Visit: Then, having desired the Gentlemen present with *De Foix* to sit down, and *De Thou* amongst the rest, he discoursed at large about his Studies; and said, that in those Years he received the sweetest Fruits from them, when he could no longer enjoy those other Diversions, in which younger People might innocently, and without Offence delight. In the saying of which, it was not thought to be so much his Aim to persuade us of the Comfortableness of his old Age, as, agreeably to his Humanity, to exhort the young Men present, by his Example, to avoid Idleness, and to pursue the Studies of Philosophy.

A. D. 1574. From *Siena*, *De Foix* took a Turn to *Lucca*, because he had Letters to that Republick from his Majesty and the new King of *Poland*, and had several Friends of extraordinary Worth amongst the Gentry. He was accordingly received, not only as a Royal Ambassador, but as a Friend to the State, in a very honourable and affectionate Manner, with his whole Retinue. From thence, after a Journey of three Days, through *Montefiascone* and *Viterbo*, where he went to see *Bagnarea*, a Place famous for its Abundance of large and wonderfully artificial Fountains, carefully embellished by Cardinal *Gambara*, he arrived at *Rome*.

De Foix entered the City in the Night by the *Ponte Milvio*, and was conducted from thence, by our Ambassador, to a secret Audience of the Pope: For, after some Days, he had a Publick Hearing; and *De Thou* and the other Gentlemen were admitted to kiss his Holiness's Feet. Here, by a signal Error, *De Foix*'s Cause, which had been determined twelve Years before, was brought again upon the Stage, and referred to a Committee of Cardinals, to the great Prejudice of *De Foix* and the Royal Honour. But it excuses the Error, that the Cardinal *d'Armagnac*, *De Foix*'s near Relation, (whom the Latter had gone from *Lions* to *Avignon* to visit), intended to resign his rich Benefices in Favour of *De Foix*; which at last he also performed. He, being now near eighty Years of Age, insisted, that his Kinsman should make an End of his Business at *Rome*; and *De Foix* was deceived by those, who secretly wished him no Good, into an Assurance, that, if he committed the Matter to the Pope, the Cause would shortly be brought to a Conclusion. Thus the Goodman was led into a Mistake, out of which he could hardly extricate himself in the Course of ten Years. Here I am of Opinion, that a memorable Thing, noted by *De Thou* in his private Memoirs, and, because he was not sure of the Year in which it happened, omitted by him in the Books of his History, ought by no Means to be suppressed. He said, that *De Foix*, having been unworthily treated at that Court, in the Prosecution of his Suit, and fatigued with paying Court to the Cardinals, one Day after Dinner went to *Prosper di Santa Croce*; and, because he now appeared to be following his own Concerns, not the King's, which turned to his Discredit, he asked the Cardinal, (who was a hearty Friend to the King, and also to the French Name), how he might, with Honour, and the Pope's good Leave, disentangle himself from that perplexed Affair. This Man, having executed the Office of Papal Legate to our Court, in the beginning of the Civil Wars, had, by the Queen's Recommendation, been chosen into the College of Cardinals; and, being let into the Secrets of the Realm, had managed Matters between the Pope and the Queen, with singular Fidelity and Prudence, as appears even from the Commentaries of the illustrious *Lewis Gonzaga Duke de Nevers*, Embassadour to *Sixtus V.* As therefore he retained the same Affection, and besides knew *Paul* to be a Favourite of the Queen, to whom he chiefly owed the Increase of his Honour and Fortunes; he takes *De Foix* aside into a Grotto within the Palace, (for the Heats this Year were now very intense in the beginning of *May*), together with *De Thou*, whom, because he had cultivated a Friendship with his Father, whilst he was in *France*, he would have to be admitted into the Secret. There, after a long Preamble of his Respect and sincere Attachment to the King and Queen, and his singular Kindness to *De Foix*, to whose Virtue and Merits he paid a due Regard; "You compel me, says he, illustrious Sir, in Your Favour to disclose, what is covered with a reverential Silence at Our Court; whose Temper it is, when Opportunity offers, and it may be done with Impunity, to use extreme Severity towards Foreigners; and, if any Person of Quality submits his Cause to their Cognizance, they delight in suspending it by a long Circle of Delays; whilst the Report all the Time makes a Noise in Foreign Countries, and the Terror of our Name is spread throughout the whole World: Which Severity has its Effect, as long as Weakness or Religious Fear makes People submit to it. For if there happens a Prince, who is under neither

" of

“ of these Restraints, then they cautiously, and with the utmost Dissimulation, de-
 “ part from that Severity. For the Majesty of this Court subsists chiefly by Com-
 “ mon Opinion and the Patience of Mankind; and, as the cunning *Florentine* said,
 “ is supported by those Acts, which prove ruinous to other Empires. Let this be
 “ said in Your Ear: But, from whom You have been so informed, My Candour
 “ and Your Honour, and the early Prudence of this young Man here present, re-
 “ quire, that it should be known to Nobody. For, indeed, I am heartily grieved,
 “ that My Advice was not asked at the beginning: For then, You might have
 “ prevented by Precaution, what can now be hardly amended by Repentance.
 “ However I will speak out, and instruct You by a late Instance, and that not a Foreign
 “ but Domestick One. You knew *Galeazzo Sanseverino* Count *di Cajazzo*, who, I
 “ hear, is just dead in Your Country. He flourished in the Favour of the most
 “ Christian King, and was preferred to *Adrian Baglioni*, the Brother of That *Astor*,
 “ who lately perished at *Famagosta* in *Cyprus*; deceased likewise in this City within
 “ these few Days. *Galeazzo* had been a Colonel of the Light-Horse in the last
 “ Wars; which having been composed about four Years since, out of a Desire of
 “ seeing his Friends, and transporting the small Effects, which he had in the Coun-
 “ try on This side the *Po*, into *France*, he came to *Bologna*; where, either through
 “ the Envy of some Persons, or the Information of Those, whose Interest it was,
 “ that he should not recover his Estate, which they had usurped in his Absence, or
 “ out of Hatred to the Sect, which he was said to profess, he was seized by the
 “ Holy Office, and immediately conveyed to *Rome*: The News of This is said
 “ to have been received with Indignation by the most Christian King; who pre-
 “ sently sent to *Rome* the Chevalier *Saint-goart*, a noted Gentleman amongst You,
 “ who, as I am informed, is now Embassador to the Catholick King; and by
 “ Him reclaim’d his Vassal and Dependant, upon whom accordingly no other Person
 “ had a Right to animadvert; with full Powers over and above, that by one way or
 “ other he should bring *Galeazzo* back with him. As soon as *Saint-goart* came
 “ into the City, and at an Audience had communicated his Instructions; the Pope,
 “ who to the usual Strictness of the Court had superadded a peculiar Harshness of
 “ Temper in these Cases, declared himself astonished, that the Most Christian King
 “ should appear in the Behalf of a Sectary, whom he should rejoice to see hurried
 “ to Punishment; nevertheless, because he observed him to interest himself so ear-
 “ nestly for an obnoxious Man, he would take mature Advice about it, and show
 “ what Regard he paid to the King’s Requests. Thus *Saint-goart* was at first dis-
 “ missed; who after a few Days, being again admitted to a Hearing, and seeing the
 “ Matter delayed Day after Day, and referred to a Congregation of Cardinals, ex-
 “ pressed his Concern, that, in Opposition to the Severity of the Consistory, he
 “ was obliged to execute a Commission of equal Severity, which, if Satisfaction
 “ were not given in three Days, by the Delivery of his Officer, he was bound to
 “ produce: That he gave the Pope Notice of it, that within the before-mentioned
 “ Time he might determine in his Prudence, whether it would not be more con-
 “ ducive to his own Honour, and That of the Holy See, which the Pope always
 “ pretended in his Answers, to gratify a Prince so well deserving of the Church,
 “ than to alienate him entirely by an unjust Repulse: For, that the King could
 “ not any longer neglect the Danger of his Vassal imploring his Protection, and
 “ looked upon his injurious Imprisonment, as an Affront purposely offered to himself.
 “ The Pope should consider therefore, and weigh maturely with himself, what was
 “ most for his own and the Christian King’s Honour; for That after three Days
 “ he should appear again without demanding an Audience. The three Days being
 “ past, when the same Answer was returned by the Pope, a Man of the most
 “ punctual Austerity, and *Saint-goart* saw his Petition eluded by a new Delay; he
 “ declared, that, since he had staid in the City near fifteen Days, he was forbidden to
 “ wait any longer; he had only been empowered to procure a satisfactory Answer
 “ to the King within that Time; which if he could not obtain, the King had com-
 “ manded him (what he had hitherto forbore to do) to tell the Pope, that he was
 “ resolved to recall the Embassador, that he had at *Rome*, (*viz. Charles d’Angennes*
 “ Bishop of *Mans*, afterwards created a Cardinal), and that he himself was en-
 “ joined to bring him back with him: That, if any other more important Affairs
 “ should happen, the King would send new Embassadors; in the mean time, for
 “ the Dispatch of the ordinary Concerns at that Court, he would employ the
 “ Bankers and Apostolick Agents: That, after this Declaration, without waiting
 “ any other Answer, he should immediately warn the Embassador, whom he had
 “ already prepared, in the King’s Name, to follow him within two Days. These
 “ Words when *Saint-goart* had pronounced, with a Presence of Mind natural to
 “ himself, and with the Freedom of a *Frenchman*; and, by the same Conduct,
 “ Vol. II. d “ that

“ that *Popilius Lenas* is recorded to have used upon presenting a Decree of the
 “ Senate to *Antiochus*, had drawn, as it were, a Circle about the Pope, and left
 “ him to choose, whether he would have the King's Friendship or not: The im-
 “ perious, and no less morose Old Man, flew into a wonderful Passion, and yet dis-
 “ missed *Saint-goart* with This Answer, that he would think more of the Matter,
 “ and give the King Satisfaction. As soon as he was gone, the Pope began to make
 “ loud Exclamations, to implore the Faith and Assistance of God and Men; to
 “ roll his Eyes, and fling about his Arms; that Religion was lost; Violence was
 “ offered to the Liberty of the Church; a Boy, who assumed the Titles of the
 “ Most Christian King, thro' the Instigation of Evil Counsellors, undertook the Pro-
 “ tection of Sectaries; and, what he esteemed the last Indignity, had sent a Drunkard
 “ to him, who with a desperate Boldness had presumed to set Rules to Him, and
 “ to the Sacred Senate of the Universal Church, assembled under his Authority at
 “ Rome. After these and the like Complaints, the Business being forthwith com-
 “ municated to some trusty Cardinals, and chiefly Them, who were to take Cog-
 “ nizance of the Cause; when it appeared, that *Saint-goart* was in Earnest, and
 “ would in Fact execute what he had threatened in Words; it seemed expedient,
 “ that, without interposing any Delay, and before the Matter was divulged by
 “ the contending Parties, *Cajazzo* should be put into *Saint-goart's* Hands, in order
 “ to be carried back into France; and that the latter should be secretly admonished
 “ to take care, that his Instructions, which tended more to give Publick Offence,
 “ than to do Honour to the King, were not noised Abroad; but that he should be
 “ content, that he had gained his Wish, and procured from the Pope a Gratifica-
 “ tion of the King's Desire. But, because *Pius* in his Passion had called *Saint-goart*
 “ a Drunkard, it gave a Handle for enquiring into the Manners of this temperate
 “ Man; and it was found, that he not only abstained altogether from Wine, but
 “ that he hardly drank three Glasses of Water in a Year. This, if I had been at first
 “ taken into the Counsel, I should freely have advised, in Consideration of Your
 “ Dignity, and our Common Friendship. But Now, since the Matter is not entire,
 “ through the Craft of Those, who have drawn You into this tedious Course,
 “ You have nothing to do, but to think of departing from hence as handsomely as
 “ You can by the first Opportunity. For all longer Stay in this Place will be, not
 “ only unserviceable, but detrimental to Your Reputation, and to the Honour of the
 “ Royal Name. But as soon as You are returned to Your Friends, be sure to make
 “ Use of the Royal Authority, which, in a far different Case, and under another
 “ sort of a Pope, succeeded so well; for if That will not do Your Business, it will
 “ be in vain to expect it from Salutations and Cajolling, without suffering the Loss
 “ of much precious Time”. This Discourse being finished, *Santa-croce* intreated
 “ *De Foix*, that he would remember the Admonitions, but forget the Monitor. Whilst
 “ the Cause was canvassed amongst the Cardinals, *D'Offat*, who attended *De Foix* in his
 “ Studies, first turned his Head, upon this Occasion, from Letters to Business; and
 “ had in a very clear Order cast the Merits of the Cause into a Brief, Copies of
 “ which were delivered to the Cardinals; and even Then the more skilful Judges
 “ passed a Conjecture, that, if he made any longer Stay in that Court, he would both
 “ gain a considerable Esteem, and pave the Way for the highest Honours; which
 “ also fell out accordingly.

Some time before, with *De Foix's* Leave, *De Thou* made an Excursion to Naples
 about the End of February, at which time the Spring was very forward in those
 Parts; and, by the way of *Vulturni*, *Terracina*, and *Fondi*, where the Kingdom begins,
 through a dusty Cavern, such as is described by *Seneca*, cut out of the Mountain
Pausilippo, he reached the City; where he saw *John-Baptist della Porta*, known by
 his Performances in the abstruse Parts of Natural History, to which he afterwards
 made large Additions: From thence he made a Sally as far as *Salerno* and *Sorrento*,
 admiring in both Places the Delicousness of the Climate and Soil, and to *Mergolino*,
 a Place distinguished by the Tombs of *Virgil* and *Sannazario*, and by a fine Prospect
 of the Sea: Then he viewed *Pozzuolo* and the remarkable Places thereabouts, from
 whence he returned in haste to Rome, so fatigued and emaciated by the Incon-
 veniencies of the Inns upon the Road, that he seemed not come off from a Journey,
 but just recovered from a long and severe Illness. The Domestick Studies were not
 in the mean time intermitted; and *D'Offat* himself, in the Afternoon, during those
 Hours, read the *Sphere* of *Alexander Piccolomini* to the Gentlemen of the Retinue;
 and by Turns *He* and *De Foix* (for that was the Custom) interpreted. *De Thou*,
 who was one of their chief Hearers, during his six Months Abode in the City,
 according to his usual Practice, and his natural Love of Letters, diligently culti-
 vated the Friendship of Learned Men; and especially of *Mark-Antony Mureto*;
 whose Judgment he had remembred to be so highly esteemed by *Joseph Scaliger*,
 that,

that, as much Regard as *Mureto* used to pay to His Father, so much He paid to *Mureto*. Therefore all the Time, that he could steal from his constant Attendance upon *De Foix*, he employed in resorting to *Mureto*, and carefully asked his Opinion of the Learned Men, who were then in the City. From Him he learnt the misfortune of *Scipio Tettio* a *Neapolitan*, an universal Scholar, as He reputed him; who, being accused of entertaining erroneous Notions of the Deity, had been condemned to the Gallies, and of whom it was then uncertain, whether he was living or dead. He lamented also the Fate of *Aonius Palearius* of *Verulo*, and *Nicolas Francus* of *Benevento*, of whom, the former, for his too great Simplicity in Religion, (so he expressed it) had been condemned to the Flames; the other, for his Freedom of Speech, not at all suited to the Air of *Rome*, had been sentenced to the Gallows under *Pius V.* At *Araceli* (so the Church of the *Franciscans* above the Palace of *St. Mark*, whither the Pope was then accustomed to retire during the Heats, is called) *De Foix* had his Quarters assigned. Here *Mureto* often came, and carried *De Thou* several times to see *Paul Manucci* then sick in bed. In the City he also visited *Latino Latini*, *Lawrence Gambarà*, and, the most familiarly of All next to *Mureto*, *Fulvio Ursini*, who dwelt in the *Farnesian* Palace. *Ottaviano Pantagato*, whose Erudition is highly celebrated, had now departed to a better Life; and his worthy Scholar *Onufrio Panvini*, whom *Scaliger*, when he was at *Rome* was exceedingly fond of, for his rare Skill in all the parts of *Roman* Antiquity Sacred and Prophane, and for the sake of his Country, had lately died at *Palermo* in *Sicily*.

Whilst *De Foix* was still at *Rome*, in vain labouring to bring his ill-commenced Suit to an Issue, he was overwhelmed with the sad News of King *Charles's* Death; which melancholy Accident furnished him however with an honourable Pretence for departing: For, the Cardinal *Philip Buoncompagno* being sent by his Uncle *Gregory*, in quality of Legate, to salute the New King, who returning suddenly out of *Poland*, was said to be upon the Borders of the *Venetian* State; *De Foix*, taking leave of the Pope, soon followed him; and, by the way of *Orvieto*, *Terni*, *Narni*, *Forli*, *Spoletto* and *Urbino*, leaving *Pesaro* on the right hand, and crossing the famous Rivulet of *Rubicon*, arrived by Relays of Horses at *Rimini*, with his whole Company. Whilst *De Foix* staid at *Urbino*, and was waiting upon the Duke, *De Thou* had only the Leisure of a few Hours, for viewing the noble Palace, and making an hasty visit to the Library, kept in it, which was opened to him by the kindness of *Frederick Commendone*; though he was more fond of seeing *Commendone* himself, than the Library, of which he only surveyed the Shell. Hiring a Vessel at *Rimini*, they fell down, with the help of a brisk Gale, to *Ravenna*: There *De Thou* saw *Jerom Rosso*, an elegant Writer of the Antiquities of his native City, which he illustrated very much in a second Edition, and in that last Antiquity seemed desirous of equalling *Sigonio*. From thence *De Foix*, in the same Bark, reached *Venice*, before the Pope's Legate, who, by a different Rout, though with Relays of Horses, was travelling thither, had arrived. Taking *Arnold du Ferrier* into the Company at *Venice*, he went forwards through *Friuli* to *Dalmatia*, where they both together met and saluted the New King. With him was *Pybrac*, just escaped from an imminent Danger, which furnished matter for a good deal of Talk, and *Pomponne Bellievre*. From thence they returned to *Venice*; the Transactions at which place, and during the King's whole Journey through *Italy*, are recorded in the Books of the History. In the mean time *De Thou* searched the Shops of the *Venetian* Bookellers, buying thence a great number of Books, especially *Greek*, which were more rare amongst Us; with which he very much enriched the Collection already begun. At his departure, when he desired a Pass from *Du Ferrier*, he was dismissed by that excellent and wise Old Man, with extraordinary Marks of Affection, agreeably to that Friendship, which he had shewn to his Father ever since the time of the *Mercurial* Convention; and because *Du Ferrier* knew him to be designed for Holy Orders, as is commonly practised in Families of many Children, he moreover advised him, that, in choosing his Station of Life, he should weigh his own Strength; that he might seem rather to have bent his Thoughts upon God's Glory and the Celestial Treasures, than upon those Riches, which the Moth corrupts: For that otherwise he would find, that those ample Revenues, which most people now-a-days abuse to the gratification of their Appetites, were not Benefices, as they are commonly called, but Curses; to his own great Dishonour, and the Loss of Eternal Life. Which Words even at That time descended deeply into his Heart, and had a considerable Influence upon him afterwards in directing him what Course of Life he should choose. From *Venice* the King went with the whole Court to *Ferrara*; from whence *De Foix* was sent to *Rome*, to return thanks to the Pope for deputing such a splendid Embassy to him. He was accompanied by *De Thou*; and, passing through *Bologna*, proceeded to *Florence*; where he was met by Duke *Francis* in Mourning; for *Cosmo* had

had died some months before; the less regretted, because, through the frequent Returns of an Epilepsy, he had ceased to live for a long time before his Death. There *De Thou* (remembering that *Mureto* longed for the sight of *Zosimus*, who abridged the History of *Eunapius*; and, because he could not see the Copy, which was kept in the Vatican Library, had entertained hopes, that he might obtain the Florentine Copy by *De Foix's* means) reminded *De Foix*, that he would beg the Use of it of *Francis* for some months. The Request at first was granted, but afterwards it appeared, that, as at *Rome*, so at *Florence*, the reading of that Book had been prohibited in the time of *Pius V.* The Hatred, conceived against *Zosimus*, whilst the Superstition of the Fanatical Heathens flourished, because of his Enmity to the Christian Name, and certain Reflections upon *Constantine* and *Theodosius*, remaining still fresh, after so many Ages, in the Mind of that Pious Old Father; insomuch that the same Apprehensions, which in *Euagrius's* time had seized the yet unsettled Christians, even now possessed Him, after the Abolition of the Gentile Errors, and the Universal Establishment of Christianity. Through *Siena* they advanced to *Rome*, the Sky seeming all in a blaze, through the burning of the Stubble after the Harvest, in the whole *Campagna di Roma*. There *De Thou* excused *De Foix* to *Mureto* concerning *Zosimus*, and promised, that, as soon as he was returned into *France*, if any Copy of *Zosimus* were extant either with Us or in *Germany*, he would endeavour to procure him Satisfaction: Which he also diligently laboured, but perhaps too late, as will appear in the Sequel. After a Stay of some days, *De Foix* having discharged his Message, returned towards the King, and, when he came to *Siena*, leaving *Florence* on the right hand, turned aside to *Lucca*; and, being there affectionately entertained as before, descended from thence through *Pisa*, *Pistoia*, and *Pietra-Santa* into the *Genoese* Territories; went to *Genoa* the Capital of the Province, and, having viewed the City, pursued his journey immediately to *Turin*, where the King had already arrived. Here the whole Train was ordered, because of the Straightness of the Inns in the Passage of the *Alpes*, to go to *Lions*, that they might not embarrass one another by their Numbers, and be troublesome to the King. *De Thou*, meeting with his Elder Brother *John*, a Master of the Requests, staid there for some time, 'till people were accustomed to the new Face of things at Court. At this juncture, whilst the King was actually entering the Realm, it was debated, whether War should be made upon the Protestants or not: In this Consultation *De Foix* was paired with *Villequier*, when the thing had already been determined in secret; upon which account, *De Thou* used to say, that he saw *De Foix* bitterly complaining with Sighs, and foretelling, that they would soon repent of that rash and pernicious Counsel. As at *Venice*, so at *Lions*, *De Thou* bought up a large number of Books, of *John de Tournes* and *William Rouille*; which latter person was even Then hard at work in publishing his Herbal, with the help of *James Dalechamps*, and the *Salamanca* Bible according to the *Spanish* Corrections. *John*, wanting to go home, after a month's time, went with his Brother to *De Foix*; and, thanking him as well in his Father's Name as his Own, desired leave to carry back his Brother to their Common Parent. Which Favour was at length obtained from this humane Gentleman; though he was not very willing to dismiss a Person, with whose agreeable Conversation he declared himself so well pleased, before he had reached *Paris* with the whole Court; but, because, the War being determined, the King was coming down to *Provence*, he would not any longer delay the Satisfaction of the Father; whom accordingly the two Brothers having found enjoying the Vacation, at his Country-House of *Cely* in the *Gastinois*, during the Autumnal Vintage, with his beloved Wife, were received by him with great Affection.

De Thou, being returned out of *Italy*, kept himself close at home, in order to prosecute his Studies, and spent four whole Years in the reading of Books: But yet he did not improve so much by his private Study, as by the Conversation and Acquaintance of Learned Men: The Chief of this sort, were the Brothers *Peter* and *Francis Pitbou*, *Anthony l'Oysel*, *James Houllier*, a worthy Son of the Great *Houllier*, and *Claude du Puy*; which last Person, having been chosen into the Parliament about that time, married *De Thou's* near Relation, *Claude Sanguin*; and by that Band, They, whom an Esteem of each other's Learning and Virtue had already brought together, were afterwards more strictly united. But his most intimate and lasting Friendship was maintained with *Nicolas le Fevre*, in whom Prudence and Piety, Learning and Morals, Gravity and Cheerfulness strove for the Mastery; and of whom more will be said hereafter. Thus ended this year.

A. D. 1573. In the next, the Troubles of *Provence* and *Languedoc* being in a tolerable manner composed, after the Cardinal of *Lorraine's* Decease, the King, having now resolved upon marrying the Lady, whom he had all along desired, went through the Dutchy of *Burgundy* into *Champagne*, and was inaugurated at *Rheims*, and the next day espoused

Lovise

Louise of Lorraine the Daughter of *Nicolas Count de Vaudemont*; upon which occasion the First President *Christopher de Thou* with his Sons *John* and *James* repaired thither. About the Close of this Year, *Francis* the King's Brother, and the King of *Navarre* retired from Court to different parts; and upon their Departure new Troubles began to arise in the Kingdom. The Queen Mother, in order to bring back her Son, had advanced as far as *Loches* in the *Touraine*, whither she had also carried with her the Marshalls *Francis de Montmorency* and *Arthur de Coë* lately discharged out of Prison, that they might serve as a sort of Mediators for re-establishing the Friendship of the Brothers; which part the former, whose Influence was very considerable, entirely laying aside the Sense of past Injuries, executed with perfect Honour. Some Persons were said to be contriving Disturbances at Court; for the prevention whereof, *De Thou* was sent with secret Orders to induce *Montmorency* to interpose his Good Offices, and brought it about, that the Plots for this time miscarried. Then followed the Edict, which upon the sudden renewal of the War was revoked.

A. D.
1576.

In the same Year, an opportunity offering itself, *De Thou* viewed the greater part of the *Netherlands*, and wanted but little of passing over into *Britain*. During the Recess of the Parliament he had withdrawn into the *Pais de Beauvaisis*, whither his Cousin-german *Christopher*, the Great Master, as he was called, of the Woods and Rivers in the Isle of *France*, had also retired with *John de Longueil de Maisons* their Kinsman. From hence, by Agreement, they went to *Abbeville*, and so to *Boulogne* and *Calais*, being entertained by the Governours in both places. From thence, along the *Washes*, crossing the *Aa*, which is the Limit of the *French* and *Spanish Netherlands*, they proceeded to *Graveling*; and, leaving *Bourbourg* to the Right, to *Dunkirk*, a City that had been burnt in the last Wars, and was just then beautifully rebuilt, which, as well as *Graveling* and *Bourbourg*, is the Inheritance of the *Luxembourg* Family, and by Succession came to the King of *Navarre* as the next Heir. Here they lodged all night, and the next day went to *Newport*, a Town situated near the Sea-Banks, and adorned with very fine Buildings, as most of the Towns are in that Quarter. The Discontents were now beginning to rise in the *Netherlands*, because of the Insolence of the *Spanish* Veterans, which was intolerable to their own Officers, and much more to the Inhabitants: All places were accordingly full of Arms; and the *French*, passing up and down in great Bodies, at an unreasonable time, as They thought, had afforded a Suspicion, that they were come upon the Noise of an Insurrection. The Travellers therefore, as they were going to *Audenard*, were stopped by the Soldiers, and in the morning conducted under a Guard to *Bruges*, but without Injury. There, in the Council-Chamber *du Franc*, which is the chief Magistracy of that City, being separately examined, when it appeared, that they were only Young Men, who had come into those parts with an intention of travelling, they were told by *Francis Nancy* the Commandant, that they might freely view the City, but it would be wisely done, if they returned as soon as might be to their own Country. Thus they were frankly dismissed; and the courteous Gentleman asked *De Thou* very earnestly after *Messieurs De Pitbou* and *Du Puy*, and was again asked by *De Thou*, after *Hubert Goltz*, a Native of *Franconia*, who had fixed his habitation in that City, and then happened to be absent. Here *De Thou* admired the Grandeur of the Buildings, which might be termed so many Castles and Palaces, as also the frequent Canals joined by so many Stone Bridges (from which the City receives its Name), and equal to the number of the Streets. But it was now but indifferently peopled; out of a secret Apprehension which the Citizens had, as it was thought, of Vengeance still unpaid, and softly creeping upon them, for the Injury done about an hundred Years ago to the Emperor *Maximilian*: For the Commerce, with great Immunities, had already been transferred to *Antwerp*; whereby the New City increased, whilst the former Concourse of Merchants at *Bruges* dwindled away by degrees, and removed into *Brabant*. From *Bruges* they passed to *Ghent*, a City noted for its Domestic Tumults, fatal at last to itself; the ancient Greatness of which Place may be estimated, by the Condition, to which it is now reduced. Then, crossing the *Scheld*, they went to *Antwerp*, a City commodiously situated and finely built, and still, even since the imposition of a Citadel, exceedingly wealthy. The Governour was *Frederick Perrenot de Champigni*, to whom the *French* Gentlemen were carried, and *De Thou* spoke for his Companions, excusing the unseasonableness of their travelling by the Love of Sights natural to Young Men. Liberty being allowed, they rambled separately up and down the City; and *De Thou* made a visit to *Christopher Plantin*, in whose House, though his Business was now fallen off, there were still seventeen Presses going: From Him he learned something of the State of the Provinces; that things were reduced to such a pass, that, unless the States prevented it, they should be entirely ruined by the *Spaniards*. After a Stay of some days,

when the Scheme, first laid for advancing farther and passing into *Holand*, was interrupted by the Troubles, they thought of returning home; and went first to *Mecklen*, then to *Louvain*, where the number of stately Schools and Colleges, as they are commonly called, is wonderful, and the City itself seemed no ways inferior to *Padua* in the *Venetian* Territories so renowned for its University and Schools. They viewed also the adjoining Convent of the *Celestins*, a noble Structure, built by *William de Croy* Seigneur de *Chevres*, the Wife Tutor of *Charles* the Fifth, and designed as a Place of Sepulture for himself and his Posterity. From *Louvain* they passed to *Brussels*, the very Day after that the States, entering into a Conspiracy under the Direction of *William de Horne de Hesè*, had imprisoned the *Alteffors* of the Royal Council, who were charged with favouring the *Spaniards*. Things were there in a strange Confusion. *De Thou* therefore, having staid a few Days, viewed the City, Court, and the vast Number of Palaces, built by the Lords of the Provinces in the Form of a Circle on the highest Part of the City, and saluted *Ulrick de Viglius Zwickem*, who dwelt in the Neighbourhood, (for this he was allowed to do by the File of Soldiers which attended him), and had likewise held a Conversation with *Claude Mondoucet*, the King's Agent at that Court, departed; and, through a Town, which takes its Name from the blessed Virgin of *Halle*, arrived at *Mons* in *Hainault*, where the Remembrance was still fresh of the taking the City by *John Chaumont Guitry*. From hence he went to *Valenciennes*, and, without entering the City, because of the Commotions, came with his Company to *Cambray*, about seven Leagues distant from *Our Peronne*. Here ended the *Flemish* Expedition.

A. D.
1577.
At Home the Commotions were no less Formidable; which, through an unreasonable Attention to turbulent Counsels, having been rashly kindled, were afterwards, in the following Year, when the King upon better Advice came to relent, extinguished by the issuing of a new Edict. Whilst the King was at *Poitiers*, he frequently dispatched *John de Thou*, *James's* Brother, a Man of great Spirit and Strength, to the Parliament and his Father *Christopher* at *Paris*, by Post-Horses, in the Summer-Season, which was very hot that Year; and He, relying on his Strength, the last time travelled from *Poitiers* to *Longjumeau* in four and twenty Hours; by which Action he did such Violence to Nature, that it could never be restored. He begun to be seized with a slow Fever; then, falling into a sad and tedious Indisposition, he quite sunk under it; and before he died, during his Sickness, lost most of his Sons almost Infants; so that his numerous Offspring was reduced to one Male, which is now alive, and three Daughters. This Misfortune deeply afflicted *De Thou*; who saw his dearest Brother continually declining, and considered the Family as in a manner extinguished by his Death. He gave a daily Attendance at his House, almost killed with Sorrow, with *Renee Baillet*, a Woman of exemplary Manners, who inconsolably lamented her Husband even before his Decease. *John* lay sick nineteen Months; in which Space of Time *De Thou* was chosen into the honourable Body of the Parliament, in the Room of *John de La Garde de Seigne*, a most worthy Counsellor of the Ecclesiastical Order; during whose Illness, *De Thou* never poured out more ardent Prayers for any Man's Recovery, than for His; because he knew that *La Garde's* Place was designed by the King, through his Father's Recommendation, for Himself; and, being a modest Man, and a Lover of honourable Leisure, he was unwilling to abandon his Learned Studies, which he assiduously followed, and to pass from thence to far different Studies, and a Life of Hurry: For in his whole Conduct he made it appear, that he did not so much decline the Honours, to which he was born, as he trembled at the first Entrance upon them, and started back, as if he had been admonished to the contrary by a Sort of *Socratick* Dæmon; because indeed he feared, lest he should prove unworthy of them, and frustrate the Expectation conceived of him; and was otherwise desirous to trust his Hopes and Fears, himself and all his Concerns to the Providence of God, and, for whatever might happen to himself, resting secure, to follow His Guidance. For otherwise, no Person was more solicitous for the publick Welfare, even in his earliest Youth, when he lived in a private Station; no one more anxious in the remaining Part of his Life; insomuch that, whilst he bore Domestic Misfortunes with the utmost Patience, he was immoderately, and often to the great Detriment of his Health, afflicted with his Country's Calamities, which he generally, with very few Mistakes, foreboded, before they came to pass; and is even now afflicted with the same, notwithstanding the Rebukes of his Friends upon that Account. Upon the Death therefore of *La Garde*, and the Receipt of the Patent, which was first sealed by *Philip Hurault de Chiverny*, his Brother-in-law, lately created Vice-Chancellor; that he might please his Father, and not seem, if he refused it, to be wanting to himself and his Family, he submitted to an Examination; to which he

he went pale and trembling, and not according to the general Behaviour of Others, who approach that tremendous Place with a Brazen Forehead, and a *Stentorean* Voice. *Peter Segnier* presided over the Examination; after him sat *Bernard Prevost de Morfan*, and *Pompoune Believre* lately made President in the Room of *René Baillet*, and who afterwards arose to the highest Dignities. For two Hours he was examined upon the Subject of the Law, before a full House, as the Custom is; and amongst others, *Philip du Puy de S. Valerien* (Uncle of that *Florimond de Vatan*, who afterwards perished by an unworthy Death), one of the ablest Masters in Both Laws, maintained a warm Dispute with him. At length, an Arret of Parliament being passed, after he had taken the Oath, he was conducted, as usually, by *Pompoune*, to the First Class of the Inquests. As he followed, a prophetic Speech fell from the Mouth of his Conductor, that the time would come, when *De Thou* would follow him into higher Preferment; which He, nevertheless, agreeably to his Modesty, and because he was designed for Holy Orders, for that time slighted. In the Office itself he behaved himself in such a Manner, that he commonly heard with Attention, spoke sparingly, treated the Presidents with Veneration, his Colleagues with the Honour due to Equals; paid extraordinary Regard to the Aged, and cultivated a frank and generous Friendship with the Younger Sort. Amongst these, he lived very familiarly with *Jerom d'Angenout*, a Counsellor of the ancient Stamp, whose Parts were corrected by long Experience, Dean of His own, and consequently of the other Classes, *Adrian du Drac*, *Matthew Jourdain*, and *Nicolas Brulard*, the present Head of the Gown, and *Charles Marillac de Ferrieres*. He abstained for two Years from reporting Processes, and seldom practised it afterwards. In the Delivery of his Opinion, when he sat on the lower Bench, he observed This Rule; that, of the Judgments already delivered, he approved That which seemed to him the most Equitable, naming the Author; without using any more Words, unless something was necessary to be said for a Confirmation of it. At his first Opening, he was ordinarily disordered, as he proceeded he rose by Degrees, and thus, when his Voice was confirmed, pursued the Discourse. That Disorder occasioned Him, (who besides had not a very good Memory), often to forget what he had premeditated, which after the Conclusion of his Sentence, when it was too late, he remembered. For which Defect he found no other Remedy, than to commit his Thoughts to Writing, and to repeat his Judgment as it were out of a Brief. Which Custom he afterwards observed in Causes of the last Importance, not blushing to make an ingenuous Confession of his Infirmary. But at the beginning, when he thought it shameful to do so, he either acceded to the last Speaker, or in a plain Speech delivered his own Opinion, which he often left imperfect; and, though in his Judgment he seldom strayed from the Rule of Truth and Rectitude, yet in Expression, and the Remembrance of premeditated Arguments, he was frequently deficient; and, as a Verse which wants the last Foot, so his Sentence, through the Failure of Memory, discovered a Lameness: When he seemed therefore to others to hit the Nail on the Head, yet, being conscious of many Slips in the Course of his Speech, he never secretly satisfied himself; and would often, in a most familiar Manner, complain of it to his Friends. *John Texier*, Son of That *John*, who formerly taught the Civil Law at *Orleans* with great Reputation, an honest and learned Man, but worn out with Old Age, which in a few Days after carried him off, presided in the Class, wherein *De Thou* had his Seat; and, with him, *Philibert de Diou*, a Counsellor of the Sacred Order, of a noble Family in the *Autunius*, a Man of consummate Integrity and primitive Manners, a fast Friend of *De Thou's* Father, and who, whilst he dwelt in the next House, was constantly entertained by him at Supper. *Texier* was succeeded by *Claude Faucon*, a Person of brisk and lively Parts; and, upon *Diou's* dying shortly after in his native Province, the Presidency was conferred upon *Bon-Broë*, a Counsellor likewise of the Ecclesiastical Order, through the Recommendation of the Queen-Mother, to whom he had done excellent Service at *Rome* and *Florence*, in the Management of her private Concerns; of whom perhaps This transient Addition may not be impertinent. This Man, born at *Tournon* in the *Vivarais*, of reputable Parents, studied Polite Learning, and then the Civil Law, which he imbibed under *Andrew Alciati*, whilst he taught as Professor in Our Country: He afterwards himself professed the same Science at *Thoulouse*, and succeeded his Uncle *Peter de Villars*, upon his Election to the Bishoprick of *Mirepoix*, as Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, in the sixty first Year of this Century; when they had Both lived for a long time in high Favour and Repute, in the Family of the most illustrious Cardinal *de Tournon*, the greatest Patron of learned Men, as has been formerly shewn. To the Knowledge of Both the Laws he had joined a penetrating Judgment, and a sweet and vehement Eloquence, which he had also successfully exercised in the pleading of Causes in the

the *Parisian* Court ; so that, when he afterwards delivered his Opinion as a Judge, he shewed a Courteousness in dissenting from Others, gave no Offence to Any in the refuting of Opinions, tempered the Harshness of the Pontifical Law with a genteel Sweetness ; and all This with so much Grace and Dignity, that he not only drew the Eyes of the Audience upon him, but charmed their very Hearts and Senses ; particularly *De Thou's* ; whom I have often heard to say, that He was the only Person he had seen during his Relation to the Parliament, whose Voice, Aspect, Faculty of Speaking, and whole Mien he was ambitious of imitating. *Faucon* was afterwards succeeded by *Champrond*, a Gentleman of the *Pais Chartrain*, a Person of severe Manners, who, as he nearly approached his Predecessor in Learning, fell as short of him in Politeness. Under these Directors, whilst he was employed in the Discussion of Private Causes in the Class of the Inquests, *De Thou* passed his Time.

END of the First BOOK.



BOOK



BOOK II.



WHEN the long Continuance of his Brother's Illness, had encouraged *A. D.* the Wife to hope, that he might recover, (other Remedies having *1579.* been in vain tried), the Physicians were of Opinion, that Medicinal Waters might prove of Service; Those of *Plombieres* in *Lorraine*, at the Foot of Mount *Vosgue*, were judged the best suited to his Case, and he was accordingly ordered to repair thither in the very beginning of the Spring. *De Thou*, with his Father's Leave, accompanied him in the Journey, and by the Way of *Châlons sur Marne*, went with the Brother and his Wife to *Bar-le-Duc*, and crossing the *Meuse*, and then the *Moselle*, from thence through *Toul* arrived at *Nanci*; where he waited upon the Duke *Charles*, excusing his Brother on the Account of his Illness, and was kindly received by him. From thence passing through *S. Nicolas*, a Place celebrated for the Religious Pilgrimages made thither, its beautiful Buildings, and its Fairs; and through *Remiremont* and *Espinal*, (distinguished by their Nunneries for young Ladies of Quality, who are exempted from the Obligation of a Vow), they proceeded to *Plombieres*, whither great Numbers from the *Netherlands*, the adjoining Parts of *Germany*, and the Neighbouring Provinces, who laboured under various kinds of Indisposition, had already flocked. From hence, whilst his Brother was taking the Waters, having procured a Guide, who understood the *German Tongue*, *De Thou*, climbing Mount *Vosgue*, went through *La Bruiere* to *Schlestadt*, a famous Town, so called from a River of the same Name. From thence he went to *Strasbourg*, a City ennobled by its Antiquity, and defended on the side of *France* with a Triple Moat, and also remarkable for the Structure of the Cathedral Church and the Height of one of the Towers; in the Ascent of which, *De Thou* was exceedingly terrified, the Wind being very high, and the open Windows disclosing an horrid Precipice. There he saw *John Lobel*, whom he had formerly known at *Paris*, when he managed the Concerns of the Imperial Cities at Our Court, a Native of the *Netherlands*, well versed in Learning, and in the Affairs of *Germany*. Being informed by Him, that Our Countryman *Hubert Languet*, who at this time served the Prince of *Orange*, was at *Baden* for the Benefit of the Waters, he took *Lobel's* Letters of Recommendation to him, that he might be known to him and enjoy his familiar Conversation. He saw also *Hubert Giffen*, who taught the Civil Law, and had a Salary appointed him for that Purpose by the illustrious Republick. With him *De Thou* spent a whole Day, in talking of the Learning and Learned Men of *Germany*: For he returned to him immediately after Dinner, and luckily found him unemployed in the Publick Lectures; renewing the delightful Remembrance of That time, which he had spent in the Family of the most Noble *Paul de Foix*. From *Strasbourg* he proceeded to *Baden*, where *De Thou* having found *Languet* at Leisure, stuck so closely to him for three Days, that it was thought he would never leave him. So charmed he was with a Man of his Candour, eminent Probity, and Judgment both in Letters, and publick Negotiations, which he had all his Life-time discharged under different Princes with the most exact Fidelity, and one withal so thoroughly skilled in the Affairs of *Germany*, that he instructed the *Germans* themselves in the Knowledge of their own Country. Remaining constantly with him during that whole Interval, (the Hours excepted that he employed in taking the Waters), as he learnt many Things, so after his Departure, he received from him a Memoir written with his own Hand, which *De Thou* preserves by him to this time; wherein the General State of *Germany*, as it now is, the Rights of the Diet, the Number of the Circles, and the Order of the several Councils is described; together with a Draught of the Route which he was then

to take. Whilst he was at *Baden*, at the Wells, *Languet* shewed to *De Thou*, who was a Stranger to them, *Salentin* Count D' *Yffembourg* standing at an opposite Window with his Wife *Joan de Ligne* the Count D' *Aremberg's* Sister; and then asking him in a jocular Manner, whether, if the Option were given him, he would take such a beautiful Lady in Exchange for the Archbishoprick of *Cologne*, when *De Thou* hesitated, and appeared at a Loss for the Meaning of that Question, *Languet* smiling explained it to him, and told him, that *Salentin*, being lately smitten with the Love of that Woman, in order to gain her for a Wife, had voluntarily renounced that noble Preferment. *Languet* added, that, since the Abolition of Celibacy, the Families of the German Princes and Nobles were sadly distressed; as they were obliged by the Protestant Profession to bestow all their Daughters, with which those poor Lords abound, in Marriage; whereas they formerly dedicated them to a Religious Life, with certain Hopes, that in Time they would become Abbesses of rich Convents. From *Baden* *De Thou* went to *Pfortzheim* upon the *Emz*, a Town belonging to the Marquesses of *Baden*, from whence, by the Way of *Swabia*, *Stutgard* lies distant about a Days Journey; and there he met with an Accident, which, because we are writing daily and Domestick Occurrences, I thought worth the mentioning. *De Thou's* Interpreter had lost the Way, and there remained with him a Gentleman of *Swabia*, who could not talk either *Latin*, *Italian* or *French*. This Person, thinking the Journey too long to be pursued without fresh Horses or baiting, stopped in the Mid-way at the House of a Parson, by whom he signified his Intentions to *De Thou*; who, notwithstanding the seeming Hardship of staying at a vile Place, found himself under a Necessity of complying; after he had persuaded the Parson (who understood *Latin*), to come to Dinner, that by His means he might hold Conversation with the Gentleman, and with the Host at the Inn; and, contrary to his Expectation, it fell out, that he was never upon all the Road more elegantly entertained. This happened on the twenty fifth of *May*, the Festival of *S. Urban* the Pope. On which Day, as he was wondering, that the Peasants in such fine Weather were idle, and was enquiring the Cause; the Pastor, after having exclaimed in virulent Language against the Butchery, as he termed it, of *Paris*, (for he would not say a Word, till his Belly was full) returned This Answer, that, though the antient Superstitions were abolished, there still remained, in the Minds of the Peasants, certain Observations of Days, of which their diligent Monitors could not by any Methods dispossess them; of that sort was the present Holyday in Question: For it has been a fixt Notion, of antient standing, amongst those greedy People, intent upon their Interest, that, if the Sun shines bright upon That Day, the Vintage, in which consists the chief Wealth of the Province, will be plentiful: The same Thing is observed, amongst Us, of *S. Vincent's* Day, which falls upon the Fifth of *April*. *Stutgard* near the *Neckar*, the Capital of the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, and called by that Name from an adjoining Castle, is a City pleasantly situated, and distinguished by a fine Citadel; into which *De Thou* being introduced, in order to salute the Duke *Lewis*, chiefly admired a Consort of excellent Musicians in that Court. From thence he passed to *Essling*, an Imperial City standing likewise upon the *Neckar*: This River rises near the Hills of *Arbona* not far from the Source of the *Danube*; and, watering *Rotweil* and *Tubinghen*, and thence gliding between a Ridge of Hills planted with Vines on each side, runs winding through the Midst of *Swabia*, and, passing by *Heidelberg*, discharges itself at last into the *Rhine*. It is joined by a Bridge at *Essling*, a Town chiefly celebrated for the Muskets made there, and for its Wines. In the Cellars of the Hospital, there is a vast Store of Wine, and Barrels of an immense Size, with others, in a long Row, of less and less Capacity; in which, Wine is preserved for many Years. Out of a Vessel containing forty Firkins, *De Thou* was drank to in Wine forty Years old; and the German Princes drink out of the same, considering it as Physical; and as much as is emptied by Presents out of that large Barrel, is replaced from the next Barrel of somewhat newer Wine. From *Essling*, *De Thou* proceeded to *Geppingen* on the *Vils*, in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, adorned with a Castle of Pleasure, and delightful Gardens, by *Christopher* the Father of the present Duke, and likewise famous for its Medicinal Waters; for the Use of which Duke *Albert* of *Bavaria*, being indisposed, had about the same time arrived. *De Thou*, being introduced to salute him, and having answered his Questions concerning the State of *France*, staid but a little while with him, through the Prevalency of the Distemper, of which, in a short Time, upon his Return home, *Albert* died. From thence having turned towards the *Danube* and *Ulme*, he went back to *Burgau*, of which Town *Languet* had informed him, that it was the only Place of the Archduke *Ferdinand's* vast Territories (which reach from the *Alps* of *Carniola* to Mount *Vosgue* on the Nether Side of the *Rhine*), that was left, by his Brother *Maximilian's* Children, to his Children by *Philippine Volsfer*, who was then living; a notable Instance of the just Respect paid

paid to the Purity of Marriage by the *Germans*, who, it seems, do not suffer the Issue, springing from a Match clandestine, unequal, and not publicly allowed by the Parents, to be reputed Legitimate, or to inherit the Estate of their Ancestors! From thence *De Thou* travelled to *Augsbourg*, one of the first Cities of *Germany*, for its Greatness and the Splendor of the Burghers. He bestowed some days in viewing this Place, particularly the noble Seat of the *Fuggers*, and the Gardens of *Mark Fugger*, in the lower part of the City, watered with artificial Fountains derived by a Wheel from a Rivulet running at the Bottom, and full of Fish-ponds; which, together with a Collection made by him of Gold, Silver and Brass Coins, he viewed with wonderful Pleasure. He saw also *Jerom Wolf*, who has taken such worthy pains in translating *Greek Books*, and illustrating the *Byzantine History*. From thence through *Münichben* he came to *Lindaw*, a Town pleasantly situated upon the Eastern Bank of the *Aeronian Lake* or *Bodensee*, which the River *Rhine*, just as the *Rhône* does by the Lake of *Geneva*, passes through in such a manner, that it is not mingled with it; but their rapid Streams intersect each other, and (what *Homer* says of *Arctifusa*) seem to swim at the Top, like Oyl upon Water. In going round the Lake he was entertained with the most agreeable Sight in the World, the Country rising on each side with a gentle Ascent, through Hills planted with Vineyards, which are beautifully reflected by the Water below. From thence, in a Barge drawn by Horses, he was carried down to *Constance*, standing on the Nether Bank, the Situation of which is very pleasant, if it were only for the Prospect of the Lake. He was here entertained with seeing the Place, where a Council of the Universal Church had been assembled two hundred years ago for the restoring of Concord, and with recollecting the memory of That Time, when Lawful Remedies were sought for the impending Evils, which in those earlier days threatened more fatal Consequences; and he could not help wishing, that the same Charity, which now seems to be banished out of the Minds of Christians, might be revived amongst Us, by the Extirpation of That Fuel of Animosities, which is nourished by Civil Wars, and by the return of That mutual Love, which consists in Peace. From thence through *Stein*, and *Schiesshousen* a principal City of the *Swiss-Cantons*, they travelled by the side of the River; where the *Rhine* (as it does also below at *Lauffenbourg* and *Rhinfelds*) descends with a great Noise through steep Cataracts into its Channel, and at *Basil*, a Town of the ancient *Rauraci*, begins to be navigable. In this City they spent a few days not altogether unprofitably: For *Basil Amerbach*, a Man of singular Humanity, to whom *De Thou* carried Letters of Recommendation from *Francis Pittbou* (as he did also to *Theodore Zuinger*), never departed from his side. In the first place, at his own House he shewed him *D. Erasmus's Library* and Manuscript Common-place-book, as also some antient Coins and other not inconsiderable Moveables left by his last Will to *Vitus, Amerbach's Father*; among the rest a Silver Globe of the Earth, adorned with Carvings and Miniature, the Workmanship of a certain Artificer of *Zurich*; which as he was inspecting with curious Eyes, it was opened in the middle; and, the two parts of it being filled with Wine, a Health was drank to *De Thou* according to the Custom of the Nation. From thence he was conducted to the Publick Library, where several Manuscript Commentaries of *Proclus* and other *Greek Authors* upon *Plato* and *Aristotle* are still preserved. He viewed also the large and pleasant House of *Felix Plater* a Doctor of Physick. This Gentleman received the Stranger in an hospitable manner; and in the Stable shewed him an Elk, an Animal equal in size to a *Thuscan Mule* or one of *Auvergne*, of a shaggy Coat and lurid Colour; whose short Body was supported with very large Legs, and its Hoof split, like a Stag's, but bigger: He shewed him likewise a Mountain-mouse, vulgarly called a *Marmotte*; as big as a large Cat, lying close in a wooden Cage, and almost torpid, having received no Sustenance during the whole Winter. He had also a Cabinet of Fossils, belonging to *Conrad Gesner*, brought from *Zurich*, such as is prefixed and painted at the Head of his Book; in which there was an abundance of Rarities, and of Nature's Sportive Works, with a great Stock of uncommon Insects, which were greedily and at leisure viewed, and by *Amerbach*, a Man thoroughly skilled in these things, explained. *Theodore Zuinger* was also saluted at his House; the chief Ornaments of which consisted in a number of Inscriptions composed by himself with extraordinary Ingenuity. They viewed also the Printing-house of *Peter Perna* of *Lucca*, where the hearty Old Man was strenuously exercising himself in his Typographical Labours. After Thanks returned to *Amerbach* for his courteous Pains, *De Thou* departed from *Basil*, and arrived about the Evening at *Mulhausen*, where its well-frequented Fair was at that time celebrated. Before the Town there lies a spacious Plain, which, surprising the Traveller with a Crowd of Old Men, Young Men and Women, Some straggling up and down, Others falling from their Horses and Asses, and supported, the Husbands by their Wives, and the Mothers by their Daughters, seemed

to represent a Troop of *Bacchanalians* or *Corybantes*. Within the Town, in the Inns, there was nothing but feasting: The young Wenches, who waited at the Table, out of a long-necked Bottle held at a good Distance, would toss the Wine, by a slight, into the empty Glasses, without spilling a Drop; they also encouraged the Guests with merry Jokes to drink, and drank heartily themselves; and, when they had done, would go out into the next Yard to make water, and return immediately to their waiting. This new and jocular Sight lasted until Mid-night; 'till at last a Bed-chamber and a Fire was got ready for *De Thou*, when the Hurry was over, and the Host was at leisure to attend him: Which Delay was patiently to be endured, as well as the rest; and indeed it seemed the less unpleasant, as, in the midst of all their Drinking, Jollity, Noise and Jostling, there was no foul Language or Quarrelling. In the morning, *Colmar* being left to the Right-hand, *De Thou* dined at a Village not far from the Source of the *Moselle*, where were very large and excellent Trouts, which spring with such Force against the Rocks, whilst the Water is low, that they may be taken with the hand. From thence *De Thou* returned to *Plombieres*; where finding his Brother little relieved by the Use of the Waters, he took Measures with the Wife for carrying him home. They returned by *Bourbonne*, the Waters of which Place when the Patient had used for some days, by the Advice of the Physicians, with no better Success, through *Langres* and *Troyes* he was at length brought to *Paris*; where, within few Months, after all sorts of Remedies had been applied by his excellent Wife, a Woman of Courage above her Sex, he died. His End was pious; and, the distinct Use of Speech, which in the Course of his tedious Illness he had almost lost, being recovered, he often sung the 50th Psalm, and at length at That Verse, *Cast me not away from thy Presence and take not thy Holy Spirit from me*, he expired. The Father, who had imparted his Blessing to the dying Son with a perfect and more than Paternal Resolution, for some days abstained from Parliament; and, in order to avoid Company, removed to the House of his Brother *Nicolas* Bishop of *Chartres*, where *De Thou* dwelt. Then, an opportunity being taken, both the Bishop, and *Augustin* the King's Advocate in the Parliament, beset their Brother, and again and again begged him to consider, to how few Persons their Family was reduced, and whether the Scheme, which he had fixed upon for the disposal of his Son *James-Augustus*, would not be better changed. He, for his part, did not dissent; but, being more solicitous about the Publick than Domestick Affairs, easily suffered the Time to run on: *De Thou* himself, whose Concern it was, being now accustomed to the State of Celibacy, and thinking of nothing but Travels and Embassies, without the least Ambition of any other kind, eluded the Admonitions of his Uncles, and left the matter to the Father's Determination. Thus passed the remainder of the Year; which he spent in attending his Brother's Widow, and comforting her by taking part in her violent Grief.

A.D.
1580. The following Year was attended with a fatal Pestilence; on occasion of which *De Thou* retired into the *Touraine*, with *James de Nets* an Advocate in the Parliament, a Man of Parts, and a special Friend to him and his whole Family. The Duke of *Anjou*, the King's Brother, was then either at *Tours*, or at *Plessis* within a Mile of that City, seriously meditating a War in the *Netherlands*. *De Thou*, having Letters to him from his Father, the Duke's Chancellor, and being introduced by *John de Simiers*, his prime Favourite, but who was afterwards disgraced, when he had presented them, was kindly received; and, after some Talk of the Rumours current at Court, dismissed. From thence he went to *Maille Laval* a strong Fortrefs in the *Touraine*, at a small distance, and remained there during the Rage of the Plague, entertaining his Mind with Study and sometimes with Hunting; and, that he might not be ungrateful to the Place of his Reception, at the Instance of *Nicolas Perrot* a Counsellor of primitive Gravity and great Politeness, and one of the Duke's Retinue, he described the Town in a Copy of Iambick Scazons, which were published. But, when his long Stay in the same Place seemed tedious, he travelled through the *Maine* to *Alençon*, *Seez* and *Falaise*, with *De Nets*; and, from thence, under the conduct of *Giles de Normandiere*, *De Nets*'s Brother, to *Caen*, where he lodged in the House of *John de Novince d' Aubigni*, and was received by him with greater Elegance than can be expressed. He viewed the Church of *St. Stephen*, because it was said to command the Castle; the same that was demolished in the first Rage of the Civil War, and where the Sepulchre of *William* Duke of *Normandy* and King of *England* was sacrilegiously violated; though the deformed Ruins of it are now in a tolerable manner repaired. It is a famous Abby, formerly endowed by that *William* with ample Revenues; and in the Hall of it are still seen, in Clay, the Arms of the *French* Knights, who followed him in his Expedition into *Britain*. From thence he went to the Castle; where the Attack, carried on by *Coligny*, whilst the Duke *D'Elboeuf* lay sick in bed, being shewn, some of the By-standers related, that Queen *Catherine*, coming

coming thither not long ago, had said, that the Place might have been defended by Women with their Distaffs, and therefore ought not to have been so soon surrendered, which, whether it had been done through Cowardice or Treachery, was meant as a severe Reflection upon the Governour. Having a deligh to make an Excursion from thence to *Coûtances*, upon the Road he stepped aside to the Abby of *Aunai* in the Diocese of *Auranches*, the Abbot of which was *John Provost* his Fellow-Traveller, the Brother of *Augustin*, a Notary in the Parliament of *Paris*, the Author of many agreeable and elegant *Latin Verses*; and himself no mean Scholar, though frequently offensive by his idle Discourse, and a Vein of Raillery, which spared no body. As his Monks lived in a disorderly manner without Discipline, the Abbot said and did many ridiculous things to them, not without offending the Company; and at last, shewing the decayed Walls of the Building, in order to reproach their Ignorance, he added in the same ridiculous manner, that those Ruins had happened, because None of the Monks could furnish one single *Latin Word* for the Support of them. In the Neighbourhood of *Coûtances*, lived Messieurs *De Sey*, Gentlemen of the Province, related to *De Thou*. For *John de Marle*, Bishop of *Coûtances*, Brother of *Erick* Chancellor of *France*, and slain with him in the same Insurrection, (whose Arms are still to be seen in the Center of an Arch, a very conspicuous place in the Roof of the Church) had bestowed his Sister *Hilaire* in Marriage to one *De Sey* in those parts, from whom the present Gentlemen are descended. After a Stay of three days in That City (which by the way has no Walls) he proceeded to *Granville*, and from thence to *Auranches*, and lay that Night in the Bishop's Palace. The next day he viewed *St. Michael's Mount*, a most famous Abby within the Bounds of the Sea. A Rock hardly accessible on any side, formerly joined, as it is thought, to the Continent, but now separated from it by a Wash of two Leagues in length, is visited by riding over the Flats at Low Water. When you come to the Foot of the Rock, which rises in a Conical Figure, you meet a high Wall carried round the bottom of it; the Gate of which being opened, you ascend immediately, without any intermediate Plain, by Steps cut out of the Stone: On each side there stand Huts, where Rosaries and leaden Images and such sort of Relicks, with which Pilgrims usually furnish themselves, are sold; and there are likewise some Inns for the Entertainment of the Passengers: On the Summit, which ends in a Point, there is a Castle and an Abby, as wide in Compass as the very Basis of the Rock: The whole Structure stands upon Pilasters raised perpendicularly from the said Basis, by which also the heaviest Burdens are drawn up with the help of Pulleys: For, besides the Temple itself, magnificently built, with a very high Tower, in which is to be seen an Image of *Michael* the Archangel, gilt with Gold and glittering in the Rays of the Sun, there are two Porticoes with a Peristyle, one over the other, in arched Work, and Refectories in the same Work, together with a Library, formerly stocked with all sorts of Manuscripts, Cellars, Cisterns, the Abbots own house with an open Gallery, and all things at the Top in such Extent, that, as soon as you set your Foot there, you may fancy yourself walking in a Plain Field. There is also a handsome Garden of imported Earth, descending towards the West and South, and adjoining to the Governour's House; which, although all that Tract is extremely cold, produces excellent Melons. At such vast Expence, was this Edifice, one of the Wonders of the Realm and indeed of all *Europe*, formerly raised, in a solitary Place, inaccessible to Ships and far removed from all Commerce or Company, and very hardly to be approached, when it is washed by the Sea, even in small Boats: All which Difficulties or Defects the Religion of antient times partly overcame, partly supplied: Which Observation, transiently made, may not perhaps seem altogether impertinent. From thence, through *Saint-James* and *Fougères-Villettes*, Towns of *Armorica* or the *Nether Bretagne*, *De Thou* came to *S. Aubin du Cormier*, a Place famous for the Battle fought between the Royalists, commanded in chief by *Lewis de la Trimouille*, and the Army of *Lewis Duke of Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange*, in which the latter were also taken Prisoners, about ninety two Years ago. At length he proceeded to *Rennes* the Capital of the Province, where at this day the Half-yearly Parliament sits, whereas it used to sit at *Nantes*, where the Dukes, in a noble Castle, which they had built, resided. From thence through *Vitré*, *Laval*, *Château-gontier*, *Angers* and *Saumur*, *De Thou* returned to the *Touraine* and into the Castle of *Maille*, where he received Letters from his Father, in which he was commanded to treat with the Marshall *Arthur de Cossé* about some secret Affairs. The Latter had already advanced as far as *Poitiers*, that he might follow the Duke of *Anjou*, who was gone to make up matters with the King of *Navarre*. *De Thou* therefore, with his trusty Friend *De Nets*, set forwards on Post-horses, and run a great hazard, being intercepted by a Party of Armed Men, who, as the War was in a manner already declared, were flying about the Country; but he was soon after known and

dismissed. Having found the Marshall at *Poitiers*, before he had gone farther, *De Thou* executed his Father's Orders with him, and upon the same Subject waited upon *Pomponne de Bilievre*, who also had repaired thither at the King's Command. He afterwards returned to *Maillé*, where he received a Visit from *Nicolas Perrot*, who in the Duke of *Anjou's* absence had staid behind at *Tours*; and taking a generous Resolution together, contrary to the Practice of experienced Courtiers, they proceeded to *Bourgueuil*, one of the most celebrated Places in the Kingdom for its rich Abby and pleasant Situation, in order to salute and comfort *John de Simiers*, who in the mean time had fallen from Favour; that they might not seem to have basely changed their Inclinations with Fortune, and, in a time of Disgrace, to neglect Him, whom in his flourishing condition they had courted. Being affectionately received by him, after various Discourses on the Subject of his Misfortune, when *De Thou* had made a Tender of his Father's Assistance, if it could be of any service, and his Authority with the Duke of *Anjou*, they each returned to their respective Quarters. Not long after, *De Thou*, the Winter coming on apace, and the Contagion, which had taken off such a number of Persons, being abated, returned at length to *Paris*, in compliance with a Summons from his Father, who had continued all that time in the City. Then came on the Consultation about executing the Articles of the Conference at *Fleat*. In That it had been agreed, that Commissioners from the Parliament of *Paris* should be sent into *Guienne*, to do Justice constantly in that Province, instead of the Bipartite Chamber, in which, the Sentences being generally divided, through the Difference of Religion, and the sharp Contentions arising from thence more than ordinarily in that Quarter, the Parties were intolerably harassed. Twelve Laicks, as they are called, and two Ecclesiasticks, were chosen out of that honourable Body, over all whom *Peter Segurier* was appointed by the King to preside; a Man of solid and quick Parts, and of the strictest Equity; who, having an Affection for *De Thou*, a Counsellor of the Ecclesiastical Order, procured Him to be named by the King as one of the Two, and even in conjunction with *Lodovic Copasley d'Autun*, a Person of excellent Learning and Judgment, and a singular Friend of *De Thou*. Into the same Number was also chosen, *John de Thumeri*, *Claude du Puy*, and, a new Counsellor, *Michael Huraut de l'Hospital*, Grandson of that Eminent Chancellor. The last Person had married *Olympe*, the Daughter of *Guy du Faun de Pybrac*, then President; who in the naming of his Child had revived the memory of *Olympia Morata*, whose honourable and learned Conversation he had formerly enjoyed in the Retinue of the most serene *Rene* Dutchess of *Ferrara*. *Huraut* was a Young Man of exalted Parts, and a perfect Master of the *Latin* and *French* Tongues, of which he gave an illustrious Specimen in some Treatises, published by him in the Course of these Troubles; who, as he bore his Grandfather's Name, and served with *De Thou*, in the same Class, of which the Grandfather had been a Member, could not but be intimately united with him. *De Thou* therefore, observing him to be highly delighted with *Faulconry*, not of the ancient but modern Sort, made the first Essay of Poetry, to which he was always extremely addicted, in complaisance to Him, and published the *Hieracosphion* or Art of *Faulconry*, a Work of modern Invention. The Departure of the Commissioners for *Guienne* being appointed, the Unkles, upon this occasion, fell again upon urging the Father, that he would have some regard to Himself and his Family almost extinct, the only hopes of which remained in young *De Thou*; nor did the Father reject their Motion, but, according to his custom, deferred the matter, and excused himself, by the necessity of the Journey, from determining any thing at present upon that Head. *De Thou* himself, who, intent upon his Studies, had hitherto made light of the Proposal, began at length seriously to consider, what course he should take; and, remembring *Du Ferrier's* Advice, to revolve in his Mind the Greatness of the Burden, for which he was designed, and to which upon many accounts he felt himself unequal, and to debate, whether, as he was led by Nature to a Life of Tranquillity and Ease, it would not be more advisable to decline the Splendor of an high Station; and having brought himself to undervalue the Temporal Conveniences, which might be expected from thence, and likewise the Impediments, which then were or might be against it, he put himself into such a Posture, that, if an Opportunity offered itself, he would be ready to marry: However, for the present, he made use of his Father's Excuse to his Unkles, and, going with the Commissioners into *Guienne*, shortly after repaired to *Angoulême*, to pay a Compliment in their Name to *Henry de Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*, who was at *S. Jean d'Angély*. By that Prince he was received with the highest Marks of Honour and Benevolence, both in respect to the Dignity of the Delegates, from whom he was deputed, and in kindness to his Father, whose singular Candour both *Condé* and the other Protestants had in past times experienced. There passed several serious Discourses betwixt them on the State of the Publick, and some Methods were

were with great Fairness proposed for securing the Tranquillity of *Guienne*, which *De Thou* afterwards reported to *Peter Seguer* and the Delegates. From thence they all went together to *Libourne* in the *Perigord*, a Town commodiously situated; where the *E' Isle* runs into the *Dordogne*, and by the Tide's returning into it through the *Dordogne*, and the Winds lying upon it, is sometimes so tempestuous, and full of Eddies, that, if the Mariners were not very expert, the Vessels seem liable to be often overset. This Occasional Eddy the Common People call *Mascaret*, and talk of it all over *Guienne* as a Wonder and Peculiarity of that Place. It was at first debated, whether *Libourne* should be pitched upon for the Seat of the Court; but, because of the Scarcity of Proctors and Advocates, who must have been fetched from *Bordeaux* and the Neighbouring Tribunals, and other Difficulties that arose, it was resolved, that the Commission should be opened at *Bordeaux*; and *De Thou* was sent to treat of that Matter with *James Goujon* Marshal *de Matignon*, who commanded in the Province under the King of *Navarre*, and from thence to proceed directly to salute that King himself. *De Thou* found him at *Casteljaloux*, in the Dutchy of *Albret*, taking the Diversion of Hunting; and, being received with the same Tokens of Honour and Affection by that candid Prince, as he had been by the Prince of *Condé*, he was ordered to follow him to *Nerac*. All that Country is sandy, 'till you come to *Nerac*, where the Soil is very rich; and, great Quantities of Snow having fallen that Night, the next Day was spent 'till Dinner-time in tracing wild Beasts by the Prints of their Feet; which is a kind of Hunting peculiar to that Place. Having executed his Orders, *De Thou* still remained at *Nerac* for two Days, which he employed in saluting *Margaret*, the Wife of that King, and *Catherine* his Sister. But his chief Conversation was with *Charles du Faur de Grateins*, his Chancellor, who, having been formerly educated in the Parliament of *Paris*, and brought into Trouble by the Mercurial Convention, had found the greatest Support from *De Thou's* Father; and, ingenuously confessing that Piece of Service, embraced the Son of his Patron with Marks of cordial Affection; and moreover added, that he had advised the Petition for a Committee of Judges to be chosen out of the Parliament of *Paris*; as one, who knew how sincerely and incorruptly, without Regard to Enmity or Favour, Justice was done in That Body; quite different from the Practice in *Guienne*, where almost all Things, especially since the Rise of Religious Quarrels, were transacted with Partiality. As he was preparing to take Leave of the King of *Navarre*, *De Thou* was led by him into the Gardens, planted by himself with exceeding Care, and laid out into Walks fenced on each Side with tall Laurels. In his Return, crossing the *Garonne*, he came to *Agen*, where he was most elegantly entertained by *John de Roques Secondat* at his House. This Gentleman had married the Sister of *Joseph Scaliger's* Mother, by whom he had also a numerous Issue; and several of his Children have done the King good Service in these Wars, and, especially *Paul*, who so bravely defended *Offend* in the last Year of that Triennial Siege, and at length died gloriously in the Place, a little before its Surrender. With him was *Silvius*, *Joseph's* Elder Brother, to whom *Julius* the Father dedicated his Poetry; a good Man, and not unlearned; who, on the mention of his Father's Commentaries upon *Aristotle's* History of Animals, was intreated by *De Thou*, that he would review them, and not any longer refuse to gratify the Publick with them; which he accordingly did in Part, by the Publication of the Tenth Book, which he dedicated to *John-Stephen Duranti*, First President of the Parliament of *Toulouse*: The Rest, after *Silvius's* Death, came into the Hands of *Joseph*, who carried them with him into *Holland*, and at his Death left them to his Scholar *Daniel Heinsius* to be published, but so confused and incorrect, as *Heinsius* himself afterwards wrote to *Casaubon*, that we must not hope for an Edition of them.

Upon *De Thou's* Return to *Bordeaux*, a Place was set a-part and fitted up in the Dominican Convent, for the sitting of the New Class. *Anthony L'Oysel*, a Man of ancient Morals and singular Erudition, executed the Office of Fiscal Advocate, *Peter Pitbou*, known enough by the bare mention of his Name, That of Proctor-General; a noble Pair not of Friends and Brothers only, but of Collegues unanimous in their Counsels for the Good of the Publick, with whom *De Thou* lived in great Familiarity. The first Session was attended with a vast Concourfe of People, either because of the Novelty of the Thing, or out of Disgust to the late Provincial Justices; notwithstanding which, *De Thou* continued his Studies, and, wherever he went, earnestly courted the Friendship of Those Persons, whose Conversation and Acquaintance he stood in need of for the Historical Work, which he now had in his Thoughts. With this Disposition, he discreetly noted many Things, which he had remembered to be written or discoursed, that were either questioned by Others, or told in a different Manner: Many Things he learnt from *Benedict Lagebaston* the First President, a Man of Learning, and of venerable Old Age, who

who in those Troubles having been protected by his Father out of a natural Kindness to Persons in Distress, in order to gratify the eager Young Man, let himself down very often below the Dignity of his Years: Many Things from *Michael de Montagne*, a Gentleman of a frank Temper, averse to Parties, who then held the honourable Post of Mayor in that City, and had a comprehensive and certain Knowledge of Our Affairs, and particularly Those of his own Country of *Guienne*. He contracted also an Intimacy with *John Malouin de Sessac*, then a Principal Counsellor, not unacquainted with these Matters. Nor was the Satisfaction little, that He and *Pithou* received from the Pleasantry of *Elias Vinet* of *Barbesieux*. This Person was the careful Director of the College of *Guienne*, so famous in the late Times, and was then busy in reviewing his *Ausonius*: He had been formerly a Companion of *Turnebe*, *Mureto*, *Grouchy*, *Guerente*, and also of *George Buchanan*, from whom he received Letters every Year, when the *Scotch* Merchants came to the City to buy the Wines of *Bordeaux*: The last of These was seen by *De Thou*, penned with a shaking Hand, but in a generous Style; in which he complained, not so much of the Inconveniencies of Old Age, as the Tedioufness of a long Life; and said, that he had retired from the Court to *Sterling*; and, at last added these Words, which *De Thou* took care to remember, *In the mean time I labour this one Point, that, with as little Noise as possible, I may depart from the Society of unsuitable Persons, amongst whom, I consider myself as a dead Man amongst the Living.* *Vinet* encouraged *De Thou*, when the Latter communicated to him the two former Books of *The Art of Falconry*, which were rather sketched than finished, that he would publish them; and they were accordingly printed by *Simon Millanges*, an excellent Printer. In the Month of *February*, there being a Recess, a Resolution was taken of making a Tour into the County of *Buch*. *Thumeri* was ill of a Quartan Ague, which he generously combated, striving with it on Horseback, and scorning to take his Bed. *De Thou's* constant Fellow-Travellers were *L'Oisel* and *Pithou*. He had taken Commendatory Letters from *Francis de Foix Candale*, whom he used frequently to visit at *Puy-Paulin* in the City.

When you have passed the Country of *Medock*, extended along the farther Bank of the *Garonne*; the Coast to the Left is lined with tall Pines, from which *Rosin* is drawn; and because, by the barking of the Trees, the Lower Parts are made bare, Nature has provided a Way for covering those Interstices by an Undergrowth of Shrubs or wild Strawberries, (for the Plant receives its common Appellation from the Fruit), bearing Leaves and Fruits better for Sight than Use; whereby she not only supplies the Defect, but increases the Beauty of the Trees, and, with the additional Prospect of the Sea, affords a most delightful Entertainment to the Eye. These People went by the Name of *Boiates* and *Boij* in the Time of *Ausonius*, who for that Reason calls them *Pitchy*; and the Villagers at this Day make use of no other Firing or Light, but the Pitchy Wood of the Pine. In this Tract is the Cape of *Buch*, so called by the Antients, and still retaining the Name; for one of the little Towns is stiled *Tête de Buch*; and the same thing is proved from the Title of the Lord of the Place, of the illustrious House of *Foix*, a Captain highly celebrated in Our Annals, whilst we had Wars with the *English*, who was stiled *Captal de Buch*. There are Some, who will have the Town to have been called *Tête*, from a Testaceous Hill, which overlooks it, composed of the Shells of Oysters, which are caught in prodigious Plenty in the adjoining Bay; which Opinion I do not approve: For *Tête* does not bear the same Meaning amongst our vulgar *Gascons*, as it does in the *Latin*. The Bay has on the upper Part of it *Tête*, on the opposite Part, *Certes*; which latter Place came to *Honorat de Savoy* Marquess of *Villars*, and late Governour of the Province, as the Hereditary Portion of his Wife *Frances de Foix*. There the Gentlemen dined, at a Table spread upon the Shore, and, when the Tide went out, diverted themselves with catching Oysters, in Paniers used for that Purpose, which being immediately opened and swallowed, yield a most agreeable Taste, and delicious Flavour, resembling the Fragrancy of Violets. Amongst the Servants there was found a ravenous Boy, who devoured an Hundred to his Share without nauseating. Whilst the Counsellors were there, I leave it to any worthy Man to think, what Discourse passed amongst them; either by renewing the Memory of that famous General, or starting some salutary Projects for the Publick Service, or contemplating the Beauty of the Place, or recording the Behaviour of many Excellent Men, who sometimes, laying aside Business, made a Party of Pleasure, for the Relaxation of their Mind, and thought it by no means unworthy of their Dignity, to gather Cockles and Pebbles at *Caieta* and *Laurentum*, as *Tully* has somewhere noted. The Spring being now pretty forward, it was resolved to ramble into the Country of *Medoc*, and the Collegues unanimously repaired to the New Castle belonging to the Family of *Foix*, which formerly possessed all that Tract as their Inheritance. *Francis de Foix Candale* was there himself at that

that time, and used to make it his Residence 'till the Autumnal Season, unless it happened sometimes that he went to *Cadillac* or *Bacbevel*; in which Places, lying upon the *Garonne*, as he could pass to or from them by the River, he had Libraries, Smiths Shops, and Furnaces with all the necessary Utensils for founding and making Mechanical Instruments, in which, being a very skilful and also ingenious Mathematician, he excelled. At Dinner, to which they were invited by them, the Conversation fell, as usual, upon Subjects of Erudition: Amongst other Things, *De Thou* takes Notice, that *Candale*, speaking of the Height of the *Pyrenees*, said; that once, when *Henry d' Albret* King of *Navarre*, Father of *Joan*, came from *Pau* with a numerous Retinue to the Waters of *Beaune*, He himself, who was nearly related to that King, took a Resolution to climb to the Top of a very high Hill, at a small Distance, vulgarly called by the Natives *the Twin-Sisters*, because it ends in a forked Head; that, whilst he was preparing the necessary Ladders, Hooks, and Grapples for reaching this inaccessible Ridge, a good Number of Gentlemen offered themselves with Emulation to accompany him, most of them Young Men, clad in thin Garments, that they might be more expeditious; whom when he admonished of the Consequence, that, as they mounted higher, they would be cold, they laughed; that, for his own Part, he had a Coat, lined with Furs, carried with him by some Peasants who were acquainted with the Places. Beginning to ascend about four o' Clock in the Morning, in the Month of *May*, when they had now advanced so high, that they saw the Clouds below them, all the Company began to feel Cold; and Some, either being out of Breath through too much Haste, or pinched with the sharp Air, began to faint away; that in the mean time, *Candale* advanced slowly and more cautiously, putting on his Coat: And, now they had mounted so far, that many lurking Holes of Ewecks and wild Goats occurred to their View, and the Beasts themselves were seen leaping in Troops along the craggy Rocks; and, marching farther, they likewise saw several Nests of Eagles, and such like Birds of Prey: And thus far the Company, by climbing, had opened a Path in the Rock; and still there remained behind a Journey equal to what they had performed, to the highest Part of the Mountain, whilst they were surrounded with a cold and thin Air, which occasioned a Dizziness, and almost a Swooning: Therefore, when they had taken fresh Breath, covered their Heads, and eaten some Victuals, *Candale* ordered the Peasants to clear a new Path; and, when the Labour of these People could go no further, applied Ladders, Hooks and Iron Grapples, 'till they reached to a Part, where appeared no Tracks of wild Beasts, or of Birds, which were seen to fly a long way below them. Neither had they yet gained the Top; whither however, or very near it, *Candale*, by some artificial Hooks of his own making, at last arrived; and, sitting in a convenient Place, from whence he had a free View of the Bottom, he began to measure the Altitude by the help of a Perspective-Glass; and taking, for the lowest Boundary, the Rivers that run beneath, not where they descend with Rapidity, but where their Bed is smoothest and most level, to the Place in which he sat, and to the utmost Point of the Hill, which he could now measure, he observed, that the whole Distance contained about eleven Hundred Fathoms, each six Feet of our Measure. Which when *De Thou* had considered more attentively, he found it nearly agreeing with the Truth and the Report of the old Mathematicians. For by the Antients, when they treat of the Height of *Olympus* in *Thessaly*, supposed by the *Greeks* to be the highest Mountain in the World, it is recorded, that neither the Altitude of any Hill, nor the Depth of the Sea in any Part, exceed ten Stades: For that these Dimensions had been taken by *Xenagoras*, who found half a Stade more in *Olympus*; which Number is wanting in the *Apuleius's* Book of *Socrates's* God, and is to be supplied from *Plutarch* in the Life of *Paulus Emilius*. Which Accounts if you will compare together, and multiply a Stade of an hundred and twenty five Paces by Ten, not using one of our Paces of three Feet, but the *Greek* one of five Feet (as what comprehends all that Space, which is filled by the utmost Extention of both the Hands) you will arrive at a Number nearly equal to Eleven Hundred and Six of our Feet: For the whole Difference is of sixty five Feet, which make eleven Fathoms wanting one Foot: And this may suffice for a transient Remark, the more accurate Disquisition of so material a Point being left to better Judges. From thence the Collegues went to *L'Esparre*, heretofore a celebrated Castle, belonging to the Family of *Montferrand*, with a Town appendant, and Salt-pits, and afterwards in the Reign of *Charles VII.* devolved by Confiscation to the *Albrets*, a Family devoted to the Interest of *France*, and, at the Time of this Visit, possessed by *Lewis Gonzaga de Cloves*, Duke of *Nevers*, in the Right of his Wife. From *L'Esparre* they proceeded to *Soulac*, noted for the Chappel dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and for the Port of *Verdon*, which is a very safe one. From thence they viewed the Tower of *Cordouan*, which, standing in the Mouth of the

Garonne, four Leagues broad more or less, amongst the Sand-Banks and Shelves, serves by Night for a distant Light-House to Sailors. This, being half demolished, gave Occasion for erecting a new one afterwards, by the Labour and Industry of *Lewis de Foix*, born indeed at *Paris*, but so called because his Father was of this Country. From thence, through *Talmond* and *Royan*, they came to *Blaye*, where was a vast Plenty of Capillary Herbs, unknown to the Inhabitants: Our Company first made the Discovery, and shewed them the Art of composing a Syrup of them; so that the Natives of *Guienne* have no further need of fetching it from *Montpelier*. The same are found in many other Places; and at *Bourdeilles*, a strong Fortress in the *Perigord* standing upon a Rock, with the River *L'Isle* running at the bottom, there is a Rock, either by Nature or the Force of the River made hollow and suspended, at which those Herbs stick in abundance.

At last the Collegues returned to *Bordeaux*, where the New Chamber employed itself more in Criminal Causes, in which the Publick Security is concerned, than in Civil; and, whilst the other Judges were busy in deciding them, the Ecclesiasticks, who could not be present at such Trials, were at leisure to dress up Evidences, interrogate Criminals, and confront them with Witnesses; which Burden lay upon *Coquelet* and *De Thou*, as it happened in *Rostain's* Cause: Which being finished, about the time of the *Easter* Holidays, during a Recess of the Court, an occasion was taken by *Thumeri*, *L'Oisel*, *Pitbou* and *De Thou*, of making an excursion into *Guienne*: Through *Basas*, where they were made acquainted with the true Causes of that City's Calamity, and with the Faction of the *Casses*, and through the Towers of *Albret*, from which the principal and most illustrious Family and even the Country takes its Name, they came to *Tartas*, and from thence to *Mont de Marsan*, and to *Aire*, a City standing on a River of the same Name, and ruined in the former Wars. Passing farther, they descended into the *Bigorre*, a delightful Country at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, in which, as in *Lombardy*, the Vines are coupled with Elms and Poplars; and to *Tarbe*, the Capital, formerly composed of three Cities, but now almost reduced to a Wilderness, and inhabited only by Peasants. They viewed also the Baths in the Neighbourhood, formerly very much frequented, and adorned with fine Benches: The Waters of them are chiefly aluminous, and were used by *De Thou* for some Pains in his Left Arm contracted by Study and Watching: From thence they penetrated as far as *Compan*, where the best Butter is made, not far from the Viscounty of *Lavedan*, belonging to the Inheritance of the House of *Bourbon*, and remarkable for its noble Breed of Horses: In the way there occurred a Chapel; in the Altar of which, That Inscription, described by *Scaliger* and so fitly adapted to the illustration of his *Novem populania*, was carefully inspected by *Thumeri*, *L'Oisel* and *De Thou*. It was observed upon the Road, when they entered the *Bigorre* and came to the Castle of *Lourde* standing upon a Hill, that *Lourde* was not the *Lapurdum* mentioned in the Itinerary (as *Scaliger* at first thought, when he published the Lectures upon *Ausonius* at *Lions*), which was situated in a Bottom and near the Sea, from which *Lourde* is far distant; but rather that *Bayonne* itself was it: For in the ancient Martyrologies, the Bishop of *Bayonne*, that now is, was called Bishop of *Lapord*, as he was by the Inhabitants of *Le Buch* (as all that Country from the Mouth of the *Garonne* to the Mouth of the *Adour* was denominated), and, at this day, all That Tract, which reaches from the Mouth of the *Adour* to *Fontarabia*, is called the District of *Lapord*: Which Observation being communicated to *Joseph Scaliger* by *De Thou*, he immediately, agreeably to his Candour, changed his Mind, and in the second Edition of his Lectures, which came out in conjunction with the *Ausonius* of *Vinet*, omitted all that Story of *Lourde*. From thence, by *Pontac*, they arrived at *Pau en Bearne*, a Place distinguished by a fine Castle and most spacious Gardens, built with Royal Magnificence by *Henry IV.* and his Mother *Joan*, where you see Porticoes of stupendous Height, in Foliage. *Catherine*, the King of *Navarre's* Sister, was there at that time; who omitted no kind of Civility in the reception of the Strangers. Here, *L'Oisel*, in compliance with the necessary Call of his Office, took leave of the Company; *Pitbou*, as soon as he came to *Aire*, having already turned back by the way of *Saint Severe*. *Thumeri* and *De Thou* went through *Larun* to the Hot Baths of *Bearne*, as they are commonly called, seven Leagues distant, which rise amongst the *Pyrenean* Hills. The Waters are sulphurous; and, being taken warm, are used with great Success, by Those who are troubled with the Stone and Gravel, or labour with Obstructions; and are so light and subtle, that, if they are not immediately drank, the Spirit of them evaporates in a moment: And, for the same reason, they can't be transported in Vessels, as is done by the Waters of *Lux*, *Spaw* and *Pougues* with Us. *De Thou* had in his Retinue a German Boy, otherwise sober enough, who took off fifty Glasses of them every day in an hour's time. He himself drank half a Glas for seven days together, rather for pleasure, than necessity; and he found, that the Use of them wonderfully lightened

the Body, provoked the Appetite, rendered the Taste more exquisite both for Meats and Liquors, caused sweet Sleep, and spread an unusual briskness over all the Limbs, and yet that they were not laxative. Through *Oleron*, an Episcopal City, *Orthez*, distinguished by a College founded there by Queen *Joan*, and *Sauveterre*, their way lay to *Navarreins*, a Fortrefs well fortified by Art, which *Henry d'Albret* King of *Navarre* called by that Name, in consolation for the Loss of his Kingdom, and built for the Security of his other Towns in the District of *Bearne*. Then, through *Saint Palais*, and *S. John de Pied de Port*, Towns of the Lower *Navarre*, as it is called, they came to *La Bastide de Clarence*. And here they saw and discoursed with *John de Licarrague*, the Pastor of the Place; who, by the orders of Queen *Joan*, having translated the Catechism and New Testament into the *Gascon* or *Biscayan* Tongue, took care to have it beautifully printed by *Peter Haultin* at *Rochele*, and himself corrected the Press, a Work, for which few other Persons were qualified. The *Biscayan* Language (as that of Our *Bretagne*, and *Ireland*) is singular, and has nothing common to Others, and was therefore thought not possible to be written: But this *John*, a Person well skilled in his Own and the *French* Language, preached to the People in their Mother-Tongue, in the same Church, but at different Hours, where the Mass was performed in the antient way; and, what is wonderful, through the prevalence of Custom, this created no Quarrel amongst the Inhabitants, notwithstanding their different Opinions. From *French Biscay* the Travellers proceeded to the District of *Lapord*; and, leaving *Bidasche*, a Castle of the *Grammonts*, to the Left, arrived at *Bayonne*. The *Adour*, running through *D'Acqs*, with the Supply of the *Gave*, which descends from *Peyrebourade* a noted Fishery, cuts the City in the middle; and frequently, through the swelling of the Waters from the *Pyrenees*, it was exposed to the danger of an Inundation; the *Adour* being generally choaked with Sands, and discharging itself into the Sea, not in a streight Line through its proper Outlet, but through a Canal, which turned off with an Elbow to *Cape Breton*, as it is called. For some time therefore it had been endeavoured, by Piles driven into the Ground and by a Stone Wall, to obstruct that Canal; that so, the River *Adour* might pursue its natural Outfall, and by the Streightness of its Course grind itself a deeper Channel: Which at length was accomplished, rather by Chance than human Industry; the Freshes coming down, upon the Recess of the Sea, with such Violence, that, the Sands being every where dispersed, which choaked the Mouth of the River, and the Canal *De Breton* being by Them, more than by the Piles, obstructed, an Outfall was opened of so great Capacity, that the Waters seldom returned to overflow the City. Nor yet was the City entirely freed from Apprehensions, the Sand gathering again by degrees at the Mouth of the River; so that lately, the Waters having no Outlet, a considerable part of the Walls was beaten down. Here it was natural to admire both the peculiar Dialect, and the Dress of the Women, which is strangely diversified according to the Age or Circumstances of the Wearers. For the Maidens, Married Women, Widows, Young and Old, wear a great variety of Habits, one sort at Funerals, another at Weddings, and another at Prayers; made by different Taylors, who serve the City and the whole District of *Lapourd*. For in no other place are such Habits used; but, if they were to be seen any where else, you would pronounce them to be Masks or Scenical Disguises worn for the sake of raising Laughter. *John Denis de la Hilliere*, a Veteran Officer, commanded in the City for the King, under the Viscount *D'Horte*; a good sort of Man, and so hardened by Military Service, that he could drink the generous Wines of this Country, vulgarly called *Chalossian*, unmixed with Water, without Intemperance or the least Disturbance, and slept at night with his Head uncovered: He received the Strangers very kindly; and, when he had with the greatest Ingenuity described his way of Living, *Thumeri* exhorted him to marry, and obliged him to give his Right-hand, that he would immediately go about it; which He, who was an exact Observer of his Word, performed shortly after. At their Departure from *Bayonne*, their first Road lay through a verdant Grove of Cork-trees; the next, to *Acqs*, an Episcopal City, which takes its Name from some boiling Springs otherwise of no great Use. Hence they passed through Heathy Commons, abounding with Bees, and Tortoises, distinguished here and there with a few Villages remote from one another, but populous; in which part of *Gasconne*, the Peasants are more wealthy than in other Places, where the Soil is richer; the Defect of the Land being conquered by the Industry of the Inhabitants. In five days after, *Thumeri* and *De Thou* returned back to their Companions.

The Trial of *Rostaing* then came on, and a severe Sentence was pronounced upon him; so that it was the Talk of the whole City, that, for thirty years past, there had been no such Instance of a just Animadversion upon a Man of Quality: To which ill Practice it had been owing, that, all over *Gasconne*, the Legal Methods being licentiously and outrageously omitted, every one revenged his own Quarrels,

or

or assaulted his Neighbour, at pleasure, because they were confident of Impunity. This appeared manifest by a signal Example about that time. One *Gaillard* a brave and resolute Officer, had a capital Quarrel with a neighbouring Soldier near *Saint-Milion*, whom he charged with having treacherously killed his Brother in the last Wars: Being resolved to revenge this flagrant Injury, in the night-time, carrying Ladders with him, He, attended by a Band of Ruffians, beset the House of his Enemy, who, in time of Peace, had no expectations of any such thing: With a Crow forcing open the Doors, he entred with his Men, and meeting the Person himself, who at the Noise had run out naked with his Sword drawn, killed him, with his Brother, Wife, and all his small Retinue of Servants. But the Murder was soon revenged; for the Accomplices, running confusedly about the House in quest of Booty, happened upon a Barrel full of Gunpowder, which, by a Spark's falling from a lighted Match, took fire, blew up part of the House, and either buried the Assassins in the Ruins, or scorched them and their Cloaths to such a degree, that they could not put on fresh Cloaths, but lay naked, half-burnt and half-dead upon the Floor. When therefore, at the report of the thing, the Constables came upon them, they were taken with as much Ease, as they had scattered Terror before, whilst they alarmed the Neighbourhood with Impunity. Such as staid without doors as Scouts, being frightened with the Disaster, run away. *Gaillard*, the Ringleader, was led into the City, naked, and weak with a Wound received from his Adversary, who had defended himself bravely in the dark, together with his Comrades laid upon a Cart; who, being roasted in the Flames, made a dismal Figure with their black and swollen Skins, and retained nothing human, but the Voice, which was very horrid. The Publick Prisons were at a considerable distance from the Sessions-house; so that they were obliged to be carried through the greatest part of the City; which was done amidst a vast Concourse of People, the terrible Sight increasing the Horror of the Fact. The Accomplices being examined from the Carts (as it was not otherwise possible) in the Court-yard, and convicted of the Fact, which they could not deny, were immediately hurried to Punishment, and broken upon the Wheel. *Gaillard* himself, a fine Personage, was conducted by a Guard of Archers to the Judges in a Chamber, covered with a Linnen Cloth, and not fettered during his Trial, as is commonly done at *Tholouse* and *Bordeaux*, because he was not capable of bearing Fetters. There, being examined, he with a stubborn boldness and intrepid countenance told the whole Story; and, owning the Murder as a thing rightly acted, even dared to accuse the poor Man, whom he had cruelly killed, of Wickedness; because he had given occasion to the destruction of a company of brave Soldiers (so he called the Ruffians), who had been either buried in the Ruins or scorched with the Flames: As to the impending Punishment, he was perfectly easy, either not fearing it, or as not having deserved it; and underwent it afterwards, as well as the rest, with the same unrelenting Obstinacy, that he had used in his discourse with the Judges. That other Judgment was also worthy the Gravity of Counsellors of Parliament, which was pronounced by the Mouth of *De Thou*, concerning a Maiden of Quality, who under colour of Religion had withdrawn herself from her Mother (for her Father had died some Years before), and without the Consent of the Mother, or the Relations of either Line, had contracted Marriage with a Young Man of inferior Quality, without having proceeded to Consummation. The Marriage was declared null and void; and the Mother, who complained of the violence, had her Daughter restored to her; being first admonished, not to give any Trouble or offer any Force to her on the Point of Religion; and the Young Man was also enjoined not to cohabit with the Young Woman, and prohibited from Marrying her afterwards under Pain of Death. Which Decree was seasonably made, in order to preserve the Honour of Matrimony, which in those parts, through the prevailing Licentiousness of clandestine Matches for a considerable time, was fallen into disrepute: It also served as a President for the future, to hinder this sort of Ravishers from invading honourable Families with impunity, and to prevent ill-advised Maidens from throwing themselves away, to the neglect of their Parents, or Guardians. The remaining Time was spent in hearing private Causes, 'till the Vacation; which drawing near, it was decreed, that the next Sessions should be held at *Agen*, whither all Persons were commanded to repair at the ensuing Feast of *St. Martin*. *Christopher de Thou*, not well enduring the long absence of his Son, or else apprehensive of his own approaching Death, had obtained his Revocation from the King; and *Francis Godard*, a Young Man of distinguished Parts, lately elected into the Parliament, had been substituted in his room. As to *De Thou*, at his departure, he had acquainted his Friends with his Design of seeing *Languedoc* and *Provence*; resolving to go from thence to *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, where the *Grands Jours* were celebrated that Year under the President *Achilles de Harlay*, his Brother-in-law, in order to wait upon Him and the Coun-

Counsellors in his Company. This co-incided with the Time, that the Report was first current of the seizing of *Salcedé* at *Antwerp* by the Duke of *Anjou's* Command, and of the Design to convey him immediately to the King. This Affair gave Occasion to various Discourses, many being brought into Suspicion either truly or falsely by his Confessions : And *Matignon* had received Advice from Court, by Those who were involved in the same Conspiracy, that He also was named by him with other Lords : Which he made this Use of ; that, knowing *Salcedé* to have told a Lye in His Case, he judged whatever was said by him of Others to be in like manner false and malicious. He was sitting at the Window, and looking upon the Boys at Play in the Court below, when *De Thou*, preparing to depart, came to demand a Pass-port ; and he held the more earnest and longer Conversation upon that Subject with Him, because he knew him to be returning home, and even by the Way of *Languedoc*, where he would meet with *Montmorency*. *Matignon* therefore was desirous, that he should be well instructed in all the Particulars, before he took that Journey. In order therefore to discredit *Salcedé*, he ripped up his whole Life from a Child, which he had spent with Others of his own Stamp in Murders and Robberies, and that at last, being Convicted at *Rouen* of adulterating the Coin, he had escaped the Punishment by Flight : That he had ever since that time lurked up and down, and absconded, under the Protection of the Duke de *Mercaur*, who was some way or other related to his Wife's Mother : That we ought not to give better Credit to the Informations from the Duke of *Anjou's* Court, which was full of the same sort of Men, who, in order to raise Troubles in the Realm, maliciously traduced the King's most faithful Lords and other good Subjects : For what could be more wickedly or impudently contrived, than to comprehend so many Innocent Men, upon whom not the least Guilt or Suspicion could be fixed, in the same Conspiracy, with a few Persons, who might indeed be suspected : These were the Arts of those Courtiers, who, at the Expence of a poor Rogue, made no Scruple of bringing the honestest and best Men into the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes : Whether therefore the Morals of the Party accused, or the Temper of Those, who suggested these Confessions to the Criminal in Prison, were considered, it would immediately appear, what Credit ought to be given to an Accusation of so much Weight, and which concerned the Publick Tranquillity. *Matignon* added, that, whatever was given out of the Duke of *Anjou's* Resolution to deliver *Salcedé* into the King's Hands, for his Part he could not be of Opinion, that the Persons, who were about the Duke, would ever suffer it : For that the Fraud would presently be discovered, and *Salcedé* would retract all that he had affirmed, or was said to have affirmed before them. This the Marquis, a Person of profound Prudence and persuasive Eloquence, in Confidence of his own Innocency, having brought himself to believe, by many other Reasons easily infused the same Opinion into *De Thou*, who was apt to give the best Interpretation to every Thing ; and dismissed him in such a Disposition, that, as often as this Affair happened to be the Subject of Conversation, as it happened frequently to be, *De Thou* shewed himself ready to exert himself with Vigour in confuting the contrary Notion. Departing from *Bordeaux*, in Company with *Thumeri* and *Pitbou*, he came to *Moissac* on the *Tarn*, a Town remarkable for its wealthy and very antient Abbey, where the Library, formerly well stocked with Books of the best Sort, was again turned over by Him and *Pitbou*. From thence they proceeded through *Aiguillon* on the *Lot*. The next Day they dined at *Sainte Marie*, a Place famous for generous Wines ; and setting out from thence, rather too late, with their Domesticks, who, to the great Satisfaction of the Landlady, were all drunk, they did not arrive at *Agen*, though not above two Leagues distant, 'till late in the Night. As they were then complaining of the Length of the Journey, That *Secondat*, whom I have mentioned, having come out to meet them with Torches, in order to pacify them, told a Story, which may deserve a Place in a Narrative of private Occurrences. That, when *Martin Fumee*, the Grandson of That *Adam*, who was formerly Chief Physician and Counsellor to *Lewis XI*, a Master of Requests (which then, before its Value was lessened by Numbers, was a principal Dignity) had come, in like manner, to *Sainte-Marie*, in the beginning of Winter, and designed after Dinner to reach *Agen* ; the Host was very pressing with him, that he would not set forwards ; for that he would be overtaken by the Night, and meet with other Difficulties in a Road which was very deep : But that He, desirous of making haste, and considering only the two Leagues which was said to be the Distance, took Horse, and met with all that had been foretold, and even worse, falling headlong into the Mire, and being with much Difficulty plucked out of a Slough in the Dark by his Servants. When therefore he had made a Shift, at Midnight, to reach the City, where the Magistrates in great Pain expected him ; being heartily weary and angry with his Journey, he would not

receive the Congratulations and Excuses of those who came to wait upon him, but retired to his Quarters ; and the next Day, being still in a sort of Passion, when he mounted the Bench, passed an Order, in the first Place ; that for the Future, to prevent the Deception of Travellers, it should be reckoned six Leagues from *Sainte Marie* to *Agen*.

All Things being prepared in the City for the next Session, *Pithou* and *De Thou*, crossing the *Garonne*, rambled into *Gascogne*, as it is called ; designing first for *Leidoure* the Capital of the Principality of *Armagnac*, an Episcopal City built upon an Eminence ; where late in the Night they arrived, not without some Danger from the Miqueeters in Garrison, who, as they were going round the Walls, had well nigh fired upon them. Being at length admitted, and in the Morning kindly entertained by *Astarac de Fonttrailles* Governour of the Principality, (who also made an Excuse for the Drunkenness of the Soldiers) they rested there a whole Day, viewing the Position of the Place, and the Attacks of *Montluc*, who had formerly besieged and taken it. There was formerly a Garrison of *Romans* there, and a well-frequented Bull-Market, as appears by several Inscriptions on Stones ; which Stones were afterwards used in building the Church, that with savage Barbarity was demolished in the late Wars. They saw also the Castle, where the Count d' *Armagnac*, in the Time of *Lewis XI*, and, as it is believed, not without his Privy, was murdered ; the Blood being so sprinkled upon the Wall, that to this very Day they have not been able to wipe it out. This brings to Mind a recent Fact committed in the same Castle, just such another as *Gaillard's*, but different in the Event ; of which when *De Thou* had some Days before received an Hint from *Grateins* at *Bordeaux*, he was resolved to enquire further about it of the present Governour. One *Baleins*, who had commanded in the Place before Him, a fighting Man, bred up in the *Turkish* Wars, had a Friend of the Neighbourhood in his Retinue, a principal Man amongst the Garrison ; who, without His Knowledge, either by Flatteries, or the Hopes of Marriage, had debauched his Sister, and then, quitting the Garrison, had contracted Matrimony with another Woman : Which as soon as the Sister knew, she went crying, and with her Hair dishevelled, to her Brother ; and with many Tears discovers what had passed between Her and the Perfidious Man. The Governour, as he was bold in attempting, obstinate in pursuing, and intrepid in Danger, charges his Sister to be silent, and to compose her Countenance ; for that He would take the Business upon himself. He therefore suffers some Days to pass on, keeping a fair Correspondence in the mean while with him, and in some time after, an Opportunity offering itself, invites Him (who thought nothing of the Matter) with many Others to his House, and entertains him in the Castle with great Elegancy. The Tables being removed, and the Guests departed one after another, he takes the Man aside, and, by a Guard prepared for that Purpose, loads him with Chains. Then, sitting as it were upon a Bench of Justice, he interrogates the Prisoner at the Bar ; upon his Denial, proves the Charge by Witnesses ; even the Sister, who had hitherto lain concealed, appearing of a sudden from behind the Hangings : At her Presence, the Criminal, being confounded, confessed, that he had known her ; enticed thereto, as he said, by Her Endearments ; but denied any the least Mention or Promise of Marriage. Then *Baleins*, proceeding in his Office of Judge, ordered the Confession to be taken in Writing by a Clerk, and to be subscribed by the Prisoner ; and at length, by the Evidence of Witnesses and his own Confession having convicted him, condemns him to Death : Then He, who had hitherto discharged the Part of a Judge, Accuser, Witness and Examiner, resolved at length to perform the Task of Executioner ; and, drawing a Dagger, stabbed the wretched Man, (who in vain implored the Protection of God and Men, and appealed against the Breach of the Sacred Laws of Hospitality) and forthwith sent back his Body to his Friends ; and to the King of *Navarre*, by whom he had been appointed to command in the Castle, lest he might be disturbed by the Accident, he writ Letters in his own Hand, wherein he explained the whole Course of the Fact, and withal sent a Copy of the Acts and Proceedings in the Cause. The Papers signed by the Criminal he kept in his own Possession, and, excusing the Heat used in the Revenge of so heinous an Injury by the Justness of his Grief, contended, that nothing had been done without a due Observance paid to the Rules and Order of Justice : Accordingly he desired Impunity, and declared himself ready to deliver the Castle to any Person, whom He should appoint ; for that he was satisfied, that, under His Favour, he had had an Opportunity of revenging the Injury, in the same Castle, where it had been committed. *Navarre*, though struck with the Horror of the Fact, and the Boldness of the Man, yet, fearing, lest in the present State of Things he might take desperate Measures, passed his Word for a Pardon, and sent a trusty Officer, to receive the Castle at his Hands : Which the Other, upon the Receipt of *Navarre's* Letters, executed without

without Delay, and retired to his own well-fortified House in the Neighbourhood with his whole Family.

From *Leizoure* they proceeded to *Auch*, in the same Principality of *Armagnac*, a City distinguished by a very rich Archbishoprick, and formerly the Capital of *Gascogne*. This See had been filled by *Hippolito* and *Aloisio* Cardinals *da Este*; and, before them, by the Cardinal *Francis de Tournon*, who founded a School there; a Person of very little Learning himself, but one, who from a Disposition to noble Actions and Arts worthy of his high Station, shewed a wonderful Love to Letters and Learned Men during the whole Course of his Life; which by that fine College instituted by him at *Tournon*, from whence his illustrious Family derived its Name, in the *Vivaraïs*, he even still testifies to the Christian World; and abundantly testified in his Life-time, by entertaining some of the best Scholars always in his Retinue, at Court, in *Italy*, and in his Travels; and by cherishing them with such Care, that *Arnold du Ferrier*, who had been a long time one of that Number in his Family, used to say, that he never studied so pleasantly and uninterruptedly at home, as he did, whilst he followed the Cardinal *de Tournon*: For that his Custom was, when he attended the Court, that, as soon as he lighted from his Horse, he went in the first Place to the Chamber set a-part for the Students in Philology; and saw, that the Boxes of Books (which were born by separate Mules, and, to prevent Delay, marched always along with Those others, that carried his Bed and Papers of Business) were actually brought; which being opened, and Tables with Seats made ready, he encouraged them to study; whilst he himself went to the King, whom he served in the Chief Administration of the Realm; That, as his Table at Dinner was magnificently furnished for the Entertainment of All Foreigners, his Supper was contracted to a Few Familiar Friends, to which he invited his Philologists, and took extreme Pleasure in hearing them discourse upon Subjects of Erudition: That this was the Custom in the latter End of *Francis's* Reign, at which time he had *Peter Danes*, *Du Ferrier* himself, *John Vincent Lauro*, *Denis Lambin* and *Mureto*, Men of the brightest Characters, all at once, in his Retinue. Let Those, who have since succeeded to the same Estate and Honours, consider, whether they maintain the same with equal Generosity and Conduct.

They viewed also the Cathedral Church; which if ever compleated, with the like Splendor and Structure, with which it was begun, neither *France*, nor even the whole Christian World, will have many Churches, that may be compared to it. For the Choir with the Seats of curious Workmanship had been finished, and the Wings on each side of the Choir and the Nave were diligently carrying on. They saw likewise the Parish-Church of *Saint-Oren*, just falling to Ruin with extream Age, though the Monastery is endowed with large Revenues, depending upon the Abby of *Clugni*. There they were delighted with viewing the Altars, erected on each side within the Church, which were the Sepulchres of Martyrs, at which the Christian Congregations used formerly to be assembled: These are not flat Tables, like our Modern, but gibbous in the middle, with the noted Inscription of *Constantine's* Standard, representing the Name of CHRIST by two Greek Letters; which undoubtedly shews the Church to have been founded in an Age of the purest Antiquity. From thence through *Caumont*, *Sanmathan*, *Lombes*, *Saint Gymont* they came to *Pybrac*; where the Lord of the Place, *Guy du Faur*, who during the Vacation had flown thither from *Paris*, waited for them, and received them in the most elegant manner, increasing the value of his Entertainment by the cheerfulness of his Countenance. There three days were spent in walking with *Du Faur* up and down the Hall of the House and the Gardens, which are more adorned by the Ingenuity of their Master, than by their natural Advantage or artificial Culture: For, both in Them and in the Structure of the House, all things were plain; whereas the Furniture, Beds, Quilts, Carpets, Curtains, Hangings and costly Additions were magnificent. *Guy* talked with reserve in the Case of *Salicide*; infomuch that, in *De Thou's* Judgment, he made less account of his Confessions, than he was desirous of shewing; so that there was the less need for disputing the matter with him. Then, at the instance of *Pithou*, the two former Books of *Faulconry* were produced; which *Du Faur* read by himself with great eagerness, more for the sake of the Subject than of the Work itself; as one who was immoderately fond of Hunting in every kind, and thought the Modern Art not to have been yet sufficiently described in *Latin*. When, at the Mention of *Francis*, whose Death is deplored towards the End of the First Book, he hesitated, and took the Words to be meant of some other *Francis*; when he found, that *Francis de Montmorency* (who died within these few years to the great Loss of all Good Men and the Commonwealth) was the Person intended, he seemed to be exceedingly pleased, because he had cultivated a strict Friendship with him; and, commending *De Thou's* Affection, exhorted him to proceed, and to finish the Third Part, which, as the Title promised, was designed to explain the Physick proper

proper for Hawks. In the mean time, a Renewal was made of the antient Union, which had subsisted between the House of *Du Faur* in *Tbolouse* and the Father of *De Thou*; at a Time, when They, being persecuted not only at *Tbolouse*, but throughout the whole Kingdom, found little Protection at Court, and None in the Parliament; through the early prevalence of a very evil Custom amongst our Countrymen, of measuring Friendship only by Interest; so that, paying no regard to Honour, they either basely decline the Offer of such Friendships, as they imagine will be detrimental to them, or else perfidiously desert the Obligations already contracted: For, in truth, said he, the President *De Thou* was the only Person to be found, who, in confidence of his own Innocency, ventured to support Others, who were innocently in danger, and shewed a wonderful Presence of Mind in undertaking their Cause, and no less Constancy in conducting it to the last. When *Pitbou* observed the steady and sincere Countenance, with which *Du Faur* spoke these Words, being a great Admirer of *Christopher de Thou's* generous Probity and prudent Plainness, he was exceedingly overjoyed; and *James-Augustus*, though he could not help blushing at the recital of his Father's Praises, was no less delighted in secret; because he knew the Character to come from One, who was himself a Man of Character. *Du Faur* was then perplexed about a Quarrel, that he had with *Margaret* the King of *Navarre's* Wife, whom he served as keeper of the Seals; and was meditating an Answer to some bitter Letters of Hers, wherein she reproached him with his Gallantries, which he had even ventured to extend to Her Person. This Answer, as they walked together after dinner, he communicated to young *De Thou*, to whom it might be disclosed with more hopes of Indulgence; and from *Pitbou*, whom he was ashamed to make privy to the business, repeated it by heart, but in such accurate Terms, and with so much vehemence and passion, that it made *Margaret's* Accusation credible. This Answer, penned with extraordinary Art and Ornament, he afterwards sent to her, and it soon flew about into every one's hands. There was in this Man an uncorrupted Probity, a true sense of Piety and of the Publick Good, a generous Spirit, born for great things, and averse to all Covetousness, a Politeness of Manners, a genteel Aspect and Mien, a soft Eloquence, and besides all, an Understanding thoroughly seasoned from his Childhood in the more elegant Parts of Learning under *Peter Busnel*, and afterwards in the Knowledge of the Antient Law under *James Cujas*, but which was generally buried in Idleness; so that nothing was wanting to him but a more vigorous Application and Freedom from loose Passions. Though he wrote *Latin* with the utmost Purity, he had exercised his Poetical Talent in his Mother-Tongue, in emulation of Our *Ronsard*; and being sharply lashed, had the good luck, like the same *Ronsard*, to convert his Adversary into an Admirer (no uncommon Accident amongst those, who aim at Honour by the way of Merit!); so that he was most highly celebrated by the same Person, and recommended to all Foreign Nations, wheresoever Learning flourished; his *French* Copy of double Couplets being rendered into *Greek* and *Latin* with such singular Elegance, that, as they are commonly used by private Tutors, so they would be very proper in Publick Schools for the improvement of the Boys in both Languages. I shall add (that nothing may be wanting to the Character of so eminent a Person) that the Family of *Du Faur* at *Tbolouse* is a very noble one, originally of *Auch*, and highly celebrated in the times of *Charles V.* and *Lewis XI.* under whom, *Gratien*, a President in the Parliament of *Tbolouse*, bore a great Reputation for Integrity and Abilities, as a Member of the King's Great Council, which is at this day the Private Cabinet of the Sovereign. By this noble Host *De Thou* and *Pitbou* being most civilly dismissed, as soon as they had passed through *Le Guevi*, entered into a spacious Plain, where from afar they had a view of *Tbolouse*, a City, next to *Paris*, the most considerable in the whole Kingdom; and indeed, if the Multitude and Beauty of the Churches, the Dignity of the Parliament second only to that of *Paris*, the Number of Colleges, the Riches of the Citizens, and the Splendor of the Buildings be considered, either equal or little inferior to it; so that it may and ought at this day to glory in its antient Name of *Palladia*. In the Survey of this Place some Days were employed, the greatest part of which *Pitbou* spent with *Francis Roaldez* a Civilian; whom *De Thou* had also heard reading Lectures at *Valence*, and at this time went to visit, and learnt from him many things of consequence concerning the Cities, Rivers and Places of *Gascogne* and *Languedoc*. They were conducted through the Churches, Basiliks and Publick Places by Archdeacon *Galand*, an intimate Friend and as it were Dependant of Messieurs *Du Faur*, a pleasant Man, and not unlearned, and particularly skilled in Botany. They were pleased likewise to see the Capitol, and in it the famous Tribunal of the City-Judges, and the very much respected Image of the Virgin *Isaure*, who, about two hundred Years since, founded a Prize for the best Performers in Poetry. By the same *Galand* they were also attended to *Saint Jorri*, where they found

Peter

Peter du Faur, a President in the Parliament of *Tboloufe*, spending the Vacation in Rural Pleasures, or rather in Studying, as far as his Health would admit: He was *Guy's* Cousin-german, but a Person of more diligence and a constant reading; as his Works testify, and amongst them a Commentary upon the Rules of the Law, dedicated to his Master *James Cujas*; He was of a different Genius from *Guy*, and fitter for the Courts of Justice than for the management of Affairs at the Palace; in other respects, of equal Piety and Probity, and no less Politeness of Manners. He had much talk with *Pitbou*, whom he had known for a long time in the Schools of the Law, about their common Studies. His Wife too was present, a Woman of excellent Beauty and Behaviour, the Sister of *Francis de Rieux* Governour of *Narbonne*; who, appearing equally solicitous for her Husband's Health and the Convenience of his Guests, entertained his Friends with all kinds of Civility, and for three days detained them beyond their first Intentions. From hence *De Thou* and *Pitbou* went to *Montauban*, where they saw *Claude Granger* and *Robert Constantin*, and at length parted from each other: *Pitbou* returned to *Agen*; and *De Thou* went back to *Tboloufe*, in order to pass from thence into *Languedoc*, and, on the next day after his arrival in that City, continued his journey, without saluting *Stephen Duranty* the First President, who was very desirous of seeing him: In reality *De Thou* always afterwards repented of this neglect; but, because at his first coming with *Pitbou*, he had already omitted the Compliment, for certain reasons, which concerned the Dignity of the New Class, he did not think fit to supply that defect in his absence, which he had not done in his company. Passing through *Montesquieu*, he took up his Quarters for the first day as *Castelnaudari*, and two days after arrived at *Carcassonne* standing on the River *Aude*, which divides the Upper City, where the Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace and the Castle stand; from the Lower City, where the Courts of Justice are held, with a large intermediate Plain, formerly containing a populous Suburb on each side. From *Guy* he had recommendatory Letters to the Judge-Major of the City, as he is commonly called, one *Raimond le Roux*, who in relation to the Edict of the Year 1552. wrote against *Charles du Moulin* in behalf of the Pope's Authority, a Man of primitive Gravity, as his large Body and Features promised; he had served his first time in the Parliament of *Paris*, and asked young *De Thou* many questions of his Father *Christopher*, and officiously conducted him to the Sight of every thing remarkable. They saw the Castle together, where the old Military Arms, fallen into disuse since the Invention of Musquets, are to be seen, as also several Hebrew Manuscripts, probably laid up there, when the Jews were exterminated out of the Realm and particularly out of these Parts; likewise many Sentences formerly issued against the *Albigensis*, with the Registers of the Proceedings and Evidences against the Sufferers. From *Carcassonne* he went to *Narbonne*, whither he carried also Letters of Recommendation from *Guy* to *Balisse* the Syndick of the City. This Person had made a diligent Collection of the Inscriptions frequent in that neighbourhood, and went with *De Thou* to the Bastions, where he shewed him many of them mangled and broken asunder: He led him also to that famous Altar before the Great Doors of the Cathedral, the Curiosities of which were published separately by *Elias Vinet*, and were afterwards comprehended in the Great Volume of Inscriptions first by *Smith* and lastly by *Janus Gruter*. In this City there are numerous Monuments of Antiquity; since it formerly gave its own Name to a part of France as far as *Vienne*, *Lyons* and the *Alps*, which comprehended *Provence* and *Languedoc*, with the *Volsæ* and *Tectosages*. To *William de Joyeuse*, who commanded in *Languedoc* under *Montmorency*, and generally resided there, he paid an honourable Visit, and with Him, his Wife and numerous Family heard Mass in the Cathedral, within a Chapel, where is to be seen a most admirable Picture designed by *Michael-Angelo Buonarrotti* and painted by *Sebastian da Piombino*, representing the Story of *Lazarus* raised from the dead, the Present of Cardinal *Hippolyto di Medicis*; which brought to mind that famous Contention, mentioned by *George Vazari di Arezzo*, between the two noblest Painters of this Age *Michael Angelo* himself and *Raphael* of *Urbino*, and the Prize appointed to Each of the Performers by that munificent Prelate, which was left undecided by his Death; *Michael's* Piece, which was first finished, being removed to this place in the life-time of *Hippolyto*, and the Other, representing the Ascension of Our Lord, being at *Rome*, where the Dispute had been set on foot, dedicated to *S. Peter* in *Montorio* after his Death. In the midst of the Choir, is seen the Body, with a Marble Statue, of That *Philip*, the Son of *S. Lewis* and Father of *Philip the Fair*; who, returning from that doubtful Battle fought at *Gennes* in the County of *Roussillon*, in which *Peter* of *Arragon* was slain, died at *Perpignan* in the Year 1225, and was conveyed from thence to the neighbouring City of *Narbonne*. *Joyeuse* had invited *De Thou* to dinner, but he excused himself, partly because he was not well enough acquainted with that Gentleman, and partly, because he feared, lest, if it should be maliciously told to *Montmorency*, he should come suspected to

Him, with whom he desired to stand clear at his Arrival. Therefore through a Grove of Tamarisks, famous for Robbers, from whence the Place takes its Name, and on which account he calls it *Biterra-tamariscifera* in his *Art of Faulconry*, he came to the City of *Beziers*, where *Montmorency* then was. By Him he was honourably received, and, after words of compliment and expressions of kindness towards *Christopher* and his whole Family, Mention was immediately made of *Salcede*, concerning whose Confessions he had received a more certain Information from *Mathurin Chartier* just arrived from the *Netherlands*. Here *De Thou*, by the same Arguments, with which he had been furnished by the Marshall *De Matignon*, fell severely upon those Confessions: *Montmorency*, on the contrary, pretended at first, that the Reports were not altogether groundless: But when he saw *De Thou* maintaining his Point with obstinacy, he kept himself upon the Reserve, and only added, that the next day he would bring him to talk with a Man, who was well-acquainted with that matter. When therefore *De Thou* had supped with the Bishop of the Place, and when the next day at the stated Hour the Bishop had carried him to the Cathedral Church, and they had both ascended a paved Terras, from whence there was a very pleasant Prospect of all the adjacent Country, *Montmorency* appeared on a sudden, booted, with *Chartier*; and, taking *De Thou* aside, "This is the Man (said he) who, I promised yesterday, should discourse with you concerning *Salcede*; hear Him, who in his passage waited upon your Father at *Paris*; and when I come back in the Evening, we will talk the whole matter over." In the mid-way between *Beziers* and *Narbonne*, a Place had been fixed, for the meeting of *Anne* the Son of *William* and of *Montmorency* himself, in order to consult about their Affairs. The former, having attended the King as far as *Lions*, had obtained Leave to make his Father a Visit: For that purpose he had fallen down the *Rhosne*, and (*Montmorency* being first advertised of it) avoiding a Journey by Land, had arrived at *Narbonne* by Sea, on the same day that *De Thou* had left it. In the mean time, *Chartier*, when the Bishop was withdrawn, held a Consultation with *De Thou*; and, after explaining what had passed at *Antwerp*, added several Tokens and Conjectures, upon which the Prince of *Orange* had caused *Salcede* and the Count *D' Egmont* to be apprehended together, viz. *Salcede's* secret Conferences with the Duke of *Parma*, and the Companion assigned to him by the Duke, who, as he was leading to Prison, had laid violent hands upon himself; and, that he might prove the Point to be clear of Calumny, he added, that *Salcede* had been actually delivered to *Bellievre* and conducted to the King; which the Duke of *Anjou* would not have done, nor They, who were about him, have suffered, if they had maliciously invented these things. The Dispute growing warm between them, to That very strong Argument of *De Thou's* against all these Informations or Confessions (namely that *Salcede* had named several Persons as Accomplices in a detestable Conspiracy, whose known Innocency and Honour was enough to shake the Credit of the other Accusations), *Chartier* answered; that it might possibly be, that *Salcede*, either fearing for his own Head, and desirous of saving himself, had falsely accused those Persons; or else that They, who had drawn him into the Plot, to encourage him the farther, had named more Associates to him, than were really concerned: However, that *De Thou's* Father, whom by the Duke of *Anjou's* Orders he had privately visited at *Paris*, was of opinion, that the Trial ought not to be precipitated, but that, by confining him for some time, the business should be more maturely examined, rather than that ill Blood should be raised by the Severity of an unseasonable Punishment. Thus they broke off the Discourse for that time. About the Evening, *Montmorency* returned from his Interview, and *De Thou* being called, when a relation had been made of the Discourse, which had passed between him and *Joyeuse* (full of Protestations, sincere or false, of That mutual Benevolence, which was due from such near Relations to each other), he fell again upon the Subject of *Salcede*; and asked *De Thou*, what he thought of it since his Conversation with *Chartier*: When *De Thou* still persisted, but not with so much Fire as at the beginning, "Time (says *Montmorency*) is the best Master, and will inform us of all things: But truly it concerns the King's Honour, and That of his Ministry, that they should not seem, in a Business of such Importance, to have shut, rather than opened, their Eyes." With which Words, when he was going on to his Chamber, *De Thou*, asking a Pass-port, was directed by him to take *Pezenas* in his way, where *Montmorency's* Wife was; and *Chartier* himself was assigned to him as a Companion on the Road. As they were travelling together the next day, a Thing happened about the Close of the Evening, which portended an unhappy Event, such as afterwards befell *Chartier*. He had gone before, through a narrow and deep Road, in the midst of craggy Hills: As *De Thou* was following, a Peasant armed (as they generally are in those Parts) asked him from one of the Cliffs, if That was *Chartier*, who went before; and, upon his demanding of the Peasant the reason of that Question, he presently answered, that, if it were so, he was glad of it,

it, because it was commonly reported at that time, that he had been hanged. Then *De Thou* with a loud voice called upon *Chartier* to stop, and told him what he had heard from the Peasant, who in the mean while had run away; and advised him, that, bearing this ill Presage in his mind, he should use more caution in his future Conduct. But He, careless of all things and a great Despiser of Dangers, received the Counsel with a loud Laugh; and, as soon as he came to the Inn, talked a great while, in a merry way and with the same disregard, of the Marshall *De Bellegarde* (whom he had served in the same sort of hazardous Employments) of his last Counsels, and of the Death, which he had met with, worthy of his past Life. Which Discourses, because they might give offence, it is thought proper, both on the public Account, and for the sake of the Marshall's Relations, to omit in this place. Of himself, he boasted in this manner: That he was born at *Dol* in *Bretagne*, but, being forced to fly from his Father and Country on account of his Morals, he took shipping, whilst he was yet a Boy, and arrived at *Bordeaux*; where by his pert Carriage he came at first to be taken into the Service of a Canon in the Church, and then, having a small smattering of *Latin*, learned and practised the Business of a Notary in the Ecclesiastical Court: Being now a lusty young Fellow, he became familiar with a Strumpet, which his old Master kept, and by her favour and her means began to govern their Common Master, and at length, at his Death, seized his Effects: Then, fearing a Law-suit from the Heirs, he went first to *Toulouse*, and afterwards into the Lower *Languedoc*, and insinuated himself into the Family of the Bishop of *Alet*, related to the Illustrious House of *Joyeuse*, where he practised his Art of Notary: That then, the Nearness of the Bayliwick *de Sault* in the *Pyrenees* gave him an opportunity of joining himself to a Clan of Free-booters, the remains of the old *Vandals*; that he married the Daughter of their Captain, and during the Troubles (which have always been frequent in that Province), by meddling upon all occasions, grew perfectly acquainted with the Inhabitants, so that he was thought to have been born, and bred amongst them. He afterwards became Secretary to *Montmorency*, and, after the Peace made with the Protestants and then suddenly broken, he went over to *Bellegarde*, upon whose Death he had devoted himself to the Duke of *Anjou's* Service. These things he told to the Travellers, as they lay awake all night because of the Gnats, as brave Actions, intermixing here and there a number of Fables, not unlike *Apuleius's* *Metamorphosis*; which gave the Hearers a true notion both of his loose Principles, and his wonderful Parts. At *Pezenas*, *De Thou* waited upon *Montmorency's* Lady in the Castle, by whom he was received with exceeding Civility; and from thence, leaving *Chartier* at *Pezenas*, he went to *Montpelier*. The Prince of *Conde* was there at that time, to receive the remainder of the Marriage-Settlement made upon him by the King at the hands of the Royal Collectors, and was just then walking without the Walls, in company with *Francis de Coligny Châtillon* the Governour of the Place: the Prince, having espied *De Thou* at a distance, dismounting from his Horse and hastening to salute him, went forward to meet him, and received him with great Humanity. After the Prince had renewed the mention of the last Year's Conversation with him, he carried him to Dinner at his Hôtel *De Fises*. There, the Discourse happening to fall upon the frequency of detestable Duels, when *Isaac de Vaudray Mouy*, who with other Persons of Quality was present, excused them, by the necessity of maintaining one's Honour, which every noble Mind is bound to prefer even to Life; the Prince, with extraordinary Gravity, worthy of his high Rank, interrupting him, said, that Men erred in placing Glory in a Thing, that was opposite to God's Glory, to which we ought to direct all our Counsels and Actions, and opposite to His Commands, in the observation of which Eternal Life consists; and pronounced, that unless, in one's Country's Cause, by order of the Prince, or in the innocent defence of one's Person, it was not lawful for any Man to draw a Sword; and then, turning his Face to the Pastor, who stood behind his Chair, in order to strengthen his Opinion, he asked him in the presence of all the Company, whether Men might lawfully fight for the Revenge of private Injuries; and when He had answered, that it was not lawful, and could not be done without the certain hazard of Eternal Destruction; "This then" (says he) maintain resolutely; and, upon My Authority, who will be answerable for Your Honour, banish out of your Minds those erroneous Opinions of Glory for the future." Which Words being spoken, the whole Company arose. Then, after some private Talk about the Publick Affairs, and the Discussion of *Salcedo's* Confessions, though with less Heat than before, *De Thou* took leave of his noble Host; and, being presented by him with a fine Mule richly adorned with Trappings, went, along the Bank of an adjoining Lake, to *Aigues-mortes*, formerly a celebrated Haven (from which Our Princes, when they went to the Holy War, generally set sail) but now quite choked up and useless. In the Town, is seen the Tower of *Constance*, wherein there is a Garrison, and which formerly served for a Beacon all along

along that Coast. From thence, turning back, and leaving the Salt-pits of *Pecais* to the Right, as also what we call the *Camargue*, a County recommended by the Fatness of the Soil, and inclosed within the Canal of *Marie* and the *Rhône*, *De Thou* came to *Nismes* in the Lower *Languedoc*, so called by *Ausonius* from a Spring of the same Name, which still rises before the City with a great Noise. This Place, more illustrious for its Amphitheatre, and the vast Ruins of former Ages, than for the Beauty of more modern Buildings, despises all that novel Finery with an aged Superciliousness, and maintains its antient Dignity. By the favour of the *Antonini*, it grew to its first Grandeur, having been the Birth-place of them Both, as *Narbonne* was of *Carinus*. Hard by, you see a Church, half-demolished by the Citizens in the time of the Siege, of which the Half-Arch, still remaining, increases the Regret for the Loss of the entire Work. This Grandeur is enhanced by a triple Bridge of arched Work, laid over the *Gard*, amongst the Mountains at a small distance, near *Saint-Privat*, for the conveyance of Water; which, after so many Ages, is still seen entire to the Astonishment of the Beholders. From thence through *Aramont* and *Monfrain*, leaving *Beaucaire* to the Right, he proceeded to *Villeneuve*, situated on the nether Bank and consequently on the Royal side of the *Rhône*; a Place remarkable for an Abby of *Carthusians* and the Ruins of a Town, out of which only the Arms of the Cardinals remain at this day. Here, still within the Limits of the Kingdom, You cross a Bridge, which does not go straight forwards, like That above at *Saint-Esprit*, but with several Angles; That Fashion being found more commodious, in respect to the Rapidity of the River and the Violence of the Winds. Then, *Avignon* the Capital of the *Cavares* (for *Valence* does not belong to the *Cavares*, as the learned *Cujas* thought, but to the *Segalauni*) arises to View; a City comparable to the finest in Christendom for the Structure of its Walls, and a magnificent Palace fixed as it were to a Rock. Thither the Pontifical See was translated by *Clement V.* in the Year of CHRIST 1306, and the twenty first Year of *Philip the Fair*; and the Popes resided there till the time of *Benedict XI.* who in the Year 1377, sailing from thence, arrived at *Rome* on the 17th day of *January*. Here *De Thou* saluted *George Cardinal d' Armagnac*, who in the absence of his Senior the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, executed the Trust of Legat. He was now eighty years old, and still anxious for prolonging Life; in other respects, courteous and kind to Strangers. With Him *De Thou* dined, and after Dinner (for the Cardinal went immediately from thence to Bed) took leave, and went to visit *Henry d' Angoulême*, the Commander of *Provence*, who was then in the City. With Him he had a long and a full Discourse concerning *Salcedo's* Case; and *Henry* seemed to lean to the Opinion, that what *Salcedo* had confessed, was not altogether groundless, although in some Points he was said to vary. From *Avignon* to *Tarascon*, to which *Beaucaire* answers on the other Bank, he went along the River, to *Arles*; where the Archiepiscopal See (at what time erected, is uncertain) consecrated in the Name of *Trophimus*, either Him who is mentioned by *S. Paul*, or another later Person of the same Name, still retains certain Marks of the Imperial Authority; which, the less extensive it was, has left the fewer Remains of itself. Nevertheless in the *Rhône* there are yet to be seen some Piles of the Bridge, which joined the double City, but nothing in the least of the other City, which stood on the Nether Bank: The Ruins of a very large Amphitheatre, and the Sepulchres lying up and down, bear testimony even at this day to its Greatness: It also enjoys the Presence of the Nobility (who, contrary to the Practice in the other Provinces of Our *France*, reside in it) and possesses the largest Publick Revenues of any City in the Realm. *Arles*, situated in a marshy Soil towards the River, is joined to the South and East by a stony Country, mentioned by the Antients; which, by the help of a Canal derived from the *Durance* has begun to be somewhat tractable, and, where it is cultivated, produces the best and the purest Wheat in the midst of those Cliffs. Here the Castle of *Salon*, where *D' Angoulême* made his principal Residence, being left on the Right-hand, *De Thou* went to *S. Chamas*, seated at the head of the Lake de *Martigues* remarkable for Salt-pits, and to be admired for a Grotto made in the Cavity of a Rock; which again being left to the Right, through some antient Arches, which occur upon the Road, he at length arrived at *Marseilles*; a City known enough by its Name, but at this day altogether New, and situated in a different Place from the former, as it is thought, though not very far from it; for there remain no Traces of its early Antiquities. The *Corficans* and Others from the neighbouring Dominions, as they grow in Wealth, retire hither as to a place of Safety and Liberty, under the Protection of the French Name; and are for that reason more apt to stand up for their Liberties; because, having left their Country and antient Seats for the sake of them, and consequently looking upon them as valuable things, they consider every Infringement of these as a violation of their Property. They are accordingly the most strenuous Asserters of their Rights, and

and generally upon those occasions fall into Sedition. At *Château d'If*, which stands in the Sea upon a craggy Rock, before the Haven, and as it were in defence of it, *De Thou* was courteously entertained at Dinner by the Governour. He then returned to the City, which has another Castle looking down into the Port, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* and built for a Watch-Tower, and near it the rich Abby of *St. Victor*. After two days spent in viewing the City, he went to *Aix*; where, by *John de Moucally*, President of the Parliament, a most humane Gentleman (and whom *De Thou*, when about ten years before he was made Joint-Inspector of the Salt in those Provinces with *Charles de Lamoignon*, had familiarly known) he was conducted through all the publick Buildings and especially the Palace, in which the Parliament sits, the Churches of the City, the Guild-Hall and Arsenal. On the same day he visited the Waters, or Baths (from which the City takes its Name) used by the Inhabitants of the Country, which are adorned with elegant Benches; and from thence, through *Cavaillon*, he proceeded to *Orange*, a City renowned for its Monuments of venerable Antiquity: As he went away, he was pleased to see those stately Trophies, vulgarly called *Marius's*, without the City, which, in defiance of the Injuries of Time, still preserve their antient Dignity. To Travellers, advancing a little farther towards the Borders of *Provence*, occurs *Dauphiné*; the first Town of which, by that side of the River, is *Montelimart*, a Place famous in the last Wars; where, at Supper, he was visited by *M. Colas* the Seneschal, that is (that the Reader may not be deceived by the higher Title of Seneschal in other Parts) the Commissary of the Place: With him *De Thou* had an acquaintance rather than a Friendship, as they had both studied the Civil Law together at *Valence* under *Cujas*; where *Colas*, as a Native, being vested with the Honour of Rector, or Chief of the Youth, was said, ten Years before, in the night-time, to have perfidiously killed a young *Burgundian*, about the time that *De Thou* went away; and, being accused of the Fact and imprisoned, had at length, with much difficulty, by Favour, and through the negligence of the Parties, who were absent, extricated himself from the Danger. This Person therefore, having come in his Gown to salute *De Thou*, supped with him, and entertained him with some Common Talk about Publick Affairs, giving a large account of the Duke *De Mayenne*, the late Governour of the Province, whom he had served. He was a Man of a ready Tongue, full of Confidence, and fit for any bold Adventure, and seemed even Then to be meditating something above his Rank. This Mention of the Supper and the Man might easily have been spared, if he were not a Person, who in the Wars, which followed shortly after, shewed himself, if not altogether equal to Great Matters, at least a powerful Meddler in them, and at last began to be formidable to the Duke of *Mayenne*, by whose Favour he had been raised; as appears more fully in the Books of the History. The next day, *Colas*, coming again to the Inn, led *De Thou* through the Town with the same Civility, and from thence to a Place not far off, where the *Rhône* is crossed by a Bridge of Boats. There, after mutual Embraces, the River being passed, *De Thou* ascended the craggy Mountains, which arise on the Nether Bank; and on the first day, came to *Aubenas*, the Principal Town of the *Marquesses De Montlaur*. From thence, three days being spent in those difficult Roads, in a Bottom there appeared at a distance the Town of *Anicy*, or, as it is commonly called, *Puy en Velai*; on the other side of a Plain; in which the *Loire*, not far from its Source, passing between verdant Banks, is fordable several times in an Hour. Over against the City, in a Meadow, arises a sharp Rock, in the figure of a Cone, which is mounted by Steps cut out of itself, and at the Top of it has a Chappel dedicated to *St. Michael* the Archangel; in emulation, I suppose, of that spacious Abby and Church, standing within the Walhes of the Sea, three Leagues distant from *Avanches*, of which we have given a fuller Description above. The City too rises gradually to a good Height and is very populous for its Bigness. To the Cathedral, as far as the Great Altar, you mount by Steps. Adjoining to it, by an old Wall, is the Bishop's Palace; in which the two first Letters of *CHRIST's* adorable Name, in *Greek* (just as we have related of *S. Oren* in *Auch*), are still to be read entire. By the Prelate, *Nectaire de Sonnetterre* by Name, *De Thou* was received in a most affectionate manner, and viewed the Library well-furnished with old Manuscripts of good Note. From thence, cross the opposite Mountains, he passed into *Auvergne*, and came to *Langeac*, where the Plain or Champion Country, commonly called the *Limagne*, begins: He went forwards to *Clermont* (which, as the Capital of the Province, was formerly stiled *Arvernum*); and immediately proceeded to wait upon his Brother-in-law, *Achilles de Harlay*; by whom, in a manner suitable to their near Relation, he was received with the highest Congratulations; as he also was by the other Collegues; being once admitted to be present at a Publick Session. Two days were employed in surveying the City, the Ruins of *Gergois* on a neighbouring Hill, and the

Springs round about the City; in one of which the Water petrifies immediately from its very Source; and, if Care was not taken, every Day, before it grew hard, to scower the Channel, through which it runs, That Spring would long since have been obstructed.

After three Days, Leave being taken of *De Harlay* and *Brulard*, through *Montferrand*, and *Tbiers*, a Place distinguished by the Conveniency of its Situation, and Water Mills for the making of Paper, and through *Saint Bonnet*, he came to *Lions*; where he fortunately met with *Lewis Châteigner d'Aubin*, sent thither by the King in order to visit the Provinces, and staid with him three Days. In the mean time he searched the Shops of the Booksellers *De Tournes* and *Rouille*, and saw *James Dalechamps*, who was then employ'd in his *Pliny*, and assisted *Rouille* in preparing an Edition of an Herbarry; in which it is very observable, as *De Thou* learnt from *Dalechamps* himself, and fit to be universally known, that This Work had been compiling by different Persons for 30 Years, and was for the most Part actually printed off, when *Dalechamps* lent the last hand to it; to which it is owing, that some things are written with more, others with less Accuracy, and, that there are found several Repetitions and Interpolations; yet so, that the last are always the best. This happened on the First of November, the Festival of *All Saints*, on which Day *Christopher*, the Father of *De Thou*, departed to God. The Son, who received no Intelligence of the matter 'till a little before his Arrival at *Paris*, compleated his Travels; and, through *Villefranche* in the *Beaujolais*, *Mascon*, *Tornus*, a Town distinguished by an Abbey, *Châlons*, all lying near the *Saone*, he at last, leaving the *Saone* to the Right-hand and the East, came to *Beaune*, a Town well known for a strong Castle built upon a Rivulet, and for its Wines, which are every where celebrated. In the Neighbourhood of this Place is the Abbey of *Cîteaux*, the most famous in all Christendom; on which, above a thousand and Seventy Monasteries, and near as many Nunneries, are dependant: It was built by Duke *Otho* in the Year of Christ, 1098. Here *De Thou*, waited upon Monsieur *Boucheat* the Abbot, as a Friend of his Father's, a Man of Learning, Prudence, and of long Experience, which both in the Capacity of *Vicaire*, and afterwards of Abbot, he had gained in divers Travels through *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, and the *Netherlands*. This Person had already received Advice of *Christopher's* Death; but, because he saw the Son ignorant of the matter, disssembled his Knowledge, and contented himself with inviting him to Dinner, and, because it was rainy Weather, of asking him to stay the whole Day. But *De Thou* made his Excuse, and went to *Dijon*, the present Capital of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, though not an Episcopal City; washed partly by the *Suzon*, from which it often suffers by Inundations; and partly by the *Ouche*, a good Fishery, and upon other Accounts a very convenient River; by an equitable Provision of Nature, that, as much as it is annoyed by the One, so much it should be benefited by the Other. Here is the Church of *Saint Benigne*, built by *Gregory* Bishop of *Langres*; and under it a Cave or Grotto, in which that Favourite of God either lay hid, or was bound, because he persisted in calling off the Heathens from their Error, to the true Knowledge of God. The Supream Tribunal of the Province has also its Seat in this City. The Citadel, built by *Lewis XII.*, is not very strong; there was once a stronger at a little Distance, called *Talan*, which was afterwards demolished: Without the City, there is a famous Abbey of *Carthusians*, where, in the midst of the Choir, three Sepulchres of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, related to the Royal Family, are to be seen. *De Thou* paid his Respects to *Denis Brulard*, First President of the Parliament; who had also heard of *Christopher's* Death, but, as he took a Pleasure in his Guest, and did not care to send him away sorrowful, had a Mind to conceal it from him: Yet he launched into his Father's Praises, so much further than the Modesty of the Son could well bear, that it might even Then have raised a Suspicion, that he was not so much commending a living, as celebrating a deceased Person. From thence, after two Days, he departed, and went first to *Saint Seine*, where the River *Seine* has its Source; then to *Châtillon* on the same River, a Town honoured enough by the Birth of *William Philander*, a Man of universal Learning, *Musfi-Evêque*, *Gyè*, *Bar*, and lastly to *Troyes*, a noble City, and formerly the Seat and Burying Place of the Counts Palatin *de Champagne*, and now peopled with Families of wealthy Merchants. *De Thou*, having staid here one Day, sets forwards, entirely ignorant of what had happened to him; for the Servants were cautious, that he should know nothing of it, 'till he was come very near to *Paris*. By the Route therefore of *Mery*, *Pont*, where the *Aube* runs into the *Seine*, and *Nogent*, all Towns lying upon the same River; and, leaving the River to the left, he came to *Provins*, a Town standing on the side of an Hill, but populous, and distinguished by a Convent dedicated to *St. James*; though it is liable to Inundations, when the Rivulet, which washes it, is swoln by the Rains. From thence he advanced by the

Way

Way of *Nangis* to *Boissi*; where, after Dinner, the *Swiss* Colonel, who had come with him from *Lions*, informed him of his Father's Death; having first prepared him to compose his Mind to Patience, and that he would not set himself against the Will of God, who had so determined concerning him; but, without murmuring, adore His Judgments, and interpret the Casualty as his Father's Happiness and his own. *De Thou* nevertheless, who had entertained a strong Persuasion of his Father's Health, being struck with the unexpected News, felt the most piercing Grief, in proportion to the Hopes he had conceived of his Father's longer Life. Therefore plunging himself wholly into sad Thoughts, for himself and the Commonwealth, (of which, in the midst of his private Losses, he never cast away the Care), he mounted on Horse-back, and performed the rest of the Journey like a Man absent from himself. On that very Day the Corps of the Deceased had been interred, although he had died fifteen Days before in the Vacation; by the special Command of the King, who had ordered the Funeral to be deferred, that it might be celebrated with the greater Pomp; and indeed it cost four thousand Crowns, which was all the Money that the Deceased had left behind him. For this unambitious Man, who was not only a Stranger likewise to Avarice, but a mortal Hater of that deadly Vice, had ordered his Domestick Affairs, (of which he generally was apt to be negligent) in such a manner, that he took care to owe nothing, and kept a little Money in reserve, either against any future Emergencies of his own, or for the King's Use, when he should require a Loan, or for the Service of his Friends, and other Purposes. This Sum therefore being all expended, when there was nothing left in the House, yet no Word of Complaint, or tending to move Pity, was heard to fall from the Widow, when the King with his Queen, and his Mother *Catherine* came to the Deceased's House to condole with her: But like a Woman, who cast all her Hopes and Comfort upon God, and, in such a Loss, despised all Human Succours, she was heard by the By-standers only to say, that sufficient Care had been taken of Her and her Family by the divine Providence, so that they could want for nothing, if the Grace of Heaven, which indeed they could not have without asking, was not wanting to them. This Speech, made by a Woman abandoned to Grief, and relying upon Celestial Assistance, to the Exclusion of all other Hopes, confounded the King; who, having been accustomed to make lavish Presents even to unworthy Persons, departed (with his Mother, a Lady of the same Temper) secretly mortified, that, by this Contempt of Human things, he was deprived of the Glory of shewing his generous Intentions. *Peter Duval*, a most excellent Physician, (whose Hearer *De Thou* had formerly been, as is above related, in the *Burgundian* College) had attended the sick Man, together with *John le Grand*, *James Piètre*, *Leonard Botol*, and others, and had stood by, when the Body was opened; which was a necessary Operation for the keeping it sweet. This Person used to say, that he had never seen a Body better formed by Nature, more entire in all its Parts, less weakened by old Age, and, what was more admirable, when the Head was opened, no Brain either closer or fuller, (even in a young Man, much less in one of His Age) or that was less depressed or gaping. As he was a Man, besides his eminent Skill, of a great Genius and Discernment, so that he could form a true Judgment of others; he was wont to say, that he had never either heard of, or himself known, any Couple (speaking of *Christopher* and *de Tuleu*), that might be compared with them; whether we consider their True Piety free from all Colouring and Ostentation, or their Love of Truth and unspotted Manners, favouring of the Primitive Times, and far removed from all Ambition, Desire of Gain, Hatred and Flattery; or who were, at home, more chaste, or abroad more just, more generous; and, in their whole Conversation, more candid and humane. *De Thou*, when he came into the City, yet full of the dismal but magnificent Procession, made haste to his House, and found there his Unkles, *Nicolas* Bishop of *Chartres*, and *Augustin* the Royal Advocate; and, after mutual Condolements, he was introduced by them immediately to his Mother, where the Condolent was renewed; after which they took Leave of each other.

From that time he bent his Mind wholly upon this one thing, that, as he had not been able, in Person, to catch his Father's last Breath, he might not suffer his Memory, of it self illustrious, to perish; but, as far as lay in his Power, might recommend it to Posterity by some lasting Memorials. To a Father therefore, so well deserving of himself and the Commonwealth, the pious Son erected two Monuments; the one carved by the excellent Hand of *Bartholomew Priour*, which, in the private Chapel of Messieurs *De Thou*, in the Church of St. *Andrew des Arcs*, is seen, with great Admiration of the Artificer, and a pleasant Remembrance of a most worthy Citizen; the other more durable and exposed to Sight, the Handy-work of the best Masters in the Age; and These took up two Years in the making: For *Priour* could not finish
his

his Work in less time, nor could so many Friends, dispersed here and there, be sooner invited or meet together, to the Celebration of a publick Funeral. When all the Persons summoned out of *France*, the *Netherlands*, *Germany* and *Italy*, had made their Appearance; *Peter Ronsard*, whose decayed Parts had made him sluggish, was the only one wanting; who, to make amends for this Defect, excused himself by a new and honourable Dedication of his *Orpheus*. On this Occasion the Friendship was renewed with *Mark-Antony Muret*, *Peter Angeli de Borge*, *Gilbert Genebrard*, *Le Fevre de la Boderie*, (who with others assisted in the Edition of the *Plantin Bible*), *John Daurat*, *John Passerat*, *Germain Vaillant*, *Nicolas le Sueur*, *Adrian du Drac*, *Charles Menard*, 2. *Sept. Florent Cbrestien*, his most intimate Acquaintance *Scevole de Sainte Marthe*, *William Saluste du Bartas*, *Robert Stephens*, *John Guyon of Autun*, *Henry Stephens*, and others; and a New one was contracted with *Janus Gulielmius of Lubeck*, a young Man of admirable Parts: Add to these his old Friends, *Joseph Scaliger*, *Nicolas Audebert*, *William du Vaur*, *Peter Pitbou*, *Anthony l'Oisel*, *Augustin Provost* (formerly mentioned), *Nicolas Rapin*, *Lewis Aleaume*, *Peter Champagne of Bourdeaux*; who All with Emulation lent their hearty Assistance, in favour of *De Thou*; who, with the same pious Honours, had celebrated the Funeral of his dearest Brother *John*, about three Years before, assisted by *Daurmat*, *Passerat*, *Scaliger*, *Le Sueur*, *Du Drac*, *Charles de Marillac*, *Florent Cbrestien*, and *Rapin*. When he had abstained for some time from Parliament, he returned at length to his Function, taking Comfort, abroad in Business, at home in constant reading: And, because he was highly delighted with Painting, he even entertained in his House *Claude de Châlons*, an excellent Copier from the best Hands, and a Person agreable to him, not only for his Skill, but the Sweetness of his Temper; whom, whilst he himself read, he looked upon, as he was Painting, with Pleasure. At last, the more to wean his Mind from Sorrow, he reviewed his *Art of Falconry*, and at the Exhortation of *Philip Hurault de Chiverni*, the Sub-Chancellor, his Brother-in-law, added a third Book, *Upon the Physick of Hawks*; using therein the Assistance of *Francis de l'Orme*, a Physician of *Poitiers*, who then happened to be at *Paris* upon Business, and came frequently to him; the same Person, who formerly wrote a *Treatise of the Spleen*, published with a Book of *Hippocrates*, *Of Wounds in the Head*, which was translated into *Latin* and corrected by *Francis Vertunian*, or *La Vau*; wherein he maintains a new Opinion, far different from the common one, in relation to the Uses of that Part: For *De Thou* was afraid, lest, in the Names of Medicines and salutary Plants, which he had taken from barbarous and generally ignorant Writers of those things, he might happen to commit Mistakes in using One for Another; which by calling in the Assistance of a skilful Person he hoped to avoid. He afterwards published the whole Work, with a Copy of Verses to *Hurault de Chiverni* prefixed, wherein he maintains a Dispute with him, upon the Course of Life which he should follow for the future. This afforded an Occasion for renewing the Consultation concerning his Marriage: For *Hurault* also had been designed for Holy Orders; and afterwards, by the Advice of his Elder Brother *James Seigneur de Vibraye*, whose Wife being elderly brought him no Children, had, about fifteen Years before, married *Anne* the Sister of *De Thou*, who had born him a fine Offspring. The Counsel therefore, which he had taken himself, and found most conducive to his Interest, he now gave to *De Thou* as salutary and honourable, and inspired him with a Resolution to change his Course of Life, and contract Marriage. Which however, as his Mother continued yet immersed in Sorrow, and his own Temper was not very active in what concerned himself, was put off to another Time.

The Chancellor *Renato Biragha*, then a Cardinal, had maintained an intimate Friendship with *Christopher*, whilst the latter was alive; so that he not only felt a hearty Concern for his Death, but looked upon himself as obliged to assist his Widow and Children to the utmost. For he was indeed a generous Man, of a sincere and liberal Disposition, and who, having seen and experienced the same Virtues in *Christopher*, was resolved to maintain his Name and Dignity: He therefore often sent to compliment *De Thou's* Mother, and to offer his Service; and almost every Month, by *Leonard Babel*, invited *De Thou* himself to his Table, and, notwithstanding his Age and Dignity, talked familiarly to Him who was a young Man, continually renewing the Memory of his old Acquaintance, and their common Fondness for Domestick Animals; for they were each extremely delighted with the Dogs of *Malta*, which we now call the Breed of *Lions*. Then he would tell, how his Father *Galeazzo*, when *Lewis* and *Francis* were still in Possession of *Milan*, being President of That Senate, would carry him, yet a Boy, to the Publick Sessions; where *John-Baptist Pavigarola*, the Father of *Francis* a most celebrated Preacher and Bishop of *Asti*, bore the Prize of Eloquence, which he transferred

as it were by hereditary Descent to his Son in another Profession ; and used to exhort him to hear Him, and, if possible, to emulate him : But that He, who knew but little of the Civil Law at that time, and had a natural Inclination to Arms, and to the French Interest, which subsisted merely by Force in the *Milanese* and all *Piedmont*, had so formed the Plan of his Conduct, that he studied the Arts both of War and Peace, and fitted himself for the Administration of Affairs in One and the Other : That accordingly, as soon as he had been chosen into the Parliament of *Paris*, he immediately passed over into *Italy*, and performed very considerable things, by his Counsel and Influence over our Governours, for the compleat Space of thirty Years ; discharged several very honourable Negotiations, and, upon the Conclusion of the Peace with King *Philip* and the Duke of *Savoy*, was rewarded with the Government of *Lions*, and raised from thence to the highest Honour of the Long-Robe. This Narrative of so great a Man, delivered from his own Mouth without Gloss or Ostentation, I have judged not unworthy to be subjoined in this Place. I shall add with Grief, what I find noted in the same Memoirs, that he left one only Daughter, a Woman of exemplary Chastity, and of a Mind truly Liberal and like the Father's, and in which nothing could be required, but some Measure in that Liberality. She had been bestowed in Marriage, first by her Father, to the Marshal *Imbert de la Platiere-Bourdillon*, a General of Distinction ; upon whose leaving her without Children, in some Years after, she was married with her Father's Consent and Assistance to *John de Laval* Count de *Maille*, afterwards Marquis de *Nesse* and Count de *Joigny* ; upon whose Decease again, without any surviving Children, she entered into a Contract of Marriage with *James d'Amboise*, a third Husband, against the Father's Inclination, though the Gentleman was descended from the illustrious French Family of *Aubigny* ; and she discharged her Obligation presently after the Father's Death. Then, as she had hitherto lived in a generous manner, it is no wonder, if to a young Husband, liberal also and needy, as receiving no Allowance from his Father, she could not deny any thing, to enable him to sustain the immoderate Expences, necessary in a Court dissolved in Luxury. Thus, in a short time, it happened, that all the Money and truly Royal Furniture, left by her Father (who had always lived splendidly, but within Bounds), was consumed, and especially by the last Expedition into *Xaintonge*, in which *D'Amboise*, together with the Duke de *Joyeuse* General of the Army, was slain. Her Husband therefore being lost, and all her Estate dissipated, in a short time after (through the Violence of her Grief) she fell into a languishing Distemper ; of which Illness at length, after she had maintained a long and troublesome Law-suit with *Florimond Biragba*, her Cousin-German (whom the Father, foreboding his Daughter's Misfortune, had left Trustee, and who likewise died about the same time at *Paris*) she died in the utmost Want, so that she had not enough for her Burial ; some Court-Ladies, whose Favour she had formerly merited by all kinds of Beneficence, making a Purse for her daily Sustenance, whilst she lived, and for her Funeral, when she was dead. This may serve as an excellent Lesson to Our Widows and other Ladies of Quality, that they should use Moderation in their Expences, and that, in the Choice of Husbands, they should follow the Judgment of their Parents and Guardians. In the same Year, of which we are here speaking, died the Cardinal *Biragba* ; whose Obsequies were celebrated with great Pomp ; the whole Parliament, and all the other Magistrates (which is an Honour paid only to Kings, the Brothers and Sons of Kings, and the Constable) attending the Funeral. The Corps was carried back to *S. Catherine's*, whence it had set out, and buried within the Chapel, in a noble Vault, which he had built for himself and his Wife *Valentina Balbiani*. He, a little before (for neither does This seem fit to be omitted), even after he had been chosen Cardinal, had restored an obsolete Custom, which afterwards was dropped again, of a religious Procession, round the whole Parish of *S. Paul*, the largest in *Paris*, next to That of *S. Eustace*. The Manner was this : At Midnight, by the Light of Torches, a Cross being born before, first walked the Clergy ; then followed a Number of Men and Women, Boys and Girls, of all Ages, in a Pace not light or indecent, but orderly, and answering to the Musick of the Anthems. More than six Thousand of each Age and Sex went singing, and marched as it were in solemn Supplication, between Arches erected in the Streets, and adorned with the Arms of the *Biragbas* ; Tables being set by the way with Wine and Sweet-Meats, which by some of his Domesticks appointed for that Purpose were respectfully presented to them, as they passed, without Tumult or Wantonness. *Peter du Val*, already mentioned, used to say, that the same thing had been frequently practised, when He was a Boy, in *St. Benedict's* Parish ; and that the Procession reached from the further End of the Suburb of *S. James*, as

far as the Arch of the Little *Châtelet*, and from thence along *Maubert-Street*, and the Abbey of *Carmelites*: These Sights, fitter for Occasions of Publick Joy than of Devotion, which took their first beginning from Simplicity, because in Process of time, through the spreading of Wickedness, they degenerated into Licentiousness, and, in a suspected Season might give Offence, had by Degrees fallen into Defuetude: Though, when the same Shews were renewed by the Authority of so considerable a Person, No-body put an ill Interpretation upon them: So true it is, that these and many other Matters of the like Nature are wisely or unwisely used or tolerated, according to the Difference of Times, Places, and Persons.

END of the Second BOOK.



BOOK



B O O K III.

THE Year 1584 had now begun its Race, fatal to *De Thou* and the Chancellor *De Chiverni*; the Wife of the Latter, *Anne de Thou*, being carried off by a violent Distemper after Child-bearing, at *Rouquette* within a Mile of *Paris*. Her Mother *Jacqueline de Turenne* constantly attended her, and discharged the last Office of Piety with the most perfect Resolution. The Husband, though the First Magistrate, abstained from going abroad for some days; taking Comfort, within his own Walls, not so much from the Resort of Courtiers from the adjoining Palace, as from the solitary Conversation of his Friends, and especially *De Thou*, who partook in the same Grief. The Corps, born in a Hearsse through the City with great Pomp, was carried to the Castle of *Chiverni* in the *Blinois*, and interred in the Vault of his Ancestors. After the forty days of Mourning, and when the King had come to *Blois* from *Paris*, the Funeral was performed at *Chiverni* on the 26th day of *October*, attended by a numerous Company of Prelates, Relations and Friends, who had been honourably invited to it. *Renaud de Beaulne*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Chancellor's near Relation, praised the Deceased, in an elegant Harangue; which in the same Year was published, together with Verses composed by *John Daurat* and *Paul Melisse*, and a Copy of *De Thou's*, wherein he comforts himself and his Brother-in-law in their common Sorrow. Since This is the first Mention, that has been made of *R. de Beaulne*, I cannot proceed farther, without acquainting Posterity with what I have heard in Discourse from *De Thou* concerning a Man so celebrated in his Age and in Our Court. He was Grandson of That *James de Beaulne*, who formerly under King *Francis I.* in compliance with the humour of an imperious Queen-Mother, had been injuriously condemned and put to death. He was admirably instructed from his Childhood in the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages by *James Tousan* and *James Stracelles*; and had so fine a Memory and Judgment, that what he had learnt in those early days from the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, and other Writers of good Note, notwithstanding the Avocations, occasioned by a Life spent wholly in Business of Importance, when occasion offered, he could accurately repeat in Publick or amongst his Friends, and accommodate the same very justly to the Discourse in hand. Many have heard him recite a whole Page of *Homer's* Verses, which he had not read for forty years before. He had also a beautiful Aspect, a soft Eloquence, a Politeness and Sweetness of Manners, and so calm a Temper, that he was never angry, and never hurt any one by a single Expression: Which was the more wonderful in him, because he seemed to be of a Complexion naturally prone to Passion and violent Affections, as being so very hot, that he required a continual Supply of Victuals, in large quantities, not from voraciousness, but for the preservation of his Health, of which he was always from his Youth exceedingly careful. Nor yet did he stand in need of much Sleep or daily Exercise for the business of Digestion, his natural Heat, provided it were kept up, abundantly sufficing for that purpose. For he seldom slept out four hours, before he was awakened by a gnawing Appetite. Accordingly after two o'clock in the morning, or sooner, he awoke and took a Refreshment of Meat by himself, and returned rather to Rest than Sleep, generally inspecting his Domestick Affairs 'till four o'clock: Then he arose and had another Table covered with Meat, at which Guests were not wanting, the whole Family by this time being raised. At eight o'clock he eat a third time, and from thence applied himself to Publick Business, 'till Dinner, at which he always entertained a large Company. In four hours after, he took an Afternoon's Repast, and in the Evening sat down to a Supper as elegantly furnished as his Dinner; and before he went to bed, commonly eat a Beaver. He fed very leisurely,

so that, in Winter, he spent a whole Hour at a Meal; and in Summer, when the Appetite is less keen, he added another Quarter of an hour; and was highly offended with those Ambulatory Suppers, that are used in Our Court; insomuch that, being often invited by a Prince of the First Quality to Dinner, and as often excusing himself, when he was asked the reason, he answered facetiously, that the Prince's way of Eating was more Canine than Human, meaning the hasty manner of his Entertainments: Which being understood, the Other promised to feast him, not only elegantly, as he had used to do, but leisurely; and, when He was invited, admonished the Clerk of the Kitchen, to stay a competent time in bringing on the Messes. In the midst of all this, he never seemed disturbed or drowsy, never laboured under any Heaviness or Pain of the Head, but was always equally Master of himself and ready for any manner of Business; out of which, he loved Repose and familiar Confabulations; preserving to extreme Old Age the same comely Face, no ways deformed with Convulsions or bloody Suffusions, as is generally the Case of intemperate Old People. In that vast Plenty of Nutriment, which he took, whereas, for fear of provoking his exorbitant Appetite, he used neither walking nor other Exercise, he carried off the Redundancy of his natural Juices by frequent Catharticks; which his own Skill in Physick enabled him to prepare at home by some able hands. Accordingly he was seldom sick; and, though his Mind contended with a constant Sluggishness of Body, he was never fatigued. He was chosen very young into the Parliament of *Paris*, and, carrying the appearance of Manhood in a long Beard, became, before the usual time, President of the Class of Inquests (in which Office he always bore a great Character for Industry), then Master of Requests, and quickly afterwards Bishop of *Mande*, by the Interest of his Sister *Margaret*, a great Favourite of the Court, who about that time was married to *Claude Gouffier Marquis de Boissy* (created upon that occasion Duke de *Roanex*) Grand Esceuyer of *France*. Being even then employed in the most important Affairs, he was also Chancellor to *Francis* Duke of *Alençon*, at the time, that, the Household of the King's Brothers being regulated by *Catherine, Christopher* the Father of *De Thou* had been created Chancellor to *Henry* Duke of *Orleans*: Which Court-Preferment, the Latter, who daily attended the Parliament, not being able conveniently to discharge, made it over to his Son-in-law *Philip Hurault de Chiverni*, and thereby opened a Door for him to ascend to the highest Honours. But the House of *Beaulne* (to remark it by the way) was under great Obligations to Messieurs *De Thou*, even from the time of the Grandfather's Calamity; when, being deserted by all, as the Custom is, in the Court and the City, they took Refuge in the Family of the *Thous*. *Renaud* himself continued for some time in the House of *Augustin*, our *De Thou's* Grandfather; and some Steps had then been taken towards marrying the before-mentioned Lady *Margaret* to *Christopher* the Son of *Augustin*. That Match indeed did not take place; yet there remained some Sparks of the old and honourable Flame; so that, when she afterwards grew into such high Favour with *Catherine*, she always shewed the greatest Value for Him of any Man, next to her own Brother: And, having long before her Death made her Last Will, she deposited it with her singular Friend (as she called him) and named Him the Executor of it, and likewise presented him with a Prayer-book, which she had received from *Claude* the Daughter of *Lewis XII.* Wife of *Francis I.* and Mother of *Henry II.* adorned with several Miniatures of Plants, drawn so much to the Life, that Art seemed to vie with Nature; which *De Thou* still keeps amongst his most precious Moveables. I return to *Renaud*, with whom *De Thou* lived afterwards in the strictest Friendship, and, as they both dwelt in the Cloysters, generally supped with him; on which occasions *De Thou* was entertained with the Story of his Grandfather *Augustin* and his late Father, whose Memory that singularly grateful Prelate always preserved in high Veneration. This Familiarity *De Thou* enjoyed for three whole Years, 'till at his Mother's Persuasion he removed from his dwelling in the Cloysters to his Father's House: Neither was it broken off by that Separation of their Persons, but, being confirmed by several Incidents, which the Iniquity of the Times furnished, and which shall hereafter be related, continued uninterruptedly to the last. Mean while the Mother was pressing, that *De Thou* would consider himself, and, since he had desisted for some time from performing Sacred Offices, and had resigned the best part of his Benefices, that he should disengage himself as soon as possible from the Ministry; which however could not be done, as long as he continued amongst the Ecclesiastical Counsellors. He was therefore to quit the Classes of the Inquests, not out of Ambition or the Love of Courtly Splendor, from which he was always naturally averse, but out of necessity; and he was to procure the Office of a Master of the Requests, which amongst Us is granted indifferently to Laymen and Clergymen; in which business there occurred again, at that particular time, a considerable Difficulty. For the King, being of an uneven Temper, after immense Profusions and new and unheard-of Creations

of Officers, had reduced himself to Streights, and had under severe Penalties prohibited the base Sale of Places; which, if vacated by Death or a Judicial Sentence, were ordered either to be altogether extinguished, or to be vested in Commissioners, or to be bestowed, after a nice Scrutiny, upon the most deserving Person: And This must be owned to have been a laudable Appointment, if We had been permitted by the restless Spirit of Incendiaries to enjoy a more lasting Peace. The only way remaining was That of Exchange; by which Method, and not without using the Interest of the Queen-Mother, who had born a wonderful Affection to *Christopher* (for This was even Then reputed a Favour), *De Thou*, on the 10th day of *April*, was preferred to be a Master of the Requests, in the room of *William du Vaur*; who, being hardly arrived at the Years of Manhood, although by reason of his extraordinary Parts and Learning he was judged highly worthy of that Office, yet chose to fit in the Rank of an Ecclesiastical Counsellor, rather than to fly immediately at that Age from the Bar to the Palace. But as *De Thou*, who was considerably broken by the Death of his dearest Sister and his Father, sought Comfort in the midst of the Publick and his Private Troubles; returning to Reading and his former Studies, he used the Instruction of *Maurice Bressieu* Royal Professor of the Mathematicks, who had lately shared the *Ramean* Chair with *John Stadius*, by the Direction of the most illustrious *Francis de Foix Candale*; and carefully ran through the *Greek Euclid* with *Proclus's Scholia*, for all that Year, as far as business would give leave, and the next. About the Close of that Year he also undertook a Poetical Paraphrase of *Job*, thinking it next to the Psalter the most worthy Subject, in which even the best Wits might exercise themselves; as being a Book, which for the greater part, and indeed, excepting the beginning (that is the first two Chapters, and the last) is All written in Hexameter Verses, in the judgment at least of *St. Jerom*; with Dactyls and Spondees, mixed, according to the humour of the Language, with other Feet not of equal Syllables, but of equal Times; and sometimes ending in Rhime or a pleasant jingle, in a sort of Numerous Prose; which is better tasted by Musical Men than by an ordinary Reader. Certainly the Stile appears even from the Version, which is somewhat obscure, to be wholly figurative: And in the Explication of it, besides *St. Jerom's* Interpretation, *De Thou* made use of *Jahn Mercier's* most accurate Commentaries; that, as far as he could, he might express the Truth of the *Hebrew*, with some Elegancy of *Latin* Diction, and, for the benefit of the Reader, might connect those things, which at first sight appeared separate and disjointed. Upon communicating his Design, he was encouraged to proceed by *Peter Pitbou*, by whom whatsoever was approved, he persuaded himself would meet with no body's disapprobation. He laboured two whole Years in the Work; in which time *Aulus Gellius* and *Macrobius* were printed by *Henry Stephens*, with borrowed Types, because he had none of his own; but, upon the Rise of some Differences between Him and *Lewis Carion* of *Bruges*, who set out that Edition, and the Owner of the Types, a Man of a turbulent Temper, quarrelling with them Both, the Annotations, which he had promised to *Carion*, and of which he had only given a Specimen upon *Gellius*, were not added; notwithstanding the Pains taken by *De Thou* and *Claude du Puy*, the Common Friend of Each, to persuade *Carion*, that he would suffer himself to be overcome by the Intreaties of his Friends, who expected something very considerable from those Notes for the Service of Learning. *Janus Gulielmus* was also then in the City, preparing a Work of greater Consequence, viz. a new Edition of *Tully*; with whom when the Printers, invited by the hopes of Gain, were making their bargain, *Stephens* likewise offered to treat with him; but, Difficulties arising again, and *Gulielmus* being gone about that time to the Great *Cujas* at *Bourges*, and dying shortly after, the Design did not take Effect. Many other things made this a sorrowful Year to *De Thou* and all Good Men: As first, the Death of *Francis* the King's Brother, which opened a way to the *Spaniards* for the recovery of the *Netherlands* (from whence and from no other Quarter they have always made War upon *France*) and soon raised a Civil War amongst Us: Also the Death of *Paul de Foix* Archbishop of *Tbolouze*, and of *Guy du Faur de Pibrac* a President in the Parliament of *Paris*; of whom many things have been said in the Annals and above in these Memoirs: To which it ought to be added, that by the Good Offices of *Guy*, and the Care of *De Thou* and *Sevole de Sainte Marthe*, the Poems of *Michael de l'Hospital* were published; but indeed in the Decline of *Guy's* Health; so that neither He could overlook the Work, which he had set on Foot, nor They supply what he had left deficient. For *Guy* kept all the Papers in his own Custody; so that they had no opportunity of seeing them, before the Publication, in one View, and of digesting them in Order of Time, which would have added great Light and Ornament to the Work: Which Now *De Thou* professes himself able to do, and to augment them by a third part, as soon as he has disposed them by the Direction of *Peter Pitbou* and *Nicolas le Fevre*.

A. D. 1585. The Duke of Brabant's Death (so he was called) was followed the next Year by a Civil War, which proved fatal to the King and Kingdom and at last to the Incendiaries themselves. *De Thou*, that he might fortify himself with Resolution against the Publick Calamity, proceeded in his *Job*, and under his Master *Bressieu* diverted his melancholy Thoughts with Mathematical Studies. Several times had his Uncle *Augustin*, the Royal Advocate, pressed *De Thou*; that, by the Interest of Friends, of whom he had Many at Court, he would procure himself to be named his Successor, in an Office, which he ingenuously owned to have been conferred upon him by the Favour of the Father; and that he would endeavour to obtain a Patent from the King to that purpose: For that it grieved him, that upon His Death That Dignity should be lost to the Family; and he should die with a more contented Mind, if a Post, which he could not leave to his Son, as being of a different Profession, might descend as it were by inheritance to his Nephew. On the other side, *De Thou* thanked his Uncle for so benevolent an Intention towards him, and excused himself from taking a laborious Office, consisting in Publick Action, for which he had not at all prepared himself from his Youth, and in an almost constant Address to the Audience. But, not long after This, by the Publication of the Edict of Union, not only the Peace and Publick Security was disturbed, but a wider Door than ever was opened to those Sales of Places so strictly forbidden; and forthwith the Office of President, which by the Death of *De Pibrac* had been extinguished in the former Years, was conferred upon *De Thou's* Uncle by the King's Pleasure: Which he would not accept, 'till he had bound *De Thou* under a Religious Obligation, to employ all his Friends, that he might be nominated his Successor in that Post, from which he could no longer excuse himself: For that, otherwise, if he considered the point of Advantage, it was more eligible for Him to sit the First of Three, than the Last amongst the Presidents. Thus a Bargain was concluded between them, without any other Condition, than what *De Thou* of his own accord subjoined by word of mouth; which at length, after the Uncle's Death and not before, he bound himself under his hand to perform, and at last punctually executed. As for Those Persons, who carry such a mighty appearance of Religion in their Countenance, Lips, Words and Bodily Behaviour, let them go and exemplify the same Honesty, Faith and Charity, not in Words but in Facts, without Gloss or Colouring. No other Condition was added by this Man of singular Gratitude, than that *De Thou* should not, as he had used to do in his Domestick Affairs, behave himself carelessly and negligently, but that he should attend the Business with Diligence and Assiduity. The Proposal, however, as it seemed to concern his own Interest more than That of Others, *De Thou*, after his Custom, made light of, and not 'till the next Year, an opportunity being offered, attempted and in a moment brought it to an Issue.

At this time, when News arrived of the Death of Pope Gregory XIII; the King, although he knew, that the First Foundations of the League had been laid under His Direction, nevertheless feared; lest, upon His Death, a New one might be elected of a more violent Temper; who, with respect to the Fire already kindled by his Predecessor, instead of extinguishing it by the Water of gentle Prudence, might inflame it more and more by pouring Oyl upon it. It seemed therefore expedient in the first place, and the King highly approved the Proposal, that *Charles de Bourbon*, who had lately been admitted to the Purple, and, to distinguish him from his Uncle, was called the Cardinal *de Vendôme*, should go to Rome to the ensuing Election, and by his presence maintain the King's and the Kingdom's Cause, that is, his Own, against the Faction of the League. He, out of an Affection for Letters, had for some Years kept up a strict Correspondence with *De Thou*, and was thought to use and follow his Advice; in pursuance of which, in the former Year, at the Assembly of *S. Germain*, he had disputed the Prerogative of the First Seat with *Lewis Cardinal de Guise*, contrary to the inclination of his Uncle the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, who was devoted to the Faction. Having from that time had frequent Struggles with his Uncle, he met with opposition from him in the proposed Journey to Rome, and was at length absolutely hindered. *De Thou* had offered to bear him Company, and engaged his Service to him in all things, even so far, as to be bound for what Money he should borrow: Which Obligation he afterwards entered into, to his great Loss, and greater Trouble and Inconveniency; when, upon the Cardinal's dying before all that Debt had been discharged, he was unreasonably troubled by the Creditors. For such is his Temper and Fate, that, during the Publick Calamities, he merits the Friendship of Princes and Nobles, by supporting their ill fortune either with Consolation or Advice, hoping for nothing again, but the hidden Treasure of a Good Conscience; with which being well contented, he insensibly withdraws himself from the same Persons, as they grow prosperous, and leaves an empty Place for the Worshipers of the Fortunate; who are generally Flatterers, and unfaithful Friends; by whom the Others

Others suffer themselves to be deceived, forgetting the real Services of their Friends, delighting in Lies, and abhorring nothing worse than the Adorers of Truth. To which it is owing (pardon the Invidiousness of the Remark), that when *De Thou* has deserved well of many Great Men, he has perpetually found them ungrateful. Nevertheless He, with whom it is a fixed Rule, never to depart from himself, or to be weary of well doing, has for some time fortified his mind with Patience; that he might neither repent of a Life innocently employed, nor change the Method of it for the future, although he has hitherto suffered for preserving his Honour, and refusing a servile Obsequiousness. Which Observations, though occasioned by the Mention of the Cardinal *De Vendôme*, *De Thou* would not by any means have to be understood of Him, whose good Affections he always experienced 'till the Year 1591, when a Third Faction prevailed, whilst the King was besieging *Chartres*; which, upon the Death of his Uncle, that the Factions might not want a Leader from amongst the Royal Family, through the Craft of some wicked Men about him, involved this credulous Prince, and rendered his old Friends, who were averse to the Design, suspected by him. For Then *De Thou*, finding himself coldly regarded, instead of the high Favour which he had before experienced from him, as soon as *Paris* was recovered, asserted his Ancient Freedom, and had a final Farewel to the Court; resolving to proceed in the Great Work begun by him two years before, which he had now brought down to the Reign of *Francis II.* And yet, when that illustrious Prince lay sick at *S. Geneviève* and soon after at *S. Germain*, of the Illness by which he died, he often sent for *De Thou*, and neither saw nor discoursed with any one more familiarly, to the last Breath of his Life, than Him; and particularly, when in a private Conversation, which they frequently had together for their mutual Comfort, they deplored the miserable Scene of Affairs; and Each expressed his just Indignation, that through Our Indolence and Blindness, and by the Civil War commenced amongst Us and fomented from abroad, a Door was opened to the Successes of the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, and to the Duke of *Savoy's* Ambition. This afforded the Subject of an Ode, inscribed to him on the 1st day of *April* in this Year, which it will not be amiss to subjoin in this Place.

* *Sidus coruscum Borbonie domus,*
Et magna stirpis gloria Regiæ,
Ocelle Musarum, & togatæ
Carole grande decus Minervæ;
Vides ut armis omnia perstreant,
Totamque versis in se animis furens
Committat Europæ Enyo
Gorgoneo metuenda flagro!
Tot cladibus jam totque domesticis
Fracti procellis, tot redeuntium
In se malorum aestu madentes,
*Tristibus & toties * procellis*
Prædæque onusti civicâ, ad ultimum
Vincendo victi, scilicet invidi
Hoc egimus, virtute avitâ
Finitimis populis tremendum,
Formidolosumque imperium exteris,
Everti ut esset nunc facile hostibus,
Et Marte jam destructa nostro
Mania victor Iber subiret.

* rather
 trophies

Ignara

* You *Charles*, the Bright Star of the House of *Bourbon*, and the Great Honour of the Royal Progeny, Eye of the Muses, and the Glory of the Learned Robe; You see how all Places are filled with the Noise of Arms, and how the enraged Fury with her terrible *Gorgonean* Scourge involves all *Europe* in a Quarrel. After we have been broken by so many domestick Disasters and Storms, overwhelmed with such a Tide of returning Calamities, loaded with so many sad Trophies, the Spoils of our Country, and at last conquered by conquering; what have we spitefully been doing, but reducing an Empire, which by its ancient Valour

Ignara recti pectora consili!
Parumne nostri sanguinis heu! super
Campisque Neptunoque utroque
Bella per Insidiasque fustum est?
Testes tot urbes, mater & urbium
Pars ipsa motus maxima civici,
Et fortium volvens acervos
Anne Liger rapido virorum,
Vigenna testis, totque Carantonus
Nuper canoris cinctus oloribus,
Clanisque vorticofus amnis,
Testis & aquoreus Garumna.
At ceu nihil nos jam toties mala
*Experta tangant, pr.**
Ad arma conjurati, ad arma
Currimus immemores pericli:
Dotale non ut rursus in Insubrum
Regnum inferamus signa, nec alite
Ut auspiciore sumptis
Partenopen repetamus armis,
Non ut feracis rursus Apulie
Vertamus uncis arva ligonibus,
Terraque victores marique
Per Siculas equitemus undas;
Non clostra ut inter Caspia Thracium
Noster tyrannum miles agat, nec ut
Tandem resurgentes Sionis
Pronus humi veneretur arces.
Stat cuncta ferro perdere, dum sum
Diram expleamus, dum satis ambitus
Desiderantis usque plura
Fiat, avaritiæque voto.
Iustus quidem ira principio impetus,
Ceco simultas atque odio flagrans
Tot bella patratasque cedes,
Sedibus atque reclusa ab imis

Delubra

Valour was formidable to its Neighbours and to Foreigners, to a State of being easily overthrown by its Enemies; so that the victorious Spaniard may enter in at the Walls, which we ourselves have demolished? Ignorant and unadvised Souls! Is it a small quantity of Our Blood that has been spilled in the Field and in both Oceans by Wars and Ambuscades? Witness so many Cities, and the Mother of Cities, which has born a principal Share in the Intestine Troubles; and the River Loire, which has rolled heaps of brave Men in its rapid Stream. Vienne is witness to it, and the Charente lately full of tuneful Swans, the Eddies of the Clain, and the capacious Bed of the Garonne. But, as if none of these repeated, experienced Evils touched us, we enter into a fresh Conspiracy, and run to Arms, to Arms, unmindful of the Danger: Not in order to carry Our Arms into the Milanese, Our Right by Marriage-Settlements, or to attempt with hopes of better Success the Recovery of Naples: Not to plow up the fruitful Fields of La Puglia, and, being victorious by Sea and Land, to ride triumphant in the Sicilian Floods: Not, that Our Troops may put the Thracian Tyrant to flight on the Borders of the Caspian Sea, or rebuild at length the venerable Towers of Sion. But Our Resolution is to destroy every thing with the Sword, 'till we have quenched our horrid Thirst, 'till the utmost Cravings of Ambition and Avarice are satisfied.

Delubra Divum excuset, at heu nefas!

Mercede conducti arma resumimus,

Auroque decepti exterisque

Fraudibus ecce iterum retusum

In nostra caci viscera condimus

Ferrum; negabunt postera scilicet

Hoc secula, nec credent nepotes

Tantum odijs licuisse nostris.

In castra Gallus transit Iberica

Turpis relicto transfuga Principe,

At ecce feriantur hostes

Interea, memorique avitum

Sub corde celans dedecus Allobrox

Vigil nivosis excubat Alpibus,

Qualesque praeputa sedentes

Vulturij in specula jacentum

Procul sagaci nare cadaverum

Ducunt odorem, sic vaser imminet

*Præda * rapina, seque tanta*

Spe recreat tacitus ruine.

Nec heu furoris nec scelerum piget?

Saltem jacentes nos pudor erigat:

Impune nunc postis refractis,

Excubitor & aperta nullo

Patent Iberi limitis ostia,

Impune lentus Belgium obambulat

Parmensis, & late incruento

Milite cuncta tenet superbus.

Tunsus marinis Barcino fluctibus

Nunc nuptiali letitia fremit,

Talassionis flans Iberus

Insolitum bibit aure murmur;

Nuperque nostris heu genibus minor

Ludos Sabaudus nunc agit, & nova

Securus armorum marita

Oscula dat sine cade victor.

* rather
Prado

satisfied. At first indeed the Rage of Passion was to be justified, and the old secret Grudges may excuse the Wars, Slaughters, and demolition of Churches: But now alas! we return to Arms for Pay, and, deceived by the Gold and Frauds of Foreigners, we blindly sheath again our Swords in our own Bowels. Posterity will surely deny the Fact, and never believe that our Animosities could have gone so far. The French, leaving their Prince, turn vile Deserters to the Spanish Camp. But see! the Enemy in the mean time makes Holiday, and the Duke of Savoy, remembering his Grandfather's Disgrace, lies watchful upon the snowy Alps: And as Vultures, sitting upon the top of a Rock, smell the Carcasses from afar, so That cunning Plunderer hovers over his Prey, and secretly pleases himself with the hopes of a rich Booty. And are we not yet concerned for Our Fury and Wickedness? At least let Shame rouse us again. How securely, and without a Guard, do the Spanish Frontiers lye open! How leisurely does the Duke of Parma traverse the Netherlands without Fear, and proudly holds the Country in subjection without Fighting! The Maritime City of Barcelona is now ringing with Nuptial Joys, whilst the Spaniards stand idly listening to the new Bridal Song: and the Savoyard, lately a Suppliant at Our Feet, is celebrating Festivals, and, fearless of Our Arms, is safely revelling in the Embraces of his new Spouse.

1586.

In the mean time *De Thou's* Mother was urgent, that, since he had now entered upon the Office of a Master of Requests, and had resigned his Benefices, he would come home to his Father's House. When therefore, for near two Years together, he had eluded her Commands and Intracacies, he could not longer withstand her daily Expostulations. Her Design was not so much to have her Son with her, though she had This very much in view, as to persuade him, that he would think seriously of another Course of Life, and indeed of Matrimony. At length the Goods were all packed up, and chiefly the Library, now a very rich and numerous one; which, lest the Books, which were finely bound, should be damaged, was removed in Boxes (for with respect to all other matters, *De Thou* was less solicitous); and the indulgent Parent accordingly had her just Desire satisfied. The Uncle *Augustin*, on His Part, was no less impatiently pressing, that, in Case of Death, his Nephew might be entered as his Successor, in the new Dignity of President, which he had accepted on That Condition; in the pursuit of which Affair he often accused *De Thou* of Negligence, and well nigh treated him with Reproaches: It happened about the same time, that *Francis Choesne*, Lieutenant-General of *Chartres*, was then in the City. This Person, when a Boy, had served *Paul de Foix*, during his Embassies, in the Capacity of Reader, and particularly in the Italian Expedition, in which *De Thou* had likewise accompanied *De Foix*. From thence an intimate Friendship had grown up between them, which from the Opinion of each others Virtue, and an Agreement in Politicks, had been increased. When he came therefore to pay his Respects to *Augustin*, the latter, knowing his Intimacy with *De Thou*, began to enter into a sort of familiar Complaint, and begged him to persuade his Friend, not to carry himself so indolently in his own Affairs. *Choesne* undertook the Charge very willingly, and looking upon it as a Business that would be acceptable to *Augustin*, advantageous to *De Thou*, and honourable to himself, went immediately to *De Thou*, and explained his Commission. *De Thou* returned Thanks for his kind Interposition, and represented his Uncle's Benevolence as too hasty, and said, that a proper Season ought to be expected for accomplishing the Business; for that at present there was no haste, and *Choesne* himself knew, how averse he was from paying Court to the Great Lords; that nothing seemed to him more dearly bought, than what was purchased by Petitions; and yet things were indeed in such a State, that no Grant could be obtained from the King, but through the Recommendation of his Favourites. As he was going on, *Choesne* interrupted him, and said, that, to complain of Time was the Part of Him, who suffered it to perish upon his Hands: "But if nothing retards You, continued He, but the Necessity of courting the Favour of the Chief Lords, which seems to You unworthy of a Free Man, and one who relies upon his own Merits; I'll engage to get it done for You, without the Odiousness of Cringing or Danger of a Repulse. You know the Intimacy, and indeed the Relation, which subsists between Me and *Philip des Portes* our Common Friend: And, You cannot be ignorant what Interest He again has with *Anne Duke de Joyeuse*, who is able to effect any thing of this kind with the King. I reckon, I shall do an acceptable Office to Each of Them, *Des Portes* and the Duke, by appearing as an Intercessor for the Favour, which You desire of the King by their Means". Which having said, he repairs to *Des Portes*, and, finding him just going to the Duke of *Joyeuse*, with his Pocket Book in his Hand, takes him a little aside, and declares his Business; seeing him ready, he easily persuades him to insert That also amongst his Minutes; and, upon his Invitation, that he would come to Dinner (for it was then Morning) and expect the Answer, he went and found the Business done, and made his Report immediately to *De Thou*; who, surprized with the suddenness of the Success, began to be angry with himself, that he had not prevented them both by a voluntary Application in his own Person, and, blushing for the trouble given to his Friend, said, that he wanted Words to express his Sense of the Obligation. But, when he went immediately to *Des Portes*, he threw the blame of his own Rusticity upon *Choesne's* officious Diligence, and was prevented by *Des Portes* from adding more, who said, "I know You to be One of Those, who can pay their Acknowledgments for a Favour with a better Grace, than they can go through the Fatigue of suing for it. When You desired this Kindness of the Duke de *Joyeuse* by my Means, You laid an Obligation upon Us both, by giving Us an Opportunity of deserving well of a well-deserving Person: For it is a standing Maxim in these Cases, that He, who confers a Favour upon a worthy Man, receives one". When *De Thou* desired to be forthwith introduced to the Duke, *Des Portes* checked his Eagerness; saying, "That he would not be able to find him; and it was not right, that One, who had succeeded so easily in his Request, should be put to any Uneasiness in returning his Thanks: That He would undertake the Charge himself, nor would the Duke take it ill, if *De Thou* was slower in acknowledging the Benefit, than

" He

"He had been in conferring it". As the Duke therefore was going, at that time, to his Government of *Normandy*, which he usually did every Year in the *Easter* Holidays, the Ceremony was deferred 'till his Return. At length the Patent was drawn, on the twenty second Day of *March*, by *Claude Pinart*, one of the four Secretaries of State, but passed the Seals later; so that *De Thou* did not take the Oath in Parliament 'till the thirteenth Day of *August*; which he then performed with great Congratulations from that honourable Body, who were highly pleased to see a Dignity belonging to the Family of *De Thou*, after his Grandfather, Father and Uncle, renewed in Him. When the Patent had been read by *Matthew Chartier*, Counsellor of primitive Gravity; an additional Act, upon His Report, was entered; that, if *Augustin* should happen to die, before *De Thou*, who was Then but thirty three Years old, had reached the Legal Age, He should not give Judgment as President, 'till he had entered his fortieth Year; that nothing might be done, in a matter wherein they were willing to gratify *De Thou*, which might do Violence to the Laws, or by its Example be prejudicial to Discipline for the future. His Friends also flocked about him with Emulation to wish him Joy; to whom *De Thou* returned Thanks by an extemporary Copy of Verses directed to *Peter Pitbou*, and *Anthony l' Oysel*; whereby, if he did nothing else, he effected This, at least, as he used to say himself, that, in return to His mean Performance, he drew an elegant Copy from *Pitbou*, which is read amongst his Works, and is every way worthy of so Great a Man. These things being finished, it remained to treat of his Marriage; for the contracting of which, that every Impediment, which could arise from the Ecclesiastical Court, might be removed by Course of Law, the Matter was discussed in the same Court. A Petition was accordingly presented to the Official of *Paris*; and All, who had any lawful Pretensions to oppose it, were summoned; as *Jacqueline Tuleu* his Mother, a most religious Woman, as every Body knew, *Philip Hurault de Chiverni* Chancellor of *France*, and *Achilles de Harlay* First President in the Parliament of *Paris*, both his Brothers-in-law, *René Baillet* the Relict of his Brother *John de Thou*, of whom mention has already been made, and *Christopher de Thou* his younger Brother, who did not appear: When the Rest either had consented, or left the Matter to the Discretion of the Judge, and it appeared in Proof, and especially by the Testimony of *Nicolas de Thou* Bishop of *Chartres*, that *De Thou* compelled by his Father's Commands, had indeed entered into the Lower Orders, (as they are called), when he was chosen Counsellor of the Ecclesiastical Rank, but that he had always, even frequently in the Life-time of his Father, declared his Dislike of that Profession; and when the Mother, being examined, did not disown it; the Official at length declared him free from the Obligation of his Order, discharged him from all Vows whatsoever, and restored him to his pristine State; and also gave him a Faculty to contract Marriage with any Woman not prohibited by Law, if he thought it expedient, and pronounced the Issue, which might spring from such Marriage, to be lawful. This was done on the Eve of *Palm-Sunday*, which this Year fell upon the twenty ninth Day of *March*; at the End of which Month, he put the last Hand to *The Constancy of Job*; and the Translation was printed by *Denis du Val*: It was afterwards once or twice reprinted with greater Care, together with several Elogies, part of which *John Pineda* condescended to prefix to a large Commentary, which he writ upon that Book in two Volumes. This Character was also added by that very learned Man, when he read *the Constancy of Job* after its Publication, *Non alio suit hic Pelides dignus Homero. This Achilles merited no other Homer*. In the midst of these things, the Mathematical Studies were intermitted, by reason of the Change of his Habitation, and the Absence of *Maurice Bressieu*, who was gone to *Rome* with the illustrious *Francis de Luxembourg* Duke of *Piney*, to tender the King's Obedience, in a solemn Manner, to the new Pope *Sixtus V*; for *Mark-Anthony Muret*, who had discharged that Office with the Popes for so many Years, had departed this Life. As to *Bressieu*, when he had executed the * Charge committed to him, he staid in that Court, highly esteemed, and in the Course of those Wars professed for some time at *Perugia*, and had much Difficulty to return to Us a long time after.

The following Year was intermixed with Joy and Sorrow, according to the Variety and Difference of Events, or rather, in the Judgments and Apprehensions of the more Prudent, proved altogether fatal. For the Duke of *Jouy*, with the Flower of the Nobility, was slain in *Xaintonge*; and, though the Auxiliary Army of the Protestants was hindered from passing the *Loir*, and defeated with a great Slaughter by the *Guises*, first at *Vimory*, then at *Auneau en Beauce*, yet, whether That may be deemed

* For *pecuniam*, I read by Conjecture, *provinciam*.

a prosperous Event or not, the Success of the next Year, so unfortunate to the King and the whole Kingdom, has left doubtful. *De Thou* lost also in the beginning of this Year, what he justly esteemed both a private and a publick Misfortune, *James de Nets*, descended from a noble Family in *le Pontbriou*, but born at *Paris*, whose high Birth was clearly to be seen in his Manners. For, although he had pleaded Causes in Court, for the most part of his Life, with the Reputation of great Integrity and Industry, he never intermitted the noble Exercises of Arms and Hunting; for which latter Purpose he always generously maintained Packs of Dogs, like a Man, who was born more for the Service of his Friends than himself. He paid a singular Regard to *De Thou's* Father, as long as he lived, and to his Uncles, especially *Adrian* before mentioned, and also to his Brother *John*: Upon whose Death he had transferred the Love, which he had born to them and the whole Family, upon *De Thou*, and lived in the most intimate manner with him for the Space of fourteen Years; insomuch that *De Thou* thinks himself bound in Gratitude to treat his Memory with the same Affection, that was shewn by *De Nets* to his own Person. When *De Thou* visited him in his Sickness, at his House in the Cloisters, he was Witness to the last Breathing of a benivolent Spirit, and to his dying Recommendation, wherein he charged his Relations, and especially his Brother *Giles*, who had removed his Habitation into *Normandy*, that the Friendship, contracted for so many Years with *Messieurs de Thou*, they should for the future cultivate as an Hereditary Possession. He lived fifty eight Years, died of a Pleurisy, and would be buried in *St. Andrew's Church*, where the Monuments of *De Thou's* Family are to be seen.

But now, to bid adieu to melancholly and unfortunate Subjects, *De Thou* happily took to Wife *Mary de Barbançon*, Daughter of *Francis de Barbançon-Camy*, killed at the Battle of *S. Denis*, (which is recorded in the Annals) and Grand-daughter of *Michael*, who, with the Title of *Lieutenant-Royal*, ruled the Province of *Picardy*, in which he had a fine Estate, under *Anthony de Bourbon Duke of Vendôme* the Governour. This Family is originally of *Hainault*, where the Principality of *Barbançon* in the *Garden*, as it is called, makes a considerable Figure, and is at this Day possessed by the Second Branch of the House of the Counts *D'Artemberg*; under which Denomination their Ancestors were distinguished as Commanders of the greatest Armies in the *Flemish Wars*, under *Henry II.* and *Charles V.* *Francis* at his Death, by his Wife *Antoinette de Vassieres*, a Woman, as of an antient House, so of primitive Manners, and the Heiress of a large Estate, left a Son named *Lewis*, and two Daughters *Anne* and *Mary*. Of these, *Anne* was already married to *Anthony du Prat-Nantouillet*, Grandson of Cardinal *du Prat*, the famous Chancellor of *France*, under *Francis II.* who, having long since contracted a strict Friendship with *De Thou* in the Life-time of his Father, consented the more willingly, and contributed all that lay in his Power, to this Match; of which the principal Manager was *Charles Turenne*, Master of Requests, an intimate Friend of *De Thou's*; and *Peter du Val*, above mentioned, who was often serviceable to *Madam de Vassieres*, had likewise, by talking continually of the Mother and Daughter to *Madam de Tuleu*, whose Table he generally used, rendered this Alliance very desirable to her. His Brother-in-law *De Chiverni*, that the Business might be done with the greater Honour, carried *De Thou* with a numerous Retinue to the Mother, who dwelt at the *Hôtel de Piquigny* in the Suburb of *S. Germain*, and demanded and obtained *Mary* for a Wife for *De Thou*: And, though the Mother was seized about this time with a mortal Distemper, yet her Death occasioned no Change in the Inclinations of the Contracting Parties. Articles therefore were drawn in the Month of *May*; but by reason of the sad Accident, and the Ceremony of forty Days set a-part for Mourning, the Matter was put off to the *August* following; in which at length, after the usual Bands solemnly published in the Church, the Marriage was contracted. His Uncle *Nicolas de Thou*, Bishop of *Chartres*, performed the Espousals, in the Presence of his Mother *de Tuleu*, the Chancellor *de Chiverni*, *Achilles de Harlay* First President, *Augustin de Thou* President, and his Son *Christopher Augustus*, *René Baillet*, *Lewis de Barbançon-Camy*, *Charles de Barbançon* the Uncle of *Lewis*, *Anthony du Prat-Nantouillet* Provost of *Paris*, *Anne* his Wife, the Brothers *d'Esourmel* Uncles of the *Barbançons*, and other Persons mentioned in the Marriage-Articles; and after Midnight, for the avoiding of Tumult, the Nuptials were celebrated by the same *Nicolas*, who also himself said Mass, in the Church of *S. Andrew des Arcs*: But, because Each of her Parents, having been formerly addicted to the Doctrine of the Protestants, left room for a Suspicion, as if the Children, though they had long since returned to the Religion of their Ancestors, might be wavering in the Point of Religion; *Mary* was secretly examined by *Arnulf du Mesnil* Archdeacon of *Brie*, and Vicar-General to the Bishop of *Paris*, and was first expiated by a Holy Confession. Let those ill-natured Men therefore, who, not content to vent their Malice against *De Thou's* Historical Work, to feed their Spleen the more, have been ready

ready to rake into his Life and Conversation, let them go, I say, and see, whether in what concerned a Reverence to Religion and that great Sacrament, the Sacred Rites, a Regard to the Publick, and the Consent of Parents or Guardians, which does not a little affect the Reputableness of such Alliances, they can find the least Fault or Deficiency in this Marriage.

Not long after, Intelligence was brought of the Defeat received in *Xaintonge*; with which, *De Thou*, as became a Person of his singular Gratitude, and who always thought himself, though a private Man, concerned in the Publick Calamities, was grievously afflicted; as having received a fresh Mark of Favour from the unfortunate General; and reflecting with Grief, that a young Nobleman, hurried on by Honour, and a juvenile Heat, and, it may be added, born down by the Stream of the spreading Factions, should have perished, and involved the Flower of the Youth, that is, the Strength of *France*, in the same Ruin with himself: These, for Instance, were the First-Fruits of a fatal War, raised by turbulent Minds under the Direction of Foreign Counsels, at a most unseasonable Conjunction; when the Kingdom, for the repairing of past Breaches, and extirpating the Remains of them, and indeed, for securing Religion itself, stood in need of Quiet; which being disturbed, a Licentiousness was given to Animosities, the Reins let loose to Ambition, the Laws oppressed, the *French* Name almost extinguished, and Religion, for which forsooth the War had been undertaken, utterly abolished in the Country, and scarce visible in the Cities; the very Priests themselves, in their common Discourses, and from the Pulpit, encouraging the Populace to Madness, renouncing Charity, and spreading Contentions, Ill-will, and the fiery Pursuit of Revenge, through Families and Towns. This was the Face of things all over the Kingdom, after that bloody Defeat; which being followed by a long Chain of other Misfortunes, *De Thou*, who had an early Foresight of them, could not but be extremely afflicted with it. To *Philip des Portes* therefore, who out of Grief, to avoid the Company of Men, had retired into the Suburb of *S. Victor* to the House of *John-Anthony Baif*, *De Thou* made a kind Visit; that, if possible, he might administer Comfort to a well-deserving Friend, and receive Comfort to himself from his Conversation. Afterwards, for his compleater Satisfaction, waiting upon *Francis Cardinal de Joyeuse*, the only remaining Branch of so great a Family (since *Henry Count du Bouchage* had retired into a Monastery), and finding him ignorant of the Favour done to *De Thou* by his Brother *Anne*; he made him acquainted with it; that he might have One in the Family, to whom he could express his Sense of the Obligation, which he owed to the Deceased; thinking of nothing less at that Juncture, (for indeed he could not) than that the Time would come, when he should be united to him by a stricter Band; which happened at length in the 16th Year after; when, having buried his former Wife, by whom he had no Children, he fortunately married *Gasparde*, Daughter of *Gabrielle de Batarnay*, the Aunt of the Cardinal, and renewed the almost extinguished Race of the *De Thou's*, by a numerous Issue. His Mother, *de Tuleu*, felt a sensible Grief for that sad Accident, and, fearing the worst, began to think for her Son, who was careless of his own Interest; and, when she would and might have done more, with Difficulty at last prevailed with the Son, to accept the Portion, which he was to have of her Estate, separately and a-part from the other Heirs, by way of Gift, and by the Confirmation of her Last Will. Besides this, as the Sons, and Sons-in-law, instead of her Share in some Country-Farms, had assigned to her the Father's House; she had a Mind to leave that to *De Thou* (of whose Integrity she was fully persuaded); that He, who was likely to succeed to his Father's Honours, might religiously uphold the Monuments of the Family in the adjoining Church, and the Right of Masses, which had cost considerable Sums of Money, and might also discharge the Duties of his Function without Loss of Time. Nothing was clandestinely done, or without the Privy of the other Heirs; to whom *De Thou* voluntarily obliged himself, in order to shew them with what Moderation he accepted his Mother's Kindness, that, if, upon a Division at any time made, his Portion should be found to exceed That of any of the Rest (the Incumbrances, which his Mother had thrown upon him, being first deducted), he would make good the Overplus, at the Discretion of the Co-heirs; which Condition, added by *De Thou*, against the Mother's Inclination, was of no Use: For none of the Heirs, after the Division, complained of the Gift and Legacies which he had received from his Mother; but found all things transacted amongst them with such Equity, that they confessed, that *De Thou* had of his own Accord done That to Others, which he would have Others do to Him. In a little time after, the Mother, not so much broken with Age, as wasted with Sorrow, for the Loss of her Husband, when, upon the Marriage of her Son, upon which she had chiefly set her Mind, she had no reason to desire a longer Life, fell into a fatal Distemper; with which she struggled two whole Months in Bed: At the last, having

taken the Sacraments in a Christianly manner, she composed herself for Death with such Presence of Mind and so certain an Assurance of Salvation, that, a few hours before her Departure, when she dismissed her Friends, she recommended herself to them with the same Placidness and Chearfulness of Mind with which she had lived, and desired them to remember her to such as were absent. When *Pithou* accordingly took leave of Her, he declared her Behaviour to be such, as if, being weary of the City, she was going for a few days to her Country Seat of *La Villette*. She died, aged seventy Years, in the beginning of *January*, when she had survived her Husband five whole Years. An Harangue in praise of the Deceased was made in Parliament, and her Funeral solemnly celebrated, the Presidents walking before the Hearse, and several Lords of the Court with the other Magistrates of the City following it in a long Train.

A. D.
1588.

This Year afforded an opportunity to *De Thou* of contracting a Friendship with *Gaspar de Schomberg* Count de *Nantueil*, Colonel-General of the German Cavalry; which he strictly cultivated afterwards by all sorts of Good Offices to Him and his Friends. As it sprung from the occasion of an Affinity, so, through Conversation and a Likeness of Dispositions and Counsels, it was so strongly cemented, that, as long as *Schomberg* lived, *De Thou* hardly departed from his side. The Faction being now grown to an Head, Discontents began to ferment in the City; and the King, ill advised, whilst, with his natural Dilatoriness, he tried to break the rising Conspiracy by gentle means, encouraged those desperate Men to bolder Attempts; who compelled the Duke of *Guise*, then posted at *Soissons*, and watching his Advantage from a near Situation, to come at last into the City contrary to the Royal Command: Which Transgression the King did not revenge, as it became him, and as he might have done: And this first Error was soon compleated by another of worse consequence; when, the *Swiss* Troops and the Guards having been introduced into the City, and the Duke of *Guise* and the Heads of the Faction being astonished and confounded, he again, by his Delay, gave them time to recollect their Spirits, on that famous day, which takes its Name from the Barricades: On that day, *De Thou*, who, from a natural Concern for the Publick Repose, had long since foreboded these Evils, which he now saw with his Eyes, received some Comfort in the Verification of his Presages; and, as soon as the Tumult was kindled, with two or three well-known Companions, went, of his own accord, unarmed and on foot, to the *Lowvre*; where seeing the Counsels fluctuating, and the precious hours wasted in deliberation, and nothing bravely resolved on, but a dismal Silence and Solitude spread over every place, he passed immediately from thence to the Duke of *Guise's* house, which was far distant. There he found the Duke, before his Door, in the Street (which faces the Back-gate of the *Hôtel de Montmorency*) walking with *Peter d'Espinaç*, Archbishop of *Lyons*; and, as there stood a great Crowd, either of People wondering at the Sight, or of Guards, he entered amongst them, and for a long time viewed the Duke with great Attention; whilst he was one while distributing Orders by his trusty Friends, and another while receiving Informations every moment from his Accomplices, of what was doing in the City. His Countenance carried an appearance of solicitude, but yet preserved its usual Serenity and Calmness; so that, merely from hence, one might have formed a judgment of the Success; namely, that his Fortune would be victorious on that day. *De Thou*, leaving that Post, as the Tumult grew warmer, when he found the Streets every where blocked up with Barrels, because he was unarmed and well known, was permitted by the Guard to leap over the Barricades; 'till he came to *S. Michael's* Bridge, the Head of which the Faction had already seized, and fortified with Casks; the Royal Forces being drawn off into the New Market. He discoursed for some time with *Alfonso Ornano*, an Officer sent thither by the King, whom he had known, from the time that he had studied under *Cujas* at *Valence*, where the other then commanded a Regiment of *Corficans* in the Garrison; and, when he was going into a Publick-Houle a little higher, into which *Nicolas d'Auchy le Tour*, a Kinsman of his Wife's, just wounded in the Foot with a Musquet-shot, had been carried, he was hindered by *Alfonso*, and advised to return home as fast as possible; for that Matters were now grown hot. He therefore drew nearer to the Barricades; in which, besides the Seditious, who were in Arms, and had now planted Barrels from the Bottom of the Bridge to the Head of it, he wondered to see some Persons of great Distinction standing amongst the rest: These pretended indeed afterwards, that they came thither on purpose to moderate the Rabble, and to prevent greater Mischief; tho' in reality they did so, out of Fear for their own Persons; not considering, that by such behaviour they encouraged the Rioters, and gave an appearance of Authority to the Faction. As he was leaping over the Barrels, he was retarded for some time by *John de la Rue*, a Taylor, and one of the Ringleaders in that Quarter of the City; and when, in order to procure an easier passage, he cried out, that the King had

had commanded the regular Troops to retire, the Taylor proudly answered, that they had done it already, not in obedience to the King's Orders, but for Fear. *De Thou*, passing by this Fellow, whose Tongue and Conduct were so outrageously impudent, made his way where he could, and retired to his own house not far distant; where he found his Wife with the utmost anxiety waiting at the door; the Bells of the Churches, at the striking of the Clock in the Palace, now every where sounding an Alarm: But, as these things are more largely recorded in the Books of the History, I am glad of an opportunity to omit them in this place. In the Evening, and after Supper, when, the King's Forces being either withdrawn or dislodged, the Duke of *Guise* was Master of the City, he returned to the Bridge; and, in a Clothier's Shop, discoursing with the President *Barnabas Briffon*, who commanded the Train-bands of that Quarter, *De Thou* perceived the Man to be grown an Affecter of Popularity, and a Time-server; which at last turned to his Ruin. Thither presently came *Mouÿ de Risbourg* from the Duke of *Guise*; and, with a loud noise, that he might be heard by every body, reflecting upon the King, and lashing the Wickedness of the Courtiers, declared the Duke's Pleasure, and charged them to obey Orders; after which, the Night was spent in the midst of Noises and Apprehensions. The next day, a Committee of the Parliament went to the *Louvre*, and professed themselves to be Mediators between the King and the Duke of *Guise*. In another part of the City, called the Quarter of the University, the Rioters, out of hatred to the Sectaries, whom they charged the King and the Royalists with secretly favouring, armed the Youth, and garrisoned the Colleges; and, by *Brissac's* Command, as it was said, Arms were carried into the *Franciscan* Convent, which is capable of holding great numbers of People. And now a Rumour universally prevailed, that the Malecontents would lay siege to the *Louvre*; whereupon the King, destitute of Counsel, in Compliance with Some about him (for the Duke d' *Espernon* was gone into *Normandy*) who secretly abetted the Faction, took that shameful Resolution of leaving the City. By his Departure, or rather Flight, he put fresh Courage into the Conspirators: Attended by his Guards, which he carried with him, he went through *Saint Cloud* to *Trappes*; whither the Lords, as well as they could, followed him one after another. The Queen Mother was ordered to stay in the City, to promote an Agreement. At the end of three days, *Schomberg*, having petitioned the Duke of *Guise* (for all things in the City were then under his Management, notwithstanding the Queen's presence) for a Safe-Conduct, in which *De Thou*, and *Albert* the Son of *Bellevue*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Lions*, were also comprehended, goes out of Town, and, by the same Route, proceeds to *Chartres*, which the King had by this time reached. Thither the Duke d' *Espernon* came to him from *Normandy*, and, immediately resigning the Government of the Province in favour of the Duke of *Montpensier*, prepares for a Journey into *Xaintonge* and *Angoumois*: Mean while *Villeroy* went backwards and forwards to the Queen and the Duke of *Guise*. When the business was industriously prolonged by the Duke, with a view of establishing his Interest after the Transaction at *Paris*, it was resolved to send Commissioners into the Provinces, to acquaint the Governours and Magistrates with the State of things, and the King's resolution of calling an Assembly of the States, and to confirm them in Loyalty. *De Thou* was appointed for *Normandy*, and by the Advice of *Mouÿ de Pierrecourt* (who was then in the King's Retinue, but afterwards changed Sides) he went first to *Evreux*, and treated with *Claude de Saintes* the Bishop of the Place, whom he found already infected by the other Party. From thence through *Louviers* he proceeded to *Rouen*; and, being heard, first in Parliament, and then by the Magistrates, disposed them to open the Gates of the City to the King at his coming. He passed on to *Diepe*, where he found the Townsmen heartily affected to the King's Cause, as consisting chiefly of Protestants, and by consequence Enemies to the *Guises*: But They, fearing, as most People did also at *Caen*, lest the King did not so much intend to recover his Authority, as to purchase Quiet even with the Diminution of his Dignity (which they collected from the Temper of Those, who were employed in making up the difference), they concealed those Loyal Inclinations within their Breasts; but shewed themselves ready, if the Quarrel should proceed to a War (which they did not expect), to spend their Lives and Fortunes in the King's Service. From *Diepe* through *Saint Valeri* he advanced to *Fécamp*, distinguished by a rich Abby, built like a Citadel above the Haven; in which some remains of an once valuable Library are still to be seen. When he had discoursed with the Governour, he went forwards to *Montivilliers*; where he found all things ripe for Sedition, through the Menaces of a neighbouring Governour, whom the Inhabitants lay under a necessity of obeying. This Man was *Andrew de Brancas-Villars*, made Governour of *Havre de Grace* by *Anne* Duke de *Foyeuse* his near Relation, and now won over to the Faction by a Bribe received from the *Parisians*; to whom when *De Thou*, in obedience to the King's Orders, applied himself, he received nothing from him but Taunts and Reproaches. When, passing

passing the *Seine*, he had arrived, by the way of *S. Peter upon the Dive*, at *Caen*, he found the Townsmen, and the Governour *Gaspar Pelet de la Verune*, far otherwise disposed. For this moderate Gentleman, though he was strictly united with *Villars*, differed very much from him, and seemed to breath nothing but Loyalty; but, together with the chief Citizens, was withheld by the same Respect, which I have above mentioned. From thence *De Thou* went to *Lysieux*, where he had no meeting with *Longchamp* (who was in like manner given up to the Faction), but passed forwards to *La Meilleraye*, as it had been agreed with *Pierrecourt*. Being there entertained by the Lord of the Place, the Brother of *Pierrecourt* (who in the mean time had repaired thither from the *Pays d'Eureux*), he related in their presence what he had done at *Havre de Grace* and at *Caen*; and, when he reported *Villars's* Conversation, they Both, wondering at the Man's Madncfs, declared his Arrogance and Ambition to be such, that he could never be cured of them but by a Musquet-shot in the Head; and this account of the *Seigneur de la Meilleray's* Sentiments *De Thou* afterwards communicated to the King. By this time the King, from *Chartres*, had come to *Rouen*, where he amused himself with empty Sights. *De Thou*, being privately heard, was presently sent back into *Picardy* (because the Messengers dispatched thither were not returned, and the King was uncertain of what passed in that Province), with Instructions under the King's own hand: By the way of *Neuschâtel* he went to *Abbeville*, where he convened the Magistrates, and the Governour of the Citadel, which was then standing. From thence, through *Pont-dormy*, he proceeded to *Amiens*, a City already prepossessed by the Faction, through the management of *Balagny*, who made a great Shew of Forces and Money at hand, sufficient for his Security against the *Navarrists*, the Enemies of Religion, as he called the Royalists. By shewing the Instructions just mentioned, he could hardly persuade them, that the King was otherwise affected, than they imagined, and that he desired their Welfare and the Prosperity of Religion. From thence, crossing the *Somme*, he advanced to *Corbie*, where, as he waited a whole day for the Governour *Pons de Bellefriere*, who was absent, he had a thorough View of a Library of the best Antiquity, which had been already plundered by several hands, but was still full of good Books and valuable Fragments; and he picked a good number out of the Rubbish, and laid them by themselves; thinking, that, when the Troubles should be composed, they might be of Use both to himself and to the general Interest of Learning. But his Hopes were defeated by the Fury of the War, and the Saccage of the Town some years after; which dissipated these precious Relicks, notwithstanding the Sacredness of the Place, in which they were kept. When accordingly he afterwards enquired for them, and the Person, appointed by the King to command the Place, a near Relation of his Wife, seemed disposed to deny him nothing; the Place being searched, he found none of these valuable Remains in the Chest, in which they had been laid up, nor in the Cases (which were broken in pieces); but only trod upon some Boards and Covers of Books, torn and scattered upon the ground. Such are the Fruits of those Civil Wars, which insatuated Men, inflamed with a pretended Zeal for Religion, are at this day so desirous of promoting; This is the Reward, appointed here upon the Earth, for That Religion, which makes its way by Fire and Sword. Here *Bellefriere*, for whom *De Thou* had Letters from the King, being returned out of the Country, he waited upon him, and put him in mind of the Discourse, which he had lately had with the King, and of his Loyal Promises. To which when the Other returned an ambiguous Answer, *De Thou* writ the King an account of what he had done at *Amiens* and at *Abbeville*, and how basely he had been deceived; and particularly admonished him of *Bellefriere's* wavering Fidelity. From thence *De Thou* turned aside to *Noyon*, and to *Varane* in the neighbourhood, the principal Seat of his Brother-in-law *Lewis de Barbançon*, situated on an Island in the River *Oyse*; where his Wife, whom he had left in the City, came forwards to meet him. The Differences in the mean time being agreed, on condition, that a fierce War should be declared against the King of *Navarre*; and the Edict of *July* being framed, to which the Duke of *Nevers* could hardly be persuaded at length to subscribe; the King, from *Rouen*, with his Retinue of Courtiers, and the Queen Mother from *Paris*, with the now reconciled Duke of *Guise*, went to meet each other at *Chartres*, in order to concert the Measures of the War which was decreed. Here the King, unasked, made good the Assurances given at *Rouen*, and chose *De Thou* a Counsellor of State. He took the Oaths for this Place, on the 26th day of *August*; at which time the Minds of All Men were held in suspence, in relation to the Success of the *Spanish Armada* designed for the Invasion of *Britain*; especially after the Arrival of *Bernardin Mendoza* at Court; one, who managed the Affairs of *Philip* and indeed of the League amongst us, with more Zeal, than was consistent with the Duty of an Ambassador. At the holding therefore of a Consistory, in which sat first *Cabrerni*, below him

him *Villequier*, *Claude Pinard*, *Boulard de Crofus* Secretary of State; on the other side of the Table, the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and again, below him, the Duke of *Guise*, and, amongst the other Assessors, *De Thou* and *Mery de Vic*; there passed a Conversation rather than a Deliberation, full either of Dissembling, or of Flattery, according to the different Tempers of the Parties at Court, concerning the *Spanish Fleet*; which gave occasion to an extemporary Piece of Poetry inscribed to *Du Puy*; and as I found it lying amongst his Papers, I thought it not unworthy of the Light; or of being here inserted in its Place.

* *Ad Cl. Puteanum Sen. Paris.*

Classis Hispanæ Profligatio.

POSTquam legitimi pertasa *Latetia Regis*
Intra *Eidus Maias* se seditione nefanda
Polluit, in *Luparam* cersis qua sumpserat armis,
Mentitaque ream se religione peregit,
Mox & *Quintili* pax non bene tuta sequenti
Ratomagi coitit; *Carnutum* accedit ad urbem
Rex iterum *Henricus* magna comitante cateroa
Lectorum Procerum, nuperque reconciliatis
Principibus; venit & gilco asturcone superbus,
Erea clarifonius cui tintinabula bullis
Circum armosque jubasque crepant, Orator *Iberus*:
Tempore quo tot classem aonorum totque virorum
Et bisse narum, nam sic aiebat *Jarbas*,
Auri Myriadin, mandacerat ire *Philippus*
Oceanum in magnum, & fines penetrare *Britannos*.
Dum venit, ambiguas per diversoria voces
Perque vias mirus fingendi seminat auctor.
Nam si quos fratres, si quos de fece popelli
Nactus erat, prensos vanis rumoribus implet:
Cantat Io! letos viso nondum hoste triumphos,
Anglos dissectos passim, *Drakumque* fugacem,
Huc illuc sparsos proceres, aulaque relicta
In *Londinensi* Regiam turre latentem.
Obvius huic aliquis de Nobilitate fuisset,

Ne

To *Claude du Puy* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*.

The Dispersion of the *Spanish Armada*.

AFTER that *Paris*, weary of her lawful King, on the 12th day of *May*, had stained itself with Rebellion, by turning her Arms against the *Lovore*, and out of a pretended Zeal for Religion contracted real Guilt; and when an insecure Peace had been huddled up at *Rouen* in the *July* following; *Henry*, once more a King, comes to the City of *Chartres*, with a great Train of the First Nobility, and the newly reconciled Princes: The *Spanish* Ambassador came likewise, proudly riding upon a Grey Jennet, with brass Bells jingling about his Main and Neck; at a time, that *Philip* had given orders to a Fleet (which had been many years equipping, and was crowded with Men, and had cost, as this *Jarbas* said, an hundred and twenty thousand Pistoles) to put to Sea and invade *Britain*. Whilst it was sailing, the Author of Lies dispersed a variety of uncertain Reports in the Publick Houses and the Streets, amusing the Fryars and the Dregs of the People with confident Stories; That the Victory was gained, though the Enemy had not yet come into fight; that the *English* were routed, and *Drake* put to flight; that the Lords were dispersed here and there; and the Queen, quitting the City, had shut herself up in the Tower of *London*: But whenever he met with a Gentleman, that he might not appear a strolling Liar, as he

passing the *Seine*, he had arrived, by the way of *S. Peter upon the Dive*, at *Caen*, he found the Townsmen, and the Governour *Gaspar Pelet de la Verune*, far otherwise disposed. For this moderate Gentleman, though he was strictly united with *Villars*, differed very much from him, and seemed to breath nothing but Loyalty; but, together with the chief Citizens, was withheld by the same Respect, which I have above mentioned. From thence *De Thou* went to *Lysieux*, where he had no meeting with *Longchamp* (who was in like manner given up to the Faction), but passed forwards to *La Meilleraye*, as it had been agreed with *Pierrecourt*. 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By this time the King, from *Chartres*, had come to *Rouen*, where he amused himself with empty Sights. *De Thou*, being privately heard, was presently sent back into *Picardy* (because the Messengers dispatched thither were not returned, and the King was uncertain of what passed in that Province), with Instructions under the King's own hand: By the way of *Neuschâtel* he went to *Abbeville*, where he convened the Magistrates, and the Governour of the Citadel, which was then standing. From thence, through *Pont-dormy*, he proceeded to *Amiens*, a City already prepossessed by the Faction, through the management of *Balagny*, who made a great Shew of Forces and Money at hand, sufficient for his Security against the *Navarrists*, the Enemies of Religion, as he called the Royalists. By shewing the Instructions just mentioned, he could hardly persuade them, that the King was otherwise affected, than they imagined, and that he desired their Welfare and the Prosperity of Religion. From thence, crossing the *Somme*, he advanced to *Corbie*, where, as he waited a whole day for the Governour *Pons de Belleforiere*, who was absent, he had a thorough View of a Library of the best Antiquity, which had been already plundered by several hands, but was still full of good Books and valuable Fragments; and he picked a good number out of the Rubbish, and laid them by themselves; thinking, that, when the Troubles should be composed, they might be of Use both to himself and to the general Interest of Learning. But his Hopes were defeated by the Fury of the War, and the Sackage of the Town some years after; which dissipated these precious Relicks, notwithstanding the Sacredness of the Place, in which they were kept. When accordingly he afterwards enquired for them, and the Person, appointed by the King to command the Place, a near Relation of his Wife, seemed disposed to deny him nothing; the Place being searched, he found none of these valuable Remains in the Chest, in which they had been laid up, nor in the Cases (which were broken in pieces); but only trod upon some Boards and Covers of Books, torn and scattered upon the ground. Such are the Fruits of those Civil Wars, which infatuated Men, inflamed with a pretended Zeal for Religion, are at this day so desirous of promoting; This is the Reward, appointed here upon the Earth, for That Religion, which makes its way by Fire and Sword. Here *Belleforiere*, for whom *De Thou* had Letters from the King, being returned out of the Country, he waited upon him, and put him in mind of the Discourse, which he had lately had with the King, and of his Loyal Promises. To which when the Other returned an ambiguous Answer, *De Thou* writ the King an account of what he had done at *Amiens* and at *Abbeville*, and how basely he had been deceived; and particularly admonished him of *Belleforiere's* wavering Fidelity. From thence *De Thou* turned aside to *Noyon*, and to *Varane* in the neighbourhood, the principal Seat of his Brother-in-law *Lewis de Barbançon*, situated on an Island in the River *Oyse*; where his Wife, whom he had left in the City, came forwards to meet him. The Differences in the mean time being agreed, on condition, that a fierce War should be declared against the King of *Navarre*; and the Edict of *July* being framed, to which the Duke of *Nevers* could hardly be persuaded at length to subscribe; the King, from *Rouen*, with his Retinue of Courtiers, and the Queen Mother from *Paris*, with the now reconciled Duke of *Guise*, went to meet each other at *Chartres*, in order to concert the Measures of the War which was decreed. Here the King, unasked, made good the Assurances given at *Rouen*, and chose *De Thou* a Counsellor of State. He took the Oaths for this Place, on the 26th day of *August*; at which time the Minds of All Men were held in suspence, in relation to the Success of the *Spanish Armada* designed for the Invasion of *Britain*; especially after the Arrival of *Bernardin Mendoza* at Court; one, who managed the Affairs of *Philip* and indeed of the League amongst us, with more Zeal, than was consistent with the Duty of an Embassador. At the holding therefore of a Consistory, in which sat first *Chiverni*, below him

him *Villequier*, *Claude Pinard*, *Beulard de Crofus* Secretary of State; on the other side of the Table, the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and again, below him, the Duke of *Guise*, and, amongst the other Assessors, *De Thou* and *Mery de Vic*; there passed a Conversation rather than a Deliberation, full either of Dissembling, or of Flattery, according to the different Tempers of the Parties at Court, concerning the *Spanish Fleet*; which gave occasion to an extemporary Piece of Poetry inscribed to *Du Puy*; and as I found it lying amongst his Papers, I thought it not unworthy of the Light, or of being here inserted in its Place.

* *Ad Cl. Puteanum Sen. Paris.*

Classis Hispanæ Profligatio.

Postquam legitimi pertasa Latetia Regis
Intra Eidus Maias se seditione nefanda
Polluit, in Luparam versis que sumpserat armis,
Mentitaque ream se religione peregit,
Mox & Quintili pax non bene tuta sequenti
Rotomagi coit; Carnutum accedit ad urbem
Rex iterum Henricus magna comitante cateroa
Lectorum Procerum, nuperque reconciliatis
Principibus; venit & gilco asturcone superbus,
Ærea clarisonis cui tintinabula bullis
Circum armosque jubasque crepant, Orator Iberus:
Tempore quo tot classem annorum totque virorum
Et bisse narum, nam sic aiebat *Farbas*,
Auri Myriadem, mandaverat ire *Philippus*
Oceanum in magnum, & fines penetrare *Britannos*.
Dum venit, ambiguas per diversoria voces
Perque vias mirus fingendi seminat auctor.
Nam si quos fratres, si quos de face popelli
Nactus erat, prensos vanis rumoribus implet:
Cantat Io! letos viso nondum hoste triumphos,
Anglos disjectos passim, *Drakumque* fugacem,
Huc illuc sparsos proceres, aulaque relicta
In *Londinensi* Reginam turre latentem.
Obvius huic aliquis de Nobilitate fuisse,

Ne

¶ To *Claude du Puy* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*.

The Dispersion of the *Spanish Armada*.

AFTER that *Paris*, weary of her lawful King, on the 14th day of *May*, had stained itself with Rebellion, by turning her Arms against the *Lawful*, and out of a pretended Zeal for Religion contracted real Guilt; and when an insecure Peace had been huddled up at *Rouen* in the July following; *Henry*, once more a King, comes to the City of *Chartres*, with a great Train of the First Nobility, and the newly reconciled Princes: The *Spanish* Ambassador came likewise, proudly riding upon a Grey Jennet, with brass Bells jingling about his Main and Neck; at a time, that *Philip* had given orders to a Fleet (which had been many years equipping, and was crowded with Men, and had cost, as this *Farbas* said, an hundred and twenty thousand Pistoles) to put to Sea and invade *Britain*. Whilst it was sailing, the Author of Lies dispersed a variety of uncertain Reports in the Publick Houses and the Streets, amusing the Fryars and the Dregs of the People with confident Stories; That the Victory was gained, though the Enemy had not yet come into fight; that the *English* were routed, and *Drake* put to flight; that the Lords were dispersed here and there; and the Queen, quitting the City, had shut herself up in the Tower of *London*: But whenever he met with a Gentleman, that he might not appear a strolling Liar, as he

*Ne planus & mendax, ut erat, videatur agyrta,
 Composito mox leta inter & tristia vultu
 Luctantem narrat suspensio remige classem
 Expectare auras faciles, nondumque triremes
 Appulsas, certa sed spe tamen omnia plena.
 Ingens interea Boiatum ad littora navis
 Vento pulsa gravi fulvis illisit arenis.
 Major ad æquoreum clades accepta Caletum,
 Qua brevis ad Doveram tractus patet Iccius olim,
 Aut Gessoriaci dictus cognomine pagi,
 Implevit totos numerofo remige vicos,
 Augurioque fidem fecit præfaga sinistro.*

*Nunc de successu nostra quis sensus in aula,
 Que vota atque metus, quæque expectatio classis,
 Accipe, solemnemque una, Puteane, memento,
 Quantum fas inter turbas, ridere cæciumum.*

*Forte cohors procerum contracta ad Præfulis ædes,
 In quibus hospitium Rex pacis amator habebat,
 Venerat angusto consultatura Sacello.
 Consilio ipse aderam; (tanto Rex sponte benignus
 Indignum me nuper erat dignatus honore)
 Primum heic pupillis intra sua clostra retractis,
 Cornea ut exterius tantum appareret imago,
 Stabat adoranti similis, cæloque levabat
 Lumina, & adductas jungebat ad oscula palmas,
 Petreius, digne factum juxta atque decore,
 Quodque vebat passim sublimi gloria curru,
 Fugiter exclamans, & laudans regis Iberi
 Conatus, magnos ausus fortisque tribunos.*

*Ex adverso infir Pinarius indole natus
 Diversa, cunctis ut contradicere ludum
 Duceret, ut merita est pereat quoque classis oportet;
 Obrutaque insana vento reflante procella,
 Piscibus escam avidis, ludibria debeat undis,*

Que

was, with a Countenance half sorrowful and half gay, he relates, that the Fleet indeed had met with a stop, but was expecting a fair Wind; that the Ships truly had not yet arrived; but all things were full of certain Hopes. In the mean time a large Galleon was by a Storm run aground on the Coasts of Le Buch: A greater Damage was suffered before Calais (a Town, from whence the Iccian Passage lay formerly to Dover, and which was called Pagus Gessoriacus): The numerous Crews filled the Streets, and These Losses presaged the ill Success of the Attempt.

But now, hear what were the Opinions of the Success at Our Court, what the Wishes and the Fears, what the Expectation of the Fleet; and remember, *Du Puy*, to laugh heartily with Me, as far as it is lawful to be merry in a Time of Troubles.

It happened, that a Company of Lords met together at the Bishop's House (where the King, a Lover of Peace, had his Lodgings) to hold a Consultation in the little Chapel. I was present at the Council (for the King, of his own accord, had lately conferred that Honour upon me, beyond my Merits). In the first place *Peter [de Crofne]*, drawing in his Eye-balls, and shewing only the Whites, stood in a Praying Posture, lifting up his Face to Heaven, and clapping his Hands and laying them upon his Mouth; crying out, that it was a worthy, just and honourable Attempt, and fit to be extolled with the highest Praises; and commending the Spanish King's Design, the Boldness of the Project, and the Valour of the Officers.

On the other side, *Pinard* a Man of a different Genius, and one who took pleasure in contradicting every body, said, "Let the Fleet perish, as it deserves, and, by the Force of a Storm, yield a Prey to the Fishes and a Wreck to the Waves, which has dared without

II. "Our

*Quæ nostros ausa est venia sine tangere portus,
 Injustè satagens alienum invadere regnum.
 Excipit hunc miti teretes Reginaldus inescans
 Et blando sermone aures, quo tanta profatus
 Agmina & ingentes belli immanesque paratus,
 Hinc nisi devictis Hispania ut arma Britannis
 Protinus in segnes vertat vittricia Gallos,
 Parturiens illam lacerato ex orbe coronam,
 Quam sibi jam multis spe credula spondet ab annis?
 Nam nullam in turbis pietas sibi vindicat illis,
 Nullam Religio Divinaque Gloria partem:
 Ambitione furit. Non hoc septemplex urbis
 Præcipit antistes. Non hoc Tarsensis & ipse;
 Non hæc doctrinæ fundamina jecit uterque,
 Cum peterent mortem; non hæc per tempora prisca
 Simplicitas grassata via est interrita Patrum,
 * Insula profuso decorat quos tincta cruore,
 Et fidei testes veracibus inserit actis.*

* read
Insula.

*Hæc dum sollicita dubius bibit aure Philippus,
 Contractis humeris oculos huc volvit & illuc,
 Et pavitantis heri vultus ex tempore sumens
 Nunc tacitus mussat, nunc percontatur ab omni
 Quisquis adest socio, quid garrula fama susurret
 Sincerive crepet, quas æstifer Æolus auras
 Fluctibus immittat, cæco quas carcere claudat.*

*Post illum succo turgens, cathedraque sedebat
 Plena ipso, dirum monstrum pestisq; Renatus,
 Obsequijs semper gaudentis turpibus aula
 Fedus adulator, corrumpendique magister
 Strenuus, (huic tetro crus ulcere læve fluebat
 Ex intemperie nimia crapulaque frequenti.)*

Qui scurra digno sic est sermone locutus.

Callaico proventus ovat Sidonius Austro,

Et

"Our Leave to touch our Harbours, out of an unjust Ambition to invade another's Kingdom". Renaud, [Archbishop of Bourges] with mild and soothing Language spoke next; And, "To what Purpose, said he, are all these mighty Forces and Warlike Preparations, but that, when Britain shall be conquered, Spain may turn her victorious Arms upon the indolent French; aiming by the Divisions of Europe to gain That Crown, with the hopes of which she has fondly flattered herself for so many Years. For Piety, Religion, or the Glory of God have no Share in these Commotions: Ambition is That which sets her on fire. The First Possessor of the Pontifical Chair did not teach this Lesson, no nor the Apostle of Tarsus himself: Neither of them laid these Foundations of Doctrine, when they courted Death: The Simplicity of the Primitive Fathers did not take these violent Courses; whose Mitres, stained with their own Blood, have enrolled them in the Number of faithful Martyrs.

Whilst Philip [Chiverni] hearkens anxiously to this Discourse, he shrugs his Shoulders, rolls his Eyes every way, and, borrowing the Countenance of his trembling Master for that time, one while mutters something in a low Voice, another while enquires of every one in the Company, what News, what Truth it brings, and how the Wind stands.

After him, René [Villequier], a corpulent Man, and indeed a horrid Monster, and Pest of the Realm, being a most abandoned Flatterer of a vain Court, and a Master of Corruption (who had an Ulcer in his Leg, occasioned by Intemperance and frequent Surfeits) began thus from his crowded Chair, in the Language of a Buffoon. "The South Wind, I am confident, is now set in, and the North and East are no more. I know it by my Leg, which runs plentifully, and stains the Bandages". The Buffoon was in the right, and the

Invincible

Et posita Boreas rabie deservit & Eurus.
 Sentio nam mihi pus lachrymoso crure resudat
 Plenius, & sanie manante ligamina sedat.
 Scurra valet, pelagoque volat Prætoria vitrix.
 Guisada hæc coram, rege intra * sceptra latente,
 Fabula agebatur, cui pulebri utrimque patebant,
 Nam decet hoc illum, diducta veste lacerti,
 Qui comem simulans omnes affederat infra.
 Is ter percussu post longa silentia mensa
 Pauca refert, imo suspiria pectore ducens,
 Nemo nisi e portu solvens cum classe propinquo
 Speret in Anglorum sine damno exscendere litus,
 Saxonicoque solo titubantem ponere gressum.
 Longinquo siquidem jactatus ab æquore miles
 Nauseat, abjectis ad munia debilis armis.
 Atqui a Scaldi & * Mattiasi æstuaria ad Ata
 Belgica vix pandas admittit terra carinas.
 Sola tenet portus armatis navibus aptos,
 Sola, nec ambigitur, conatus Gallia tantos
 Suscipere, optatumque potest præbere triumphum.
 Nec temere hoc siquidem tentata Bolonia nuper,
 Ante diu classi statio provisa juvande;
 Gnaviter obsessis sed defendentibus urbem
 Nequicquam amissos dux facti meret amicos
 Pro vallo, turpique fuga tormenta relicta.
 Hæc ubi Guisades corde eructavit anelo,
 Vici, qui prope erat, subito conversus ad aurem,
 Jam de naufragio constat mihi certius inquam,
 Quam si rem Veneri denarret epistola Martis.
 His in consilio dictis surreximus omnes.

* perhaps
 septa.

* rather
 Mattiasi.

Autrigi Caraculum, IV Kal.

vii br. CIO D LXXXVIII.

Invincible Flag-ship put to Sea. This Farce was acted before the Duke of Guise (the King standing concealed behind a Partition); whose beautiful Hands appeared to Advantage, when his Robes (a Dress, becoming to great a Man) were turned aside; and who, affecting good Humour, had placed himself in the lowest Seat. He, after a long Silence, giving three Blows to the Table, spoke a few Words, and, sighing from the bottom of his Heart, "No One, says he, can reasonably hope to make a successful Descent upon the British Coast, unless with a Fleet sailing from some neighbouring Port. For the Soldier, by the fatigue of a long Voyage, and the Sea-Sickness, are weakened, and unfit both to march, and to handle their Arms. But the Harbours in the Netherlands, from the Mouth of the Scheld, and the Coast of Zealand, to the Bay of the River Aa, will hardly admit Ships of any Burden; France alone possesses Havens fit for Ships of War; France alone, without dispute, is capable of undertaking such a vast Enterprize, with any Prospect of Success: And it was not an ill-advised Attempt therefore, that was lately made upon Boulogne, which they had long before cast their Eye upon as a proper Station for their Fleet; though, by the brave Defence of the Besieged, the Commander of that Siege lost a vast Number of his Men in the Trenches, and was forced to leave his Artillery, and betake himself to a shameful Flight.

When the Duke of Guise had delivered this Speech with a sort of Agitation, He turned to Vio, who sat near him, and, in his Ear, "I have certain Intelligence, says he, that the Fleet is ship-wrecked; more certain, than if it had come in a Letter from Mars to Venus. These things being said in the Council, we All arose."

At Chartres, Aug. 29, 1588.

Schomberg,

Schomberg, who had been servicable to the Queen in bringing about the Edict of *July*, came likewise to *Chartres* with Others; and resolved, since a Treaty of Marriage betwixt *Lewis de Barbançon-Cany*, and his Daughter *Catharine*, had been concluded at *Paris* by the Interposition of *De Thou* the Gentleman's Brother-in-law, that the Espousals should be celebrated before the King and Queen-Mother, who was the young Lady's Godmother. *Nicolas de Thou*, the Bishop, pronounced the Words, in the midst of a large Company of Congratulators. Nor was the Feast, in the Evening, renewed with less Joy; the King, with the Queen, and Lords of the Court being present at it. *Anne Anglure de Giury*, *Cany's* near Relation, who at Court was looked upon as the Head of the Youth, of a beautiful Person, pleasant Conversation, and a Behaviour perfectly genteel; and, what may pass for a Rarity amongst Our Nobility, well acquainted with the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages, and, above all, reputed amongst his Equals to be skilled in Arms, and valiant: This Gentleman, having received a Bruise by the Fall of his Horse, had sent his Excuse, when he was invited. Yet, that he might not be altogether deficient in his Compliments to his Kinsman, he, agreeably to his comical Humour, invented a Way, whereby he might appear at this New Solemnity as a welcome Guest: Accordingly, because he was not able as yet to stand upright, he caused himself to be born in a Chair upon the Necks of some *Turkish* Gally-Slaves, with whom the Town had been filled upon the late Shipwreck of the *Spanish* Fleet; and with his Face undisguised, but in a Masquerade-Habit resembling an *Indian* King, he unexpectedly entered the Room (the Bearers all the while singing a barbarous Tune) and put the King and the whole Court into a violent fit of Laughter. The Espousals being performed at *Chartres*, the Couple returned to *Paris*; where when the Nuptials had been consummated, the Bride was conducted by her Father to her Husband's Seat at *Varane*.

De Thou, after the Tumult of *Paris*, foreseeing the impendent Calamities, and not thinking the City any longer subject to the King's Disposal, had taken the Opportunity of his Brother-in-law's Marriage to convey away his rich Moveables, part of which had been his Mother's Legacy, consisting of Plate, Jewels, Tapestries, Carpets, Quilts and Bedding; which upon the first Sparks of the War, with the fine Furniture, that *Schomberg* had at *Nanteuil*, were removed from thence to *La Fere en Vermandois*: This had been done by the exprefs Orders of *Schomberg*; who thought them safely lodged in that Place, because he had garrisoned it with his own Company, under the Command of Captain *Guerre*, one of his Creatures. Which Precaution, so prudent in Appearance, fell out unfortunately to them Both. For in the following Year the Place was taken and pillaged by *Florimond d'Halwin* Marquis of *Meguelay*, and all their Furniture destroyed, except what was saved by the Brothers *De Lamet*; for indeed, whatever They (who had the Charge of the House) had been able to remove, and to consign into the Hands of *Bouchavanes*, was faithfully restored to his Wife; who, during the Troubles, had retired to *Coucy*, where *Lamet* her Brother commanded the Garrison. Nevertheless the Loss did not amount to less than ten thousand Crowns; which, though coming upon the Neck of Others sustained in that War, yet No-body saw *De Thou* making Complaints, or, after the Conclusion of the Troubles, prosecuting any one upon that Account, as Others generally did; either because his Mind was averse to all sorts of Contention; or that he feared, lest he might be thought, to have followed the Royal Party, out of Apprehensions of suffering, or Hopes of Advantage, or to have renewed the Memory of past Injuries for the sake of private Interest, when a general Pardon had passed for all other Outrages.

And now the Time drew near for the Assembly of the States; and the King, who had gone to *Blois* (where the Deputies were appointed to meet), being weary of the former Administration, and forming new Schemes in his Mind, had changed the Face of the Court, dismissing the Chancellor, *Bellievre*, *Villeroy*, *Pinard* and *Brûlard* Secretaries of State, to their own Houses. *Schomberg* went soon after to *Blois*; and *De Thou* followed him by another Route, taking in his Way the Castle of *Eclimont* in the *Pays-Chartrain*, where he found *Chiverni* in his Retirement, and staid with him three Days. Amongst the various Discourses upon the subject of Politicks; when News came every day of Controversies occasionally started, through the Prevalence of the Faction, between the King and the Duke of *Guise*, and that the Duke always got the better; *Chiverni* formed a melancholy Prefage of the Event, far different from the Opinion of the Vulgar; who imagined, that by Patience and Dissimulation, the King's Authority and the Royal Dignity was daily diminished and broken, whilst the Duke of *Guise's* Power, through the forward Insolence of his Followers, increased more and more: For, on the contrary, He, who perfectly knew the King's Temper, argued in this manner; that That Dissimulation and Forbearance, when the King should have tried all means for procuring a Mo-

deration, if the Malecontents persisted (as they did not at all seem likely to desist), would at last be turned into Fury; and, when it was least expected, the King would take Courage from Despair; and, entering with a few Friends into the Duke's Apartment in the Castle, would without Fear or Regard to the Consequence cause him to be stabbed with a Ponyard. *De Thou* kept this secret locked up in his Breast, and was at *Blois* during the sitting of the States; where many remarkable things happened, which, being impossible to be conveniently thrown into a Body of Universal History, shall be added in this Place, as well as *De Thou* could relate them by the help of his Memory. He was a constant Attendant upon *Charles* Cardinal *de Vendôme*, and *Charles* Count *de Soissons*, two Brothers of the House of *Bourbon*, and assisted them more by his Zeal than Authority. He frequently resorted likewise to *Anne de Este*, the Common Mother of the *Guises* and the Duke *de Nemours*, according to that Familiarity, which after the Death of their Fathers, he maintained with her; with a View, if possible, of reconciling two Families, rather Rivals than Enemies to each other.

Before and after the *Parisian* Tumult, *Michael de Montagne* had been at *Chartres* and *Rouen*, and was then about the Court at *Blois*; a Gentleman, mentioned in the former part of these Memoirs; who kept up a strict Friendship with *De Thou*, and was continually pressing him, to think seriously of the *Venetian* Embassy, for which he was named; for *Andrew Hurault de Maisse*, the Chancellor's Kinsman, had just returned from it. *Montagne* himself designed to go to *Venice*, and promised to accompany him during his whole Abode in that City. In his Discourse upon the Causes of these Troubles, he talked in This manner (for he had formerly interposed his good Offices to mediate a Reconciliation between the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Guise*, when they were both together at Court); that *Guise* had sincerely and industriously courted the Friendship of *Navarre*; but that, being deluded and baffled by Him, whom he had desired to make a Friend, when he saw him to be really his most implacable Enemy, he had found it necessary to have recourse to Arms, in order to preserve himself and the Honour of his Family: That these first Sparks of Animosity had now at last flamed out into a consuming War, of which he could see no possible End, without the Ruin of one of the two; since both the Duke despaired of his own Life and the Safety of his Friends, whilst the King of *Navarre* remained alive; and *Navarre* likewise despaired of maintaining his Right to the Succession, as long as *Guise* lived: That Religion, which Each of them pretended, was speciously taken up by their Followers; but that neither of the Principals had any regard to it: For that *Navarre*, if he did not fear to be deserted by his Friends, was ready to turn with all his Heart to the Religion of his Ancestors; and *Guise*, if there were no danger, was not averse to the Confession of *Augsbourg*, of which he had antiently conceived a Relish under his Uncle *Charles* the Cardinal: That These he had found to be their respective Sentiments, when he was formerly with them.

In the mean time, the Duke was busy in undertaking the Protection of his Friends, in softening such as were disaffected to him, in caressing every one particularly, and in gratifying his hungry Followers with Assurances of Honours, Dignities, Places and Governments, as if he himself had the Disposal of them; in short, in leaving no Stone unturned, towards gaining the Favour of All People. Accordingly, about this time, it being currently reported, that *Anne de Barbançon* the Wife of *Nantonillet* had been stabbed in the Throat by a Russian; the Duke courteously enquired of *De Thou*, what Information he had received of that matter, and kindly offered his Service and Interest to the Husband and Him. *De Thou*, on His part, being an Enemy to all sorts of Faction, whilst the Duke one while looked on him with a smiling Countenance, another while provoked him to talk with flattering Words, withdrew himself modestly, and gave a reserved Answer: Of which Behaviour when the Duke complained to *Schomberg*, *De Thou* made This Excuse; that he owned the Kindness of so great a Prince to be not only honourable to him, but also at that Conjunction useful and highly necessary: Nevertheless, as he saw Few Good Citizens in his Retinue, and that he himself continually wrangled with the King, and every Scoundrel joined himself to him; That was the reason, why he chose to stand at a Distance, and rather to moulder in Obscurity, than to purchase a splendid State of Life at the Price of keeping such Company: This being told to the Duke, he replied; that he had always done his utmost by all sorts of kind Offices, to gain the Favour of Those good Citizens, the want of whom he was sorry to see objected to him: But that Now, when he stood in need of Friends, he had no other Resort left, than to make Use of Those, who readily and unasked offered themselves; since Others, to whom he voluntarily tendered his Friendship, refused it, and, the greater Advances he made, seemed to stand off the more.

At

At this Assembly, *Renaud de Beaulne* Archbishop of *Bourges* spoke for the Clergy; the same, whom I have lately mentioned; a Person, averse from all Faction and turbulent Counsels: And, as he discoursed of the Necessity of retrenching Luxury, which Then was carried to excessive Lengths, and afterwards grew worse and worse, he said, that he had seen the Beginnings of it at *Paris*, and recounted some Examples of the former Frugality; and amongst them, after an honourable Introduction, he instanced in *Tuleu* the Mother of *De Thou*, the Wife of the First Magistrate in the City; who, having it in her Power to be carried in a Chair, as the chief Matrons and younger Ladies of the Court had always been accustomed, or in a Chariot, which in those Days was rarely used, yet, that she might set an Example of Modesty, rode through the Streets on Horseback, sitting on a Pillion, behind one of her Domesticks. Although he said this publicly before the King and a full Company of Lords, and the grave Commemoration of that Simplicity or Frugality was not thought unworthy of the Audience; yet in the Speech, which with the other Acts of that Assembly was afterwards published, That Passage is wholly omitted. To say the Truth, that unbridled Extravagance of Luxury had begun but of late Years in the City: For the first, who used a Chariot there, in the latter end of *Francis* the First's Reign, was *John de Laval Boisdaplin*, a Man of great Quality; because he was too fat to ride conveniently on Horseback; and, about that time, there were only two Chariots in the Court, (the Fashion being newly introduced from *Italy*) one belonging to the Queen, and the other, some time after, to *Diana* the natural Daughter of *Henry II.* The First, in the City, was That of *Christopher de Thou*, after he had been created the Head of the Parliament; which yet, neither He himself, when he went every Day to the Palace, and sometimes by the King's Orders to the *Louvre* (for, by a laudable custom derived from antient times, the Magistrates depending on the Court, made a Scruple of going to the *Louvre* without the King's express Command), he never used; nor his Wife, when she went visiting amongst the Ladies her Friends and Relations; but rode on Horseback, in the manner already described; though Both indeed, when they went into the Country, made use of a Chariot: Which was also one reason, why None for a long time after possessed a Chariot in the City. Now-a-days Chariots are so vastly multiplied, that they equal the Number of Wherries, employed at *Venice* in the Conveyance of private Passengers; and are promiscuously used, without regard to Rank or Condition, by Persons of the meanest Quality. This Digression, with other transient Observations, I hope, may be suffered to pass.

Towards the Close of the Assembly, when *De Thou* grieved to see the Royal Majesty, through excessive Patience, fall every day into Contempt, he began to think of returning to the City; that, as far as lay in his Power, he might take care of the Publick Affairs and his Own: When he asked leave of the King, as he was going after Supper into his Bed-chamber; the King held him a long while by the hand in the dark Passage, and after a considerable time, in which he was thought to talk a good deal to him, dismissed him without any other Message, than that *De Thou* would recommend Him and his Interest to *Achilles de Harlay*, the First President, his Brother-in-law. *Schomberg*, who stood behind, asked *De Thou* afterwards, what long Conference he had held with the King; and when the latter said, that there had been a profound Silence betwixt them, and that he had received nothing in charge but his Majesty's Compliments to *De Harlay*, *Schomberg* wondered at the King's long Pause, and from thence formed a suspicion, that at first he had designed to have imparted something more to him, but that, thinking again of the Matter, he had changed his Mind: And *De Thou* himself, after the Disaster of *Blois*, thought likewise, that the King, who was then considering of that Design, had an inclination to charge him with some fuller Instructions to *De Harlay*, but that, as he deliberated about it in that time of Silence, he thought it safer to keep it secret.

Charles de Balsac de Dunes, Deputy Governour of *Orleans* under his Brother *Francis* Seigneur d'Entragues, had observed the Duke of *Guise*, by his Emissaries and particularly *Rossieux*, very busy for above a month past in endeavouring, by gaining the Affections of the Townsmen, to deprive Him and his Brother *D'Entragues* of that Government; for which purpose he had already sent *Tremont* thither, to be ready upon any Emergency: *De Dunes* therefore took all the proper Measures of Precaution; and, seeing little hope of Support from the King, who seemed to him to have lost all Courage, he was looking about for other Succours, whereby he might fortify himself against the Attempts of the Duke and the Inhabitants. For the Duke indeed, by an insolent Contention with the King, had as it were obtained, that *Orleans* should be understood as granted for a Place of Safety to Him and his Friends. Whilst *De Dunes* had these things in his Thoughts, he had often at *Blois* conferred with *De Thou*; whom, besides an uncommon Friendship that was betwixt them, he knew

knew to be addicted to the Royal Party, and a constant Enemy to all Faction; and had acquainted him with the Streights, to which he was reduced; since Preparations were actually made by the Duke for a Siege, and he himself and his Brother were abandoned by the King; by whose Negligence and unseasonable Patience things were brought to such a Pass, that he was obliged to defend himself with his own Strength against the Duke of *Guise's* Contrivances: That he did not want Courage or Friends; and knew well enough, that He, who should be beforehand with the Other, would gain the Advantage: But he was afraid, if he employed Force immediately, lest a wealthy City, which he and his Brother were concerned to save, might be exposed to the Pillage of the Soldiery: That accordingly they had a greater and safer Scheme in their Heads; that, since the Citadel was freight, and too weak to resist so mighty a City, they should enlarge it; whereby they would be able to keep the City in Subjection, and secure a Refuge to all such Lovers of the King and the Nation, as were not inclined to the Protestant Party: And, if That once happened, it would also follow from thence; that the King, whose Fortunes, to the Grief of all Good Men, seemed in a manner desperate, might reassume his former Courage; and, assisted by Them, might have an opportunity by his Strength and Authority of returning the obligation to them: For that purpose there wanted a present Supply of Money; that the Soldiers might be compelled to a strict Observance of Discipline; and that, by hiring a sufficient number of Pioneers, without injury to the Townsmen, the Work might be completed in few days: That he had Jewels of great value, which he would willingly pledge to Any Person who should advance the Money: That it was the Common Cause of all Honest Men, whom accordingly he would have to be privately desired, that they would readily open their Purses for that Service. The Project did not displease *De Thou*, who, as has been said, maintained a close Familiarity with the Cardinal *de Vendôme*; upon whose resenting the Contempt thrown upon him by the Cardinal his Uncle (who was prepossessed in favour of the *Guises*) and by the *Guises* themselves, and fearing Danger from that Contempt, *De Thou* easily persuaded him, to have a good Sum of Money always by him, against all Events; and received a Commission from him, to borrow twenty thousand Crowns at *Paris*; which Sum, if *De Thou* had procured, he designed to have expended it in that Service; without acquainting the Cardinal of *Vendôme* with it 'till afterwards: For Thus it had been agreed with *De Dunes*; with whom, Relays of Horses being prepared, the day after that *De Thou* had taken leave of the King, he went to *Orleans*: There, early in the Morning on the 18th day of *December*, as he was talking to *De Dunes* in the Lower Court of the Citadel; it happened, that *John de Bourgneuf Cusse*, a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and Husband to *De Thou's* Niece by his Brother *John*, and who was going with him to *Paris*, lost his Gloves; which, being very necessary at that season, were long searched for by his Servants but to no purpose. *De Thou* being gone to *Paris*, in order to raise what Money he could from his Friends and others, the Duke of *Guise's* Death, following shortly after, put an end to the Project concerted with *De Dunes*.

In the mean time, the Marshall *d' Aumont*, with *d' Entragues* and *d' Dunes*, and the Royal Forces which he had about him, was sent to *Orleans*, that he might secure the Citadel by his Arrival, and, if possible, reduce the City: Which being known at *Paris*, Auxiliary Troops were immediately ordered thither. When *Cusse* therefore had learnt, on what day those Succours were to set out for *Orleans*, and what Road they were to take; by the Valet, who had searched for the Gloves in *De Dunes's* Presence, he took care to signify it to *D' Aumont*, who was in the Citadel, and was thought to intend the Siege of the City; and commanded the Valet, if Credit were not given to him, to refresh *De Dunes's* Memory by the Token of the Lost Gloves. The Valet did his part diligently: And, when *De Dunes*, who at first doubted, was convinced by the mention of the Gloves, that the Information was true; *D' Aumont*, by the same Rout which the *Parisians* were to take, dispatched *Philip d' Angennes du Fargis*, of the House of *Rambouillet*, a Man of Sagacity and Soldierly Courage, and *Francis de la Grange-Montigny*, with a choice Party; who, coming up with the raw Recruits near *Nemours*, easily defeated and disarmed them; taking the Waggon, and Gunpowder and the rest of the Baggage: Nevertheless many of them (for the whole Party consisted of more than fifteen hundred) escaped safe to *Orleans*; and These, making light of the Defeat, and giving fresh Assurances of speedy Succours, encouraged the Townsmen by their Arrival to continue the Siege of the Citadel: Which Story is only told, to instruct the Reader, how Actions of great Importance are sometimes performed upon slight Notices and occasional Motives. On Christmas-Eve, as *De Thou* was returning from Vespers, three days after his Arrival at *Paris*; he received Information of the Duke of *Guise's* Murder, from the Rumours and Concourse of the People: And first, out of a Concern

Concern for the King's Life, he suspected, that the King had been slain at Blois by the Conspirators; and that this Report was artfully spread by Them; that, when the News should afterwards come of the Parricide, they might charge the Royalists with beginning the Fray, and excuse the Villany by the Plea of a justifiable Self-defence. The Night therefore was spent without Sleep: In the morning, the People partly, according to Custom, assembling to Matins, partly running to Arms, as he was returning from the adjoining Church, and the Populace were halting to a Fire not yet sufficiently kindled; out of a Faggot, wetted either by the Rain, or in the Cellar from which it had been thrown out, there leaped a Serpent; which, being exposed to view and long examined, carried the appearance of an *Amphisbena*. It was a Span long, of a dark or brown Colour and speckled; had two Heads, one in its proper place, the Other in the place of the Tail; and, with each Head stretched out different ways, it crept in a spiral Tract, agreeably to the Description which *Solinus* gives of that Animal. This was curiously and at leisure observed; for when it had advanced one way for some time, Fire being brought to make it change its Course, it began to advance with the other End forwards, the same Figure of a Head appearing at both Extremities. Which yet the Learned maintain to be contrary to Reason, and say, that this Creature, though it be a Rarity amongst Us and in all the Western Parts, is frequently found in Greece, the Island of Lemnus, the Lesser Asia and Africa. As credulous People would be apt, in those superstitious times, to draw many strange Conclusions from this supposed Prodigy, *De Thou* has not recorded the Accident; which however, at this time, I think not undeserving of Mention, and leave it to the farther Discussion of the Learned Naturalists. From the recent and sudden Arrival of *De Thou* in the City, who was known to be an Enemy to the Faction, the Leaguers had conjectured, that, being privy to the Design, which followed, he had come thither to prepare the Minds of the Royalists, and to put Matters into a proper Posture against the Event. Various Consultations were therefore entered into against him; and *John de la Rue*, though a Retainer to the House of *Cani*, a desperate Fellow, came often to his House in an haughty manner, to see, what Men, Arms, or Horses were lodged there. *De Thou*, impatient under these Affronts, had well nigh laid hands upon him; but, at the persuasion of his Friends, he restrained himself, and by Patience and Dissimulation, things of hard Digestion to him, escaped the Danger. About that time *John Obsopseus*, who with *Nicolas le Fevre* had taken hearty pains in the re-impression of the *Seneca* of *Mark-Antony Muret*, and was then busy in collecting the Oracles of the Sibylls, or of the Pious Christians, of *Zoroastres* and Others, was injuriously seized by the Heads of the Faction; and by *De Thou's* Interest, which was yet very considerable with the Magistrates, was hardly released out of Prison, on condition of leaving the City. *De Thou* therefore, seeing him intent upon travelling into Germany, committed to His Care the Copy of *Zosimus*, which by the hands of *Ulrick Oltinger* of *Lauffembourg*, a worthy Young Man then residing in his Family, and an elegant Writer of the Greek and Latin Languages, he had procured to be transcribed from *John Lewenclaw's* Original; which *Lewenclaw* himself, when he was in the Retinue of the Imperial Embassy at Constantinople, had brought with him from thence, and had used some Years before in translating that Author into Latin. This He then, after the finishing of his Version (which together with *Procopius* and *Agathias*, translated formerly by *Christopher de la Personne*, and reviewed by himself, he had published by the hands of *Peter Perne*), had given to *Francis Pitbou*, when the latter was at *Basil*; under This express Restriction, as *Pitbou* said, that it should not be published without His Privy. *De Thou* therefore, mindful of the Promise made to *Muret*, though he had now departed this Life, and because he knew it to be a thing equally desired with Earnestness by many others, thought proper to use a sort of honourable Fraud; restoring the Original to *Pitbou*, and transmitting the Copy taken from it, to *Frederick Silburgius*, by the hands of *Obsopseus*: Which came abroad, two years afterwards, at *Francfort*, from *Vecchel's* Press, with other Greek Writers of the Roman History, as *Silburgius* himself professed in the Preface. The Liberty, which *De Thou* had gained for *Obsopseus*, he could hardly retain himself; his Wife *Mary de Barbançon*, in his Absence, being shortly after conveyed to the Bastille, by that *John de la Rue* before mentioned, who was employed to search for Him. By the Command of the Duke d' *Aumale*, and the Interposition of *Christopher de Bassompierre*, when she had staid there a whole day, she was at length dismissed from thence late in the Night; whilst *De Thou* in the mean time absconded, and frequently changed his Lodgings in the dark Evening, 'till, his Friends being afraid for themselves, he took refuge in the Convent of *S. Francis*. He was entertained by some of that Fraternity with the utmost Faithfulness and Humanity, and especially by *Robert Chesse*, who had gained a reputation with the People by his Sermons, and was at first a Favourer of the Royal Interest, but afterwards changed Sides, to his

own great Misfortune; being publickly hanged at the taking of *Vendôme*, in the same Year, for his seditious Preaching against the King. At this time all Honest Men made preparations for escaping, and, because a strong Guard was posted at the Gates, looked sharply about them for an Outlet. Various Methods were accordingly thought of by Friends, for extricating *De Thou*, who valued Liberty beyond Life or Estate, out of the Bonds of a wretched Captivity: But what went the nearest to his Heart, was his Concern to leave his dearest Wife, who had once already been thrown into Prison, behind him in the City. She therefore, in the Dress of a Citizen's Wife, the Badges of Gentility being laid aside, went away upon a Hackney Horse, and found a Reception at *Chevreuse* in the House of *Peter Brunet*, who had been Clerk of the Kitchen to the deceased *Christopher*. Whilst *De Thou* still lay hid at *S. Francis*, it had been resolved, that, in the Habit of a Religious, whilst the Fryars were walking in solemn Procession through the Suburb of *S. James*, he should be sent out of the City. But the Danger was, lest the Contrivance, being discovered, might load the Order with Infamy, and expose Him, if he should be caught, to Insults. It seemed therefore safer, that in the Disguise of a Soldier he should deceive the Guards, and be conducted in the Evening, by one *Fesson*, a noted Tennis-Player (who for the sake of that Diversion had been taken into the Cardinal *de Guise's* Family), to the Suburb, where he had Horses ready. Nor did *Fesson's* Lot prove better than *Cheffe's*; for, two years afterwards, when, the Famine pressing, he went out of the besieged City, he was taken by the opposite Party, and at the first Intrenchment hanged by the order of *Marshall d' Aumont*; who did not know him, and listened too credulously to an Accusation brought against the poor Man, as if he had used the Royalists in the City with Cruelty; for *De Thou* was then absent, being ill of a violent Fever in the Castle of *Nantouillet*; who, as soon as he knew of the Accident, was exceedingly grieved, that he had not been able to come in Time, to the rescue of a Person, who had merited so much at his hands.

END of the Third BOOK.



BOOK



BOOK IV.



WHEN the Exiles were come unhurt to *Chevreuse*, the secure Remembrance of their past Danger filled them with a frolicksome kind of Mirth; whilst *De Thou* diverted himself with his Wife's Tower and other parts of her City-Dress, whereby she had deceived the Sentry at the Gates, and she in like manner laughed at her Husband's thread-bare Coat. The next day, they both set out for *Esclimont*, *Chiverni's* Seat in the *Pays Chartrain*; and, arriving there in safety about the middle of *January*, were received with the kindest welcome by their noble Host. *De Thou* found there his Sister *Mary*, Abbess *des Clairets Perche* in the neighbourhood; who had received the Papal Bull, but had not yet gained Possession. There they staid several days, and indeed 'till the following Month. Various Discourses passed on the subject of the Commonwealth and the Intrigues of the Court; and many things, which in the beginning of Our Troubles had been banded about and committed to Writing by partial Persons, were brought to the Test, by a familiar Conversation with *Chiverni*, who had born a considerable Part in them; *De Thou* having even Then laid the Plan of his Historical Work, which he began two years afterwards. They remembered also the Prediction, which in the preceeding month of *November*, when *De Thou* in his way to *Blois* called at *Chiverni's* House, as it has been already related, *Chiverni* had providently delivered concerning the Result of the Quarrel between the King and the Duke of *Guise*; which when *De Thou*, at his return to *Paris*, before the Tragedy of *Blois*, had mentioned in familiar Discourse to *Edward Mole* a Counsellor of the Parliament; *Mole*, after the Blow was struck, admired the Judgment, which *Chiverni*, in consequence of his intimate knowledge of his Pupil the King's Temper, had made, in conjecturing so certainly of an uncertain Catastrophe. At length, the Feast of the *Purification* drawing near, an occasion was taken of removing their Quarters; and *Mary* and *De Thou* with his Wife went to *Chartres*, and lodged at the House of their common Uncle *Nicolas* the Bishop; where they were received with no less Joy, than they had been at *Chiverni's*. Whilst they were there, the State of Affairs began to be changed, by the revolt of the City to the Enemy; and, upon the Arrival of the Duke *de Mayenne*, who, having taken the Castle of *Orleans* and secured the City to his Interest, was marching in a triumphant manner to *Paris*, the Royalists were every defeated: Whereupon *De Thou*, by the advice of *Theodore de Ligneris*, who for many reasons was his fast Friend, consulted his Safety betimes. In which Business he was considerably assisted by the provident Care of *Gaspar de Schomberg*, who, in order to deliver his Friend out of the Danger, in which he thought him to be, sent him a Letter under the hand of *Christierne* Dutches Dowager of *Lorraine* (who, having been espoused to *Ferdinand* the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, was preparing to go to her Husband) with Orders, that he should come away in all haste to accompany her in her Journey to *Italy*. This Letter *De Thou* seasonably produced to the Duke of *Mayenne*, when the Leaguers insisted, that he should be detained; and, by the benefit of it, escaped the Danger of Imprisonment. Colonel *Dominick de Vic*, a brave Man and hearty in the King's Interest, happened then to be at *Chartres*. At *Chorges* in *Provence*, where the Duke *d'Espernon* commanded, he had received a dangerous Wound in the Leg; and, in hopes of saving the Limb, had long kept his Bed; and was then just able to go abroad upon a Mule, with his feeble Leg thrust out before him: But as, by continual Defluations upon the weak Part, and a Communication of the Malady to the rest of the Body, he was every day more and more tormented, he became utterly unfit for Military Service: Which grieved this generous Man, who was desirous of assisting the King in the present cruel War, more than the Misfortune itself. By the advice therefore of *De Thou*, who thought it impossible for *De Vic* otherwise

otherwise to recover, he suffered his Leg to be cut off; after which he regained his former Strength and Health, and, when he had served again with great Success and Reputation under Henry III. he at length performed still greater Services under Henry IV.

De Thou, having sent away his Wife into *Picardy* to look after his Domestick Concerns, took a Passport from the Duke de *Mayenne*, and, with *Henry d'Escoubleau* Bishop of *Maillezais*, a Man of Integrity and attached to the Honest Party, by the Route of *Marchénoir* and *Preteval*, Towns belonging to the Patrimony of *Messieurs de Longueville*, he went to *Blois*. The King, being in a solitary way and indisposed, presently admitted *De Thou* to an Audience. As he was in doubt, whether he should send for the King of *Navarre* or not; *Schomberg*, *Joachim Châteauneuf*, *Francis d'O*, *De Balzac-Claumont*, *Du Plessis-Liancourt*, *Nicolas Grimoireville-Larchant*, who were left with him in the Castle, insisted, that *De Thou* should also press him to send for the King of *Navarre*; persuading themselves, that the Advice, which They who daily attended him had given to no purpose, might come better recommended and with probability of Success from a New Person just come to Court; especially as it became more and more necessary every day. This part he zealously discharged, and by many reasons urged a Compliance with Necessity, which allows no freedom of Deliberation: That the safest Course would be generally the best esteemed: That Forces were to be called in from every quarter, in which whosoever is Superior, the Victory must certainly be His: For it would then follow, that the Gentry, who are now employed in defending their Castles against the neighbouring Cities, when they should hear, that the King had a compleat Army about him, would immediately fly to him: For that nothing else restrained them at present, but Despair of Success; for that otherwise they neither had changed nor would change their Affections; provided that the King would not desert himself, nor refuse to use the Succours offered by the King of *Navarre*. At length *Philip du Plessis Mornay* was sent for, and had a secret Conference with *Schomberg* and *De Thou*; and with Him the business was transacted. There was still at Court the Cardinal *Francis Morosini*, the Pope's Legate, a Man of a candid Disposition, and well affected to the King, by whose recommendation he had obtained that Dignity; and He indeed left nothing unattempted, whereby he might procure an Agreement; sending Expresses to the Duke de *Mayenne*, when he was at *Châteaudun*, to desire a Place to be fixed for an Interview. He knew well enough what was transacting with *Du Plessis*; nor, when he saw *Schomberg* and *De Thou* sent by the King, could he help secretly approving a Counsel dictated by Necessity; but, by reason of the Character which he sustained, he could not possibly treat with any other Person than the Duke de *Mayenne*. Accordingly, when he could do nothing with the Duke, it was with a heavy and unwilling heart that he departed from Us, since the Differences ran so high, and returned into *Italy*. In the Height of the General Assembly, *De Thou* used frequently to visit him; and learnt many things, concerning his last Embassy to *Constantinople*, which had like to have been ruined by the extravagant Villany of the Governour of *Corfu*, if he himself had not pacified the Bashaws by his Prudence and Moderation: All which *De Thou* committed to Writing, and entered from thence into a close familiarity with that benevolent Prelate; to which it was also owing, that, when about that time he had translated the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* into Latin Verses, for his private Comfort in the sad prospect of the Publick Calamity, he inscribed them to *Morosini* as the worthy Umpire and Moderator of Our Affairs: And truly he was so well accomplished, and so affectionately attached to the Interest of *France*, and also carried such Authority with him, that, if each Party had not been infatuated, all Good Men had reason to hope, that the Differences might have been composed by his means, and That horrid Storm prevented, which for ten whole Years together brought This flourishing Kingdom to the Brink of Destruction. It did not please God, that we should make use of so proper a Remedy for Our Distempers; and he himself, at his return to *Rome*, suffered in his Reputation, because he had not increased the Fire by pouring Oyl upon it. So inflamed was the State of Affairs, within and without the Kingdom, that moderate Counsels were every where rejected; and All They, who by their Prudence and Candour endeavoured to bring about a Reconciliation, and to prevent the impendent Calamities, lay under the Character of Suspected Persons, and just Objects of Publick Detestation.

After the Affair of *Blois*, *Henry de Bourbon* Prince of *Dombes*, a Youth of truly Royal Qualities, and well seasoned in Learning, had also come to Court by his Father's Orders. Him *De Thou* often visited, and when he had presented to him the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, that is, a Sermon of the wisest of Kings upon the Chief Human Felicity, translated by himself into *Latin* Poetry, as a Pledge of his Devotedness to the

Royal

Royal Family the Prince immediately rewarded the Donor with a little Epistle, (which he would needs write too with his own hand) that was afterwards printed with the Book. From this uncommon beginning sprung that intimate Familiarity and Friendship, which to his last Breath the Prince maintained with *De Thou*; in-
 formuch that he seldom acted any thing in Politicks or in important Cases, which he did not communicate to Him, or of which he did not desire His Approbation in the first place.

An Agreement being despaired of, the Court removed from *Blois* to *Tours*, and, *A. D.* in the way, took up the Prisoners, who were at *Amboise*, and conveyed them to a *1589* Place of Safety. There, a Scheme was proposed for constituting a Lawful Parliament, which the King might oppose to That Rebel Parliament left behind in the City, and wherein the Royal Patents and Infractions, which were to be sent into the other Provinces, might be published according to Antient Custom: Upon this occasion many Difficulties arose. For, of Counsellors and Masters of Requests, there was indeed a sufficient number present, and, besides them, *James Faye d'Espesses*, the Royal Advocate, a most strenuous Maintainer of the King's Authority: But the Presidents were absent, part having staid behind at *Paris*, another part being confined in Prison, and the Rest, out of fear for their Persons and Estates, skulking here and there in their respective Country Seats, and resolving to direct their Motions by the Event. *John de la Guesle* had lately died at *Le Laureau en Beauce*, and his Place had not as yet been conferred upon any one: It was debated therefore in the Royal Consistory, at which were present *Charles de Bourbon* Cardinal of *Vendôme*, and *François de Montolon*, whom the King had lately made Keeper of the Seals, what should be done. *D'Espesses* was present, and He, having for some time desired to resign his Post, as he shewed by an unwillingness to discharge the business of it longer, yet declared himself ready to proceed, if such a President were chosen, who, being a Man of the first Rank, might by his Example encourage the Counsellors to do their Duty with a Spirit worthy of their Dignity. For this Office, both He, and all the rest who were present, unanimously pitched upon *De Thou*; who, being descended from a Family of Counsellors and from a Father and Grandfather both invested with that Honour, was related to Others of the Counsellors and to the best Families of the Realm, and (what was the main thing) had always followed the Royal Party; and who, as he was enrolled to succeed his Uncle, might seem to be already placed in that Station. This was done in the absence and without the knowledge of *De Thou*; who, upon the receipt of the Royal Summons by the hands of the Usher, having appeared before the King, and learnt his Majesty's Pleasure concerning him from the Mouth of *De Montolon*, attended with an Exhortation from the Cardinal of *Vendôme*, obstinately excused himself; and, after Thanks returned to the King and the Privy Council for so honourable a Nomination, although he owned himself marked down for the Reversion of the Presidentship, yet said, that he had been advanced to his Honours with a real Reluctance; whether it were Modesty, or a certain Rusticity of Temper, he could not tell; but that it caused him, at the beginning, to startle at those things, which Others affect with so much Passion; and he had hoped, that whenever he should happen to discharge that Office, it would not be his Lot to sit in the Principal Place, but rather the lowest of the Bench: That many Qualifications were required for it, which are gained by Time, and which an honest Man would esteem more eligible than the Honour itself; of which if he was already accounted worthy, yet he was unwilling to take a Step, whereby, through an unreasonable Eagerness, he might deceive the Expectation conceived of him: This occasioned a noble Contention between *D'Espesses* and *De Thou*, which should excell the other in Modesty and a generous Affection to the Commonwealth; since Neither of them was willing to desert the Publick in such an unfortunate Conjunction; and yet, whilst they declined to yield to each other, the Dignity of President, which was chiefly wanted for the Settlement of Matters in Parliament, through their honourable Refusal, lay unoccupied betwixt them; which at length *De Thou*, by Intreaties and by his Authority with his Friend, persuaded him to accept: Therefore, in the Room of *La Guesle*, *D'Espesses* was created President; and His Place of Royal Advocate, by the Cardinal of *Vendôme*'s Recommendation, was transferred upon *Lewis Servin*, a Young Man of considerable Learning, and most strongly attached to the Royal Cause. *De Thou*, when he might have staid securely in his own Country, in that honourable Post offered him by the King, chose to take part in the Expedition committed to *Schomberg*, who was going into *Germany*, and to share with his Friend the Toil and Inconveniency of the Journey. That Gentleman, being commanded to levy an Army of twenty thousand Foot and ten thousand Horse, had desired, whilst he should be employed in raising Recruits, that *De Thou* might be joined to him as a Companion,

in order to wait first upon the Emperor, and then upon the other Princes of the Empire, especially the Allies, by whose Indulgence and Money the Troops were to be raised. But, in respect to the Rout to be taken, prodigious Difficulties occurred: For the Report of *Schomberg's* Message being spread throughout the Realm, the Leaguers had every where laid Ambuscades for intercepting him; as thinking by that means to retard for some time the March of the Auxiliaries: And they looked upon that Delay as a matter of great Importance; since they persuaded themselves, that, if the King were not assisted with Foreign Troops, within the Space of four Months he would be ignominiously driven out of the Kingdom; for So they commonly boasted. When therefore he had taken a shorter way at first, in company with *Philibert de la Guiche* Grand Master of the Artillery, and *De Montigny* lately created Governour of *Berry*, through *Romorantin*, in order to proceed by the County of *Charolois* and the *Autunois* to *Langres* and the Frontiers; being informed, that a strong Body was posted there to oppose him, he turned back, and returned hastily to *Blois*, where the Duke d'*Epernon* then was; and, from thence dispatched *De Thou* to the King, who remained at *Chastel-Erault* in *Poitou*, to explain the reason of changing the Scheme, and to shew the necessity of passing through the King of *Navarre's* Garrisons. For that the way, which was safest, seemed the shortest; and, when Circumstances are altered, Counsels ought to be suited to Them: That *Don Antonio* the unfortunate King of *Portugal*, who had lately taken Refuge with Us, when he had been well nigh intercepted by the Favourers of *Philip* at the Island of *Socinie* in *Bretagne*, had found a most secure Retreat amongst the *Rockellers*; and from thence had written to the King, that he had never met with greater Fidelity than amongst the Infidels, as he called Our Protestant Countrymen; so that those very Places, which were lately the greatest Nuisances to Us, were Now the only Security for the King and the Royalists, the other parts being generally seized by the Rebels. Hereupon the King, who had received the News of the Duke D'*Aumale's* Defeat near *Senlis*, and of the Slaughter made of *Saveuse* by *Coligny*, and also of a formidable Body of *Swiss* Auxiliaries, which were marching victoriously by the Lake of *Geneva* under the Command of *Sancy*, easily consented, that *Schomberg*, who was to fetch those powerful Succours, should take the safest, though longest, way. By the Rout therefore of *Saumur*, *Loudun*, *Thouars* and *Niort*, he arrived safe, with some *Swiss* Colonels, at *S. Jean d'Angely* in *Xaintonge*; where the Widow of the Prince of *Condé*, lately deceased, and concerning whose Death various Reports were current, was confined. As that Princess was unable to come to the Strangers, and they had no power to make a Visit to Her, she sent her Daughter *Eleanor* and a new-born posthumous Son to *Schomberg* and *De Thou* at the Inn, and recommended the Children with the most fervent Intreaties to their Protection. Nor were the Prayers of the Captive Mother thrown away: For Each of Those Gentlemen, from that time, considering the Mother and Sons as closely united to the Royal Cause, ever afterwards assisted them with great Zeal and Affection, and, upon that account, first with the Unkles, and then with the King himself, sustained a considerable load of Ill will. An Embassy had been decreed to be sent to Queen *Elizabeth*, that she would contribute by her Interest and Money to the Success of the King's Business in *Germany*; which made a part of *Schomberg's* Commission: But when He could not possibly discharge it, and *De Thou* had been at first appointed for that Service, *Schomberg* retained him near his own Person, and committed the Care of it to *Peter de Mornay-Buby*, Brother of *Du Plessis*. This Person had come to *S. Jean*, to receive the last Instructions from *Schomberg*; after which, he set sail from *Rockelle*, and passed over to *England*.

The Friends then proceeded to *Fonzac*, a populous Town in *Xaintonge*, and from thence, passing by *Coutras*, after having viewed the Field of the late Battle, went to *Montagne en Perigord*, from whence *Michael* and his Family take their Name. That Gentleman was at *Bourdeaux*: His Wife, the Sister of *Pressac*, who was in *Schomberg's* Company, received the Strangers in a most elegant Manner. Not far from hence stands *Castillon* upon the *Dordagne*, a Town taken in the last Wars by the Duke de *Mayenne* after a long Siege, and afterwards with little trouble retaken by *Henry de la Tour* Viscount de *Turenne*, and provided with a strong Garrison. It had formerly been the most noted Place in all *Guienne*, for the Defeat of *Talbot* in the Year 1453, and now afforded a safe Passage to the Royalists through that part of the Country. From *Montagne* they advanced to *Bergerac*, and so to *Sainte Foi*, which was held by *Peter de Cbouppas*, a Gentleman of *Poitou*, and an old and valiant Officer. There they talked over the Battle of *Coutras*, in which He had fought bravely under the King of *Navarre*; and a Description of the Place, with the Order of Battle observed on each side, was shewn delineated in a Map: The Colours themselves, which had been taken, torn and folded as they were, hung, instead of Tapistry, to the Walls of an adjoining Room; but *Schomberg* ordered

ordered them to be removed, and, that the Memory of so sad a Disaster might not be renewed by the Sight of them, to be utterly destroyed; and, by his Authority with *De Cbouppes*, easily gained his Consent for that Purpose. From thence they passed to *Monflanquin en Agenois*; and when by crossing the River they had come to *Nerac*, and then to *Leytoure*, *William de Saluste du Bartas*, the Author of *The Two Weeks*, met *Schomberg* there in Arms, with his Followers, from *Mauvezin* and *Montfort in L'Armagnac*. This Gentleman was yet a Youth, of a candid Disposition, and great Skill in Poetry; and, what was wonderful, had in that remote Country, without Assistance, carried on that noble Work: He shewed himself very desirous of correcting it at his Leisure, and for that Reason longed for a Conclusion of the Civil Wars; that he might repair to *Paris*, and make some Alterations, in the *First Week* especially, which had been so generally approved: This he several times solemnly promised to *De Thou*, during a Journey of three Days, wherein he bore them Company: Which I have here thought fit to remark, on purpose, that, if Malevolent Persons, as usual, find any Fault with that Piece, they may know, that the Author himself saw something amiss in it, which by the Advice of his Friends he was inclinable to amend: But that Death envied him the Pleasure, both of seeing an End of the Wars, and of putting the last hand to his admirable Work. From thence they passed through *L'Isle Jourdain*, and *Le Mas de Verdun*; where crossing the *Garonne*, in order to avoid the Neighbourhood of *Toulouse*, they bent their Course to *Le Quercy*, and came to *Montauban* on the *Tarn*. Here *Schomberg* was met in like manner, with a flying Party, by *Prigent de la Fin*, *Vidame de Chartres*, a young Lord of a comely Person and great Merit, by whom he was conducted through *Negrepelisse* to *Saint Antonin in Rouergue*. There, hopes being given of a quicker Passage through a Champion Country, the *Tarn* was crossed at *Villemur*; where *Lewis d'Amboise Count d'Aubigeoux*, who possessed the adjoining Castle of *Grosle*, was consulted. Thence they passed forwards to *Millac*, the Castle of *Francis de Casillac de Sessac*, who received *Schomberg* in a most friendly Manner. This old Courtier and Officer had done considerable Service to the Dukes of *Guise*, Father and Son, in the Wars; and, being at last chosen a Knight of *St. Michael*, had retired from all Parties whatsoever; boldly advising the Neighbouring Gentry, which flocked to him, to be dutiful, and openly exhorting them to learn Prudence from His Example; for that he had aspired to the Friendship of Many Princes, but had never enjoyed more Satisfaction than from the King's; and that, if the King should send a maney Dog to him, he would readily leave his own Bed to make room for him: Which Expression he purposely used, because of the Murmurs of some Persons about him, who secretly reprehended him for shewing so much Courtesy to the Royalists. Not far off, *Lewis de Voisins d'Ambres*, an indefatigable young Nobleman, nearly related to *D'Amboise* and *De Sessac*, had hitherto maintained a fierce War with the Protestants; and was thought likely to fall upon the Royalists; whose Cause, since the Conjunction of the two Kings, was reputed the same. He was Master of *Lavour*, *Saint-Papoul* and *Alby*; and, by frequent Excursions from those Places, harrassed the whole Country thereabouts: As *De Sessac* could not engage for him, he advised *Schomberg*, that, since he had come so far, he should leave the Plains of *Languedoc* to the Right-hand, and pursue a rougher but safer Road through the Mountains on the Left. The first Quarters accordingly were taken at *Ville-franque* in *Le Rouergue*, where *Bournazel* the Governour of the Province expected *Schomberg*: They did not meet, 'till late in the Night; because it had been necessary to halt several times, 'till the Horses were fitted with new Shoes; for want of which, many of them growing lame, had been left behind in the Road and lost. Hence, thro' the Castle of *Bournazel*, they turned back to *Figeac*, and so to *Calvinet*, the only Place in *L'Auvergne* which the Protestants possessed. Thither came *Mesillac Count de Rastignac* with a choice Party, and the next day guarded *Schomberg* as far as *Mur de Barres*. The Mountains of *Cevennes*, taking their Rise from *Le Perigord*, by a continued Ridge encompass the *Limousin* on the North, *Le Quercy* and *Le Rouergue* on the South, and, as they pass further, *L'Auvergne* and *Le Velay*. Thence reaching by the side of the *Rhosne* towards the South, where they are higher and more frightful, they have the *Gevaudan* to the West, and the *Vivarais* to the East; and there at length, assuming the Name of *Cevennes*, by a gentler Declivity, descend towards *Alais*. From *Mur*, *Rastignac* conducted the Royalists within Sight of *Maruige*, a Town of Royal Jurisdiction, and the only one in the *Gevaudan*; where he left them as it were in a Place of safety. It had been lately destroyed by the Royal Army, or rather by the private Animosity of *Anthony de la Tour de Saint Vidal*. The Fountain only remained intire, with its Rim and Basin, and, towards the West, a single Street: The rest lay covered with a heap of Stones, so that to Passengers there appeared nothing but Solitude; except that, behind the Rubbish, that Street might with Difficulty be descried; which indeed

deed was pretty well inhabited. To the Right-hand at a Distance, *La Peitre* occurred to View, a Town ruined in like manner by the Duke de Joyeuse's Expedition. The Horses being somewhat refreshed, it was thought good to proceed further as far as *Chenac*, a populous Town, as most of the Towns are in those Parts, where the Bishop's Palace, and, in it, the Cabinet of *Durand*, surnamed *The Speculator*, are to be seen. They lay one Night at *Chenac*, and went forwards the next Day to *Mande*; where, by the Bishop *Adam Heurteloup* Count of *Gevaudan*, who had succeeded the above-mentioned *Renaud de Beaulne*, *Schomberg* and *De Thou*, with their whole Retinue, were most civilly and splendidly entertained: For that Prelate, indeed, was both careful of his Pastoral Office, and wonderfully well affected to the King and his Party. Amongst the Courses, which were served up, they observed the Birds, and other wild Game, to want generally either the Head, Leg, Wing, or Rump; and as they wondered, the Bishop answered facetiously, that he hoped they would pardon the Lickerishness of his Caterer, who was accustomed to taste the Messes beforehand. The Guests, still enquiring, what Taster he meant, found This to be the Case: That in those Places, as being mountainous, vast Numbers of Eagles nested, because of the Plenty and Fertility of the adjacent Country (the Inhabitants of which are therefore fuller of Money than in other Parts): That they built their Nests in hollow and almost inaccessible Rocks, to which when You have ascended, as far as You can on Foot, it is very difficult to reach the Top by Ladders and Iron Grapples: That the Shepherds soon observed it, and built Huts as near as possible; under the Cover of which they might secure themselves from those savage Birds, whether Male or Female, when they bring home their Load of Prey to their Young. For the Male, for three whole Months together, and the Female, as long as the Eaglet is unable to stir abroad, or 'till she herself falls into new Amours, fly about all the Country below for Booty; and, out of the Houses of the Peasants, snatch Capons, Hens, Geese, and such sort of tame Poultry; sometimes Lambs, Kids, and now and then sucking Pigs; which they eagerly carry to their Young. The open Country affords a larger and more plentiful Booty, as Pheasants, Partridges, Wood-Hens, Wild-Ducks, and also Hares and Fawns: The Shepherds therefore, as soon as the Old ones are gone, immediately creep up to the Holes in the Rock, and fetch away what has been carried thither; instead of which they set before the Eaglet some Guts brought by themselves from home. But This they cannot possibly do so soon, but that either the Young, or the hungry Sire and Dam themselves have already devoured some part of the Prey: From thence it came to pass, that these Creatures were brought to Table dismembered; though the Juice of them is exceedingly grateful to the Palate; so that nothing of the same kind, commonly sold in the Markets, may be compared to them. But at length, when the Young one is ready to fly (which happens the later, because they are defrauded of their Food), the Shepherd chains it to the Nest; that, the longer it stays there, so much the longer the Old ones may bring Game for its Sustenance; 'till at last, first the Male, and then the Female, feeling the warmth of fresh Love, take no more notice of the full grown Young. Then the Peasant either releases the half-starved Bird, or touched with Pity carries it home: And in reality the House was full of such Tasters, as likewise of Vultures; which are bigger than Eagles, but wry-necked, and feed only upon Carcasses already dead. *De Thou* had a Mind to see the thing with his own Eyes, and, by climbing a very difficult Ascent, went to the very Place; where a little Bird lay fastened to a Chain; and, whilst he was there, the Dam flew thither (spreading her Wings to such a Width, that she almost darkened the Sky) and brought a Pheasant to her Young one, and immediately flew away in quest of new Booty: Whilst this was doing, *De Thou* and his Company sheltered themselves in the Hut erected at the bottom, in order to avoid the Dam's Fury. For it was a common Story amongst the Peasants, that some Boys, appointed to mark and observe the Nests, standing unwarily in the Way of the returning Old ones, had been torn to Pieces by the Bills and Talons of those Birds. This Supply the Bishop made Use of constantly towards House-keeping; and told the Guests, that three or four Nests afforded him a Quantity of this sort of Eatables, sufficient to maintain an elegant Table for a whole Year. The Company, having made a Stay here of three Days, proceeded through the horrid Mountains of the *Cevennes* to *Villefort*; and, *Florac* and *Anduze* being left to the Right, they descended into the Plains towards *Alais*, a Town very pleasantly situated, but somewhat disfigured by these Wars: From thence they passed forwards to *Uzer*; where *Schomberg*, through the Fatigue of his Journey, was obliged to keep his Bed; because he was a corpulent Man, and had been forced to walk on foot, contrary to his Custom, over the craggy Mountains. There, *De Thou* learnt many things concerning *Matthew le Merle* the Son of a Wool-Carder; who, in these Wars, by his sudden Excursions, gained a mighty Reputation, and did much Damage to the Diocess

of Mande and the Gevaudan, (partly from his Brother, who frequently came to visit Schomberg); which Relations are recorded in the Books of the History. In the mean time, Messengers were sent to Henry de Montmorency Governour of the Province, to treat with him, in the Name of Schomberg, who kept his Bed, about the Route to be followed; at which time new Instructions came from the King, whereby Schomberg was commanded, since by Sancy's Arrival the Army was sufficiently recruited, and, for levying a greater Force, Money would be wanted, which could only be had from Italy, that he should pass into Italy, which was near at hand, before he proceeded to Germany, and take up what Money he could at Florence and Venice: He had some Swiss Colonels in his Train, who were desirous of going to their own Country by the nearer way of Savoy and La Bresse: In order to dismiss them to their Content, he dispatched De Thou, together with Anthony Moret des Reaux, who had attended Schomberg on the part of the King of Navarre, to borrow a Sum of Money of Francis de Bonne-Lesdiguières. Through Montelimar, Cret and Die, they arrived at Puymore, which Lesdiguières was besieging, and which was afterwards surrendered to him by the Viscount De Pasquieres the Governour. Two Thousand Crowns were accordingly lent to De Thou; which being received, he turned by another Way, through S. Paul-trois-Châteaux, Nions and Grignan, leaving Suze on the Left, towards Pont Saint-Esprit, which takes its Name from a Bridge of admirable Workmanship laid over the Rhosne; where Schomberg, now recovered of his Infirmary, waited for him. Thence, crossing the River, they proceeded to Orange, where the King's Friends were magnificently entertained by Hector de la Forêt de Blacons Governour of the Citadel. The Money being divided, the Swiss Colonels took their Leave: And then Schomberg, passing close to Avignon, came to Barbantanes the Castle of Mondragon; where, being kindly received by the Lord of the Place, he supped with Bernard de Nogaret la Valette Governour of the Province; who, having just demanded the Surrender of Château-regnard in the Neighbourhood, upon the refusal of the Garrison, brought down Cannon, and the next Day took the Place, and caused the Commanding Officer to be hanged. From thence La Valette accompanied Schomberg to Carvaillon, a Town standing upon the Durance in the County of Venaisin, where the Royalists were amicably and elegantly entertained by the Bishop. Here La Valette parted from Schomberg, to whom in the Morning he assigned the Marquess d'Oraison, to conduct him to a Place of Safety. They dined at Merindol; where at first, as D'Oraison had foretold, there was a wonderful Solitude; the Inhabitants, upon the Approach of Armed Men, having fled here and there to the adjacent Caverns: However, as soon as they heard of D'Oraison's Arrival, whom they knew to have no Ill-will against them, they appeared all of a sudden in great Numbers. Concerning these People, the same D'Oraison gave an Account, agreeable to what is delivered by Sleidan, from the Relation of William du Bellay-Langey, (in whose Family, or at least in That of his Brother John the Cardinal, that Historian had lived); that they were simple Men, honest in their Dealings, obedient to Magistrates, injurious to No-body, free from all Guile; who punctually discharged the Duties, and paid the Pensions, which they owed to the King and their Lords; and who, upon a Religious Account, contracted Marriage only amongst themselves: That from the Days of the Vaudois, and the Albigeois afterwards so violently persecuted, they had continued to this very Day; and that some Remains of them were still to be found at Laurmarin and Cabrieres, and in the Vallies of the Alps; and that the Merindolians themselves belonged to the Bishop of Marseilles, and religiously paid him his Dues. This Account D'Oraison had not by any means learnt from Sleidan, but related it as the common Talk of all the Province. On the same Day the Company went to D'Oraison's Castle of Cadenet, where he usually dwelt, and the next Day to Manosque, a Commandery belonging to the Knights of Jerusalem, and, passing the Durance, to Riez, an Episcopal City, famous at least for the Memory of that renowned Bishop Faustus. The Cathedral stands upon a Hill, a-part from the Town (which lies in the bottom) and had been profaned in the late Wars by the Soldiers and Ammunition lodged in it. Many of the Country Gentlemen dwelt in the Town; and, amongst the rest, Tournon de Castellane, blessed with a numerous and beautiful Offspring, with whom Schomberg took up his Quarters. At length through Draguignan, which was held by the Baron des Arcs, in two Days they arrived at Frejus; where three Days were spent in getting ready a sort of Boats, called Tartanes. These being fitted out, Schomberg, after selling off the Horses, set sail on the first Day of August in the Evening, with his whole Retinue, from the Port of S. Raphael, on which side, in the midst of an half-demolished Amphitheatre, Vessels usually came up. He had so favourable a Wind, that, passing by the Isle de Lerins and Antibe, and being carried out into the main Sea near the Mouth of the Var, he lost Sight of Nice by break of Day, and about Noon arrived safe at Monaco. All that Night De Thou suffered exceedingly by the Sea-Qualms, which, after a

large Evacuation, were followed by so great a Thirst, that, hoping to quench it by Draughts of cold Water, he had well nigh destroyed the Tone of his Stomach: But, having strengthened his Bowels by the Use of *Corficain* Wine, he pursued the Voyage in company with *Schomberg*; and they both reached *Genoa* without farther Damage. The Royal Agents, notwithstanding the Murmurs of the *Spaniards*, were honourably treated by that Republick; who sent some of their own Body to congratulate their Arrival, and to make a Tender of their Good Offices to the King, out of a secret inclination to the King and his Cause; and indeed the whole City was in such a Disposition, that they wished him Success against his Seditious Subjects. A Galley, having entered the Harbour some time before from *Marseilles*, without a *French* Flag, narrowly escaped being sunk by the concurrence of the enraged Multitude; and the Crew had no other way of securing themselves from the Fury of the Rabble, but by declaring loudly for the King, and hoisting up the Arms of *France*; which being done, and, not 'till then, the Tumult abated. For four days *De Thou* viewed the City, much more carefully than he had done fifteen years before, when he first came thither with *Paul de Foix*; but whilst, by reason of the excessive Heats in those parts, he used Snow in his Drink, he renewed his former ill-cured Indisposition, and began to fall into a slow Fever, with a lassitude and restlessness of his Limbs. Here *Schomberg* left *De Thou*, and resolved to travel to *Florence* in Disguise, that he might gain certain Intelligence of the Money expected from thence, and, if possible, draw off a greater Sum, than had been promised. *De Thou* was ordered to go directly to *Venice*, in order to treat upon the same account in conjunction with *Andrew Hurault de Maisse* the King's Ambassador, and to wait for *Schomberg* at a place appointed in the *Venetian* Territories. As yet the News had not reached *Italy* of the King's detestable Murder. Having passed the *Apennine*, *De Thou* came to *Tortona*, the Dowry of *Christierne* of *Denmark* the Duke of *Lorraine's* Mother, who at that time happened to be there: He made no Stay in this place, but, sitting his Horse with great Difficulty, proceeded immediately to *Placentia*; and after staying there a day for Refreshment, and viewing, in that time, the City, and the fine Monasteries built since his former residence there, he had the good fortune, when he could no longer bear the Jolting of the Horse, to meet with the Conveniency of a Vessel, which down the *Po* conveyed him to *Venice*.

On the same day, that is, the 14th of the Month, an Express from *Milan* dispersed the News of the King's Death all over the City; though as yet the Report was uncertain, because it came from a suspected Place. But, after three days spent in the deepest Mourning, a sudden Joy began to succeed; when by another Express, which brought more certain Information of the Fact, it appeared at the same time, that the King of *Navarre* had been saluted King in the Camp by the Chief Lords with great Unanimity. For immediately *Mark-Anthony Barbaro*, Procurator of *S. Mark*, proposed to the Senate the sending of an honourable Embassy to the King according to antient Custom. In support of a Deliberation so auspiciously commenced, These were the principal Reasons urged: *viz.* That it was for the Interest of the most Serene Republick, that some King should be fixed and settled in that Kingdom, for the sake of preserving a Balance in *Christendom*, upon which those prudent Fathers usually had an Eye in all their Counsels: That He could be no Other, than the Person, who was called to the Throne by Lawful Succession; and that, if the Matter were in Dispute, and depended solely upon a new Law of Human Institution, the Right, in such a Case, properly belonged to the Lords and Gentlemen, in a Kingdom, abounding, as *France* did, with a warlike Nobility; who, as they compose the principal Strength for the Defence of the King and the Realm, ought in like manner, upon the Creation of a King, to have the Chief Disposal of the Crown. When therefore the Senators saw, that the King of *Navarre*, who had a legal Call, was saluted King by the Nobility; they could not forbear highly extolling the Prudence of the *French* Grandees (whose Character, upon other occasions, used to be charged with Levity and too much Carelessness); nor help even conceiving good Hopes of Our Prosperity from so great a Prince, to whom, if the Crown were not legally due, it ought without Controversy to be offered to him, in regard to his Merit. This was the common Discourse amongst them at that time. The most illustrious Cardinal *de Joyeuse* was then at *Venice*, and had an Apartment assigned to him by the Senate at *S. George's*: He had retired to that City, after *Sixtus* the Vth's precipitate Censure or Monitorial Decree, with his Friend *Arnold d'Offat*, an old Acquaintance likewise, as we have formerly mentioned, of *De Thou*; that in his absence he might maintain the Royal Dignity, which had received a considerable Shock from that Bull, and might convince the World of his Gratitude to a munificent Prince, from whom he had received so many Favours. *De Thou* attended them constantly, and heard Mass with them almost every day; upon which occasion, the Cardinal's Brother *Ange*, who was then also in the City, and lodged

in the adjoining Monastery of *S. Roch* with the *Capuchin* Fryars, officiated as Priest. For Thus the Cardinal judged; That, when the Accomplices should be frightened after the detestable Parricide, the King of *Navarre*, fired with a just Indignation, the Nobility, with the Heat of Revenge, and the Soldiery, with the hopes of Plunder, would do their utmost to gain *Paris*; and that, in the present Divisions, the taking of the City seemed no very difficult matter; and he fancied, that he already heard the Noise of Armed Men running about the Streets, murdering all whom they met, laying every thing waste with Fire and Sword, amidst the Skreamings of Children and the Groans of Women, and all the several Scenes of Cruelty, which usually occur in a City taken by Storm. He himself, who during these Troubles thought he could hardly find a safe Abode in his real Country, lamented the Necessity imposed upon him by Fortune, of returning to his other Country, which in the Life-time of *Henry III.* he had abandoned. But, as no Tie as yet, but That of Allegiance, which was controverted at *Rome* and elsewhere, bound him to the Successor; being unwilling to return into *France*, he had no other Choice left, than to stay at *Rome*; 'till, the Clouds of that ugly Storm being dispersed and a Calm restored to the Minds of Men, he might, from a distant Situation, as from a rising Ground, form a more certain Conjecture of his State. For otherwise his Temper was both Then, and always had been, averse from all Faction; and whatever was afterwards done by him, ought to be imputed to his Dignity, and to the Character which he sustained, rather than to Inclination. For as it was a Point of the highest Prudence to accommodate himself for a time to the Circumstances of Affairs, so it was a Work of no less Equity, to relinquish all Factions, as soon as an opportunity offered itself, and to devote his Labours to the King and the Kingdom: Which he accomplished both zealously and seasonably, and behaved himself afterwards at our Court in such a manner, that his most prudent Sovereign imparted every weighty Concern to him: And, after his Majesty was snatched from Us by a deplorable Misfortune, when the Lords, to most of whom the Cardinal was nearly related, were grievously divided; He, remaining free from all Passion and observing as it were a Neutrality, continually offered his Mediation for reconciling the different Parties, who All paid a Deference to his Judgment. He departed therefore towards *Rome* with *D'Offat*; but, the Latter, before, he set out, having made a friendly Visit to *De Thou* in his Quarters, took occasion from their private Discourse on the State of the Commonwealth, to draw a Copy of Verses from him, which was penned on the 23d day of *September*, and afterwards printed at *Tours*, with the same Date, but without the Name of the Person, to whom it had been inscribed. Perhaps it might not have been amiss to transcribe the whole Performance in this Place; because Few Copies of it are extant, and it contains many things pertinent to the History of the Times; which a sharp and immediate Sense of the justest Sorrow might excuse at that juncture with the most partial Judges, but which, if now republished after so long an Interval of Time, would undoubtedly offend Those, whom it concerns not so much *De Thou* as the Publick Interest to keep in good humour. It shall suffice therefore to transcribe the Beginning and the End of it.

* *Monstris fata atas! quid ad omnem infamia culpam*
Nostri sibi reliquum fecit, si occidere Reges,
Legitimos Reges longaque ab origine ductos,
Pyxide vel stricto nunc ludus acinace passim
Ducitur? O mi inter cunctos dulcissime amicos,
Paullum audi, & quoniam Venetum convenimus ambo
Urbe boni, nulla illius contagio veneni
Aspersi, quod nunc per Gallica pectora serpit,
De rebus nostris privatim, Offate, loquamur,
Compositis animis, vulgo procul. Omnia quidni

Cre-

* An Age fruitful of Monsters! What can be added to our Infamy, if it be generally esteemed a trifling matter to murder Lawful Kings, descended from an antient Race, either with Poison or the drawn Sword. O my dearest of all Friends, hear a little; and, since we two honest Men, infected with none of the Poison, which is spread at this time through the Breasts of *Frenchmen*, are met together in the City of *Venice*; let us discourse in private, *D'Offat*, of our Affairs, with composed Minds, far removed from the Vulgar. Why should we scruple to believe any thing, if it be credible, that the *French*, once the most faithful

People

*Credamus, si credibile est fidissima quondam
Pectora corruptis nunc Regem moribus ausos
Occidisse suum probroso vulnere Gallos?
Quid tamen, O cives, si vos hoc nomine digni;
Quid patrato, inquam, profectum crimine tanto?
Principium vos nempe malis causamque dedistis,
Et quæ nunc instant, & quæ ventura trabuntur.
Idne bono Patrie quondam potiusve ruina,
Nostrarum tandem decernet clausula rerum.
Nam si venturo, nec mirum, a Rege timetis;
Carior hoc vobis præsens Rex debuit esse,
Moribus antiquis & Religione probata
Cognitus &c.*

Here after about two hundred Verses, which the Author desires may be lost, at length, by way of Apostrophe to Henry IV. these Lines are added:

*Fatalis Princeps, quæ te laudare merentem
Carmina digna queant, laudesque equare canendo?
Respice nunc Venetum ad plausus festoque sonantes
Murmure Medoaci ripas, totoque vocantem
Æquore te Benaci amnem. Lacet Ausonii ora
Conjurata fremat contra, fusceque tyrannus
Hesperie sævo clam misceat omnia bello,
Cæca in te nullum posthac Fors nymen habebit:
Decretum sic namque polo est, Venetique senatus
Calculus augurium de te, Rex optime, firmat,
Hi nuper amisso sermones principe & bujus
Auspicijs, longæva neant cui framina Parca;
Inter nos Veneta conserti nuper in urbe,
Dum percussa gravi mens aestuat inde dolore,
Ambigit inde metu, cædem qui deinde futuri
Excipient casus, quantique infamia Gallis
Et Christi Europæ per totam hac stabit ovili.
Tandem pro justo fiducia certa dolore*

Ultima

People in the World, should degenerate so far, as shamefully to murder their King. Nevertheless, what Profit, O ye Citizens, if yet you are worthy of that Name, have you gained by so flagrant a Crime? For You were the Beginners and the Cause of all our Calamities, both Those which at present oppress, and Those which threaten us in Consequence. Whether Your Conduct tended to the Good or the Ruin of Your Country, the conclusion of Affairs will at length determine: For if You are afraid, as You have reason, of the Successor, the reigning King ought therefore to have been dearer to You, a King of primitive Manners, and whose Religion was tried and well known &c.

But with respect to You, our destined Prince, what Verses can sufficiently celebrate Your Praises, or equal the great Subject with their Song? Look now upon the Applauses of the Venetians, listen to the joyful Acclamations reflected from the Banks of the Brenta, and to the Invitations of the capacious Lake de Garde. Although Italy, joining in the Conspiracy, roars against You, and the Tyrant of dusky Spain underhand foment the Cruel War; yet blind Fortune shall hereafter have no power over You: For thus it is decreed in Heaven; and the Suffrage of the Venetian Senate, most excellent King, gives a certain Presage of Your Success.

These Discourses concerning the deceased King, and the auspicious Advancement of the present Prince (to whom may the Fates measure out a long Thread of Life) passed betwixt Us at Venice, whilst Our Minds were divided between the most piercing Grief, on the one side, and the most dismal Apprehensions, on the other, for the fatal Consequences of that infamous Murder, both to the French, and to the whole Flock of Christ throughout all Europe. At length, in the room of a just Concern, a certain Assurance possessed Us, that, after

*Ultima succedit, qua plenus uterque secundos
 Eventus post tot sævi discrimina belli
 Speramus, firmamque pio sub rege quietem.
 Tu Romam interea septem geminosque revisis,
 Anxius evadet quorsum res Gallica, montes,
 Ad latus assidue *Fosse basurus & aurem :
 Per Rhodan ego & Helvetios mediosque per ignes
 Bellorum patriam repeto, miserosque Penates,
 Henrico properans macarite soloere iusta,
 Fidus hero dominoque etiam post fata minister :
 Cetera securus, vulgi *quod inane frementis
 Dira paret rabies, quid iniqua mente tyranni
 Secum agitent, Cælo certantes more Gigantum.
 Quippe animo fixum sedet immotumque tenaci
 Propositi, quosvis constanter ferre labores,
 Quicquid & adversi patientibus imminet extra,
 Dum ne intra ullius sibi mens male conscia culpa
 Ingenuum occulto suggillet teste pudorem.*

After this, the Friends took leave of each other; and De Thou returned to Padua, that, for some days, he might enjoy the delightful Conversation of John Vincent Pinelli, whom he had not seen for sixteen years, and, more particularly, of Paul Aicardo a Genoese, his Domestick, a most extraordinary Person and one of the best Judges of good Literature. Here he viewed at leisure That famous Library, enriched by the Labour of so many Years and still attended with equal Care; and Aicardo, who highly approved the Translation of Basil, and Those other Fathers, upon the Subject of the Holy Trinity, published with Phœadius Bishop of Agen, presented De Thou with the very Book of Eunomius the Hæresiarch, written in a most elegant hand; that, by the Collation of this Manuscript, Basil's Pieces already printed, and the seven Books of Gregory Nyssen, which were expected, might be corrected, and see the Light. Many Questions, concerning the Learned Men in Italy, whose Names were by degrees falling into Oblivion, were also carefully asked of Pinelli by De Thou; with a view of celebrating their Memory in his Annals; which he afterwards punctually performed: Nor did he defraud the Spaniards of their due Commendation; So much did he admire Virtue and the Character of useful Learning, every where, without difference of Nation, and, as far as lay in his Power, recommended them without Envy to Posterity: Upon which account he had flattered himself with an Assurance, that he should find the Italians and Spaniards more favourable to him: But, to his Disappointment, he experienced no where so much Ingratitude as from Them.

Mean while Schomberg, who was at Florence, having after the fatal Blow countermanded the Chevalier Guicciardini, who was carrying the Money with him for the new Levies, came to Mantua, to consult with Andrew Hurault de Maisse the King's Embassador at Venice. Thither he also summoned De Thou; and, after lamenting the common Calamity, they both proceeded to Verona; where when De Maisse had arrived, they returned again in Company to Mantua; and, after a secret Conference with the Duke Vincent, they went back to Verona, from whence De Maisse

after all the Hazards of a bloody War, we should see prosperous days, and a firm Tranquillity under a pious Prince. You in the mean time are going to revisit Rome and its Seven Hills, anxious for the Fate of France, and intending to continue near the Person and Ear of the Cardinal de Joyeuse. Whilst I, through the Grisons and Swiss Cantons, and the very hottest Seat of the War, am returning in haste to my miserable Country, that I may pay the last Honours to Henry of blessed memory, as becomes a Minister faithful to his Lord and Master even beyond the Grave; in other respects not regarding, either what the vain Fury of the Populace may design, or what Our unjust Tyrants, fighting against Heaven, like the Gyants, may be contriving; since it is the firm Resolution of my Soul, constantly to endure any Hardships whatsoever, and all that may be inflicted upon suffering People from without, rather than endure, that my Mind should be conscious of a Fault, or reproach me, from within, with Disingenuity.

repaired to his Station at Venice. At Verona, they viewed Count Bevilacqua's House, where there was a fine Collection of Statues of ancient Workmanship, Medals, and Pictures drawn by the best hands. The Count himself, besides an uncommon fondness for these things, had a great passion for Musick, and had instituted a Concert at his House, kept thrice in the week, wherein more than thirty, either Singers or Performers upon several Instruments, exercised themselves in such Perfection, that, from all that variety of Voices and Instruments of different Tones, there resulted a wonderful and most agreeable Harmony. De Thou was frequently present at it; and with Bevilacqua himself, a grave but most affable Man, enter'd into Discourses upon divers Subjects; with so much the less Familiarity indeed, because the Count, being a Bachelor, and having thoughts, in the decline of his Age, of removing his Concerns to Rome, was reputed not very favourable to the King of Navarre's Party; for which however all the other Inhabitants of the Venetian Dominions declared an open Zeal. At length, after a small Stay at Verona, De Thou and Schomberg, as formerly, took different Routes. The Latter, by the way of the Trentine Alps, pursued his Journey to Germany; whilst the Former by Brescia and the Lake of Isco, leaving Bergamo and Chiavenna on the Left-hand descended into the Country of the Grisons; and, traversing the delightful Tract of the Valteline, abounding (to the Wonder of Travellers, its Situation amongst the Alps considered) with generous Wines, when he had dined at Tirano, he arrived at Poschiavo, and, after climbing the craggy Mountains, particularly Arbona, from which the Rhine issues with a horrid Noise, reached Coire, an Episcopal City: There, at a little distance from the City, he viewed the Cathedral, which was very ruinous and neglected: The Prelates, who hold it with the Title of Princes, are contented in their absence to maintain the Name of it, and to enjoy the Revenues; but take no care of the Pastoral Office, which has fallen into Contempt, amongst those three Protestant Leagues. There, having received more certain Intelligence of the French Affairs, he launched out into a Vein of Poetry, and compos'd *The Oracle of the Seine* with the same Spirit, with which, whilst his Thoughts were full of the illustrious Cardinal de Joyeuse's Prediction, he had written the former Verses to d'Offat.

Vaticinium Sequanae.

* *Nuper cum furis actus, & impio*

Mentis proposito, tristitia conscia

Urbis membra Clemens

Infans pede linqueret;

Ferale gemitus corde ciens, caput

Turbatum medio sustulit alero,

Incumbensque jacenti

Urna Sequana transfugam

His urget monitis: Quo properas miser

Tantum ausure nefas nomine Gallico

Indignum, atque fidei

Reges obsequio in suos?

Qualem hoc principium ducat ad exitum;

Si certe obicias vile caput nati,

Indutumque cucullum

Et te quid deceat, vide:

Aut

The Oracle of the Seine.

* When Clement, urged by the Furies and a wicked Resolution, was going out of the City upon his unfortunate Design; the River Seine, fetching a mournful Groan, lifted her croubled Head above the Channel, and leaning on the side of her Urn, gave these admonitions to the Traytor: Whither, Wretch, are You hastning, in order to attempt a most heinous Crime; unworthy of France, and the Allegiance due to her Kings. See, what will be the consequence of this Undertaking, if You expose Your vile head to certain Death; and consider what becomes both the Cowl which You have put on, and Yourself.

Or

*Aur si hoc nil animum sollicitant tuum,
 At saltem socios respice ad ordines,
 Omnes crimine tecum
 Quos uno peragis reos:
 Vulgi quantus amor seditionibus
 Olim, tantum odium surget, & improbos
 Suasores inopinus
 Damnabit populi furor,
 Cum spem præter atrox civibus ingruet
 Secum dira trabens fata necessitas,
 Et penuria rerum
 Ignavos premit omnium.
 Tunc isti sapient, sero sed heu! Phryges;
 Et sparsis nimium credula vocibus
 Plangent pectora matres,
 Circum templa sonus gement.
 Sed frustra moneo. Fraude nefaria
 Mandatum misero stat scelus exequi,
 Occisoque superbam
 Urbem evertere principe.
 O quas frugifero terra *caput fini;
 Princeps atque parens & domina Urbium,
 Musarumque tribunal,
 Quondam cara Lutetia,
 Nunc spelunca Cyclopum, arx Polyphemia;
 Antei latebra, Antiphata teges,
 Et Lestrigonis antrum,
 Bebrycisque Amyei specus,
 Quæ te secula manent prælia sub noço
 Herede Imperij, perdere quem male
 Dum consulta laboras,
 Ad regni solium evebis!
 Mergas, altior hinc hostibus imminet,
 Sæco Marte premas, fortior emicat;
 Victus cumque putatur,
 Rursus bella redintegrat.
 Et jam fida in eum tempore dilui,
 Hostilesque dolos cedere prospere,
 Conversaque reflecti
 In te tela acie doles.*

a read capis

Mens

Or if these things have no influence upon You, at least pay some regard to Your Brethren of the Monastick Order, whom You involve in the same Accusation with Yourself. As much Love as the Rabble have formerly shown for Sedition, their Hatred will rise as high; and a popular Rage will on a sudden condemn the wicked Abettors; when beyond expectation, the Citizens shall be distressed with a fatal Necessity, and labour under want and scarcity of all things. Then the stricken Phrygians will grow wise, but alas! too late: The Elderly Women, formerly too apt to believe every idle Story, shall beat their credulous Breasts; and the Old Men shall groan round about the Churches. But my Admonitions are in vain; the Villain is resolved to execute his bloody Commission by Treachery, and, by murdering the Prince, to ruin the haughty City. O You, the Princess, Parent, and Mistress of all the Cities in the Earth, the Seat of the Muses, the once dear City of Paris, but now a Den and Recepracle of Thieves and Murderers, what cruel Battles must you expect under the new Heir of the Crown! whom whilst You unadvisedly labour to destroy, You actually raise him

* read fine

*Mens caca est hominum; dum levioribus
 Vertunt terga malis, in gravia irruunt
 Stulti pectore aperto;
 Et contrarius exitus
 Privat * sine suo capta nocentium,
 Tandem justa pijs premia dividens;
 Decretamque merentes
 Pana in perniciem trahit.
 Quamquam nulla animum injuria Regium
 Tangat, nulla animum exerceat ultio,
 Ignoscatque libenter
 Victor supplicibus reis;
 Obstant fata tamen, ne respiscere,
 Cum tædere furorum utile sit, queas,
 Rectisque obserat aures
 Iratus monitis Deus.
 Largis quippe bonis undique diffuens,
 Prævis dona Dei moribus inquinat;
 Arto teque piaculo
 Patratum scelus obligat,
 Mactatis toties hospitibus ream;
 Quorum nunc animas jure suo Deus
 Effusumque reposcit
 Per perjuriam sanguinem.
 Nil Regi & Patriæ debitam Iberico
 Obstrinxisse fidem fadere proderit:
 Frustra miles ab altis
 Expectabitur Alpibus
 Mendax: Instat enim Vasco suburbij
 Captis rursus, & ultricia spargere
 Late incendia gaudet
 Regis morte ferocior.*

The Travellers, departing from Coire, before Sun-rise, the Weather being rainy, entered the adjoining Lake in a Vessel made of Deal Planks. The Nature of the Lake is such, that, as it is inclosed on all sides by very high and inaccessible Mountains (which is also the Case of the Lake de Garde) it is subject to be dangerously

him to the Throne: The greater Weight You lay upon him, so much the higher he rises above his Enemies: Harass him in Battle, he shines out with the more Bravery; and, when he is thought to be conquered, renews the War. Now You grieve, that the scandalous Stories invented against him begin to be cleared up by time, that the Contrivances of the Opposite Party prevail, and that your own Weapons are turned upon You: How blind is human Foresight! whilst Men turn their Backs to slight Evils, they foolishly run headlong into important ones: And thus a contrary Event disappoints the Designs of the Guilty, and rewards the Dutiful Subjects according to their Deserts, whilst Punishment drags the Criminals to the Destruction decreed for them. Although no injurious Usage affects the Royal Mind, or provokes him to Vengeance, and the Conqueror is ready to forgive suppliant Offenders; yet the Fates will not suffer them to repent, when their Interest leads them to lay by their Rage; and the angry Deity shuts their Ears against wholesome Advice; since, flowing with Riches, You turn the Blessing of God into Curses by Your wicked Manners; and the Guilt, which You have contracted by the repeated Slaughter of Strangers, is overtaking You; by God's deservedly requiring at Your hands the Blood of those Men spilt by Treachery and Cruelty. It will be of no advantage, that You plight That Faith to the Spaniards which You owed to Your King and Country. In vain shall Auxiliary Forces be expected from the Alps; whilst the Gascons are entering Your Suburbs, a second time, rejoicing in an opportunity to scatter avenging Flames over the City, and rendered fiercer by the Death of the King.

amid

ruffled

ruffled by the Winds, and threatens the Passengers with a Shipwreck; which *De Thou* and his Company very narrowly escaped: They ran the greater hazard, because the Master of the Vessel had very imprudently admitted a *German* with his Horse, which, frightened with the Tossing of the Waves, by the frequent Slipping of his hinder Legs, almost overset the Bark; and, as there was no putting to Shore, the Wind and Rain continually increasing, and the only Bank being a continued Rock of prodigious Height, the Passengers were in the utmost Despair; the Steerer throwing the Rudder out of his hands, and bidding every man provide for his safety as he could. With *De Thou* was one *Nicolas Rapin*, the Son of That *Nicolas*, who has gained such Credit by his Parts and Courage in the present Wars; a young Man of great presence of Mind, and Skill in swimming; who, throwing off his Coat and Waistcoat, shewed himself ready to jump into the Lake; and exhorted *De Thou* to follow him, and to hold fast by his Waste: For by that means it would happen, that either he himself should be first drowned, or must drag Him along with him to the nearest Landing-place. Whilst they were all intent upon the matter, and the only hopes remained in Divine Succour; at a distance, there appeared a Hole in the Rock; whither the Master was ordered to direct the Vessel, which now had begun to take Water: The Passengers lent their helping hand, and plyed the Oar in opposition to the Winds: At length, thoroughly wetted, they leaped into the shallow Water, with such Burthens as each could carry, resolving to stand securely up to the mid-leg in Water, 'till the Storm should blow over. But it happened, that within the Cavity a Path was discovered, full of Steps as it were cut out of the Rock; by which, the whole company, booted and cloaked, as they were, notwithstanding the Steepness of the Ascent, and Violence of the Wind and Rain, climbed for the space of a Mile with great alacrity; and in the way met a Waggon drawn by Oxen, descending down the Precipice. At the Top, not far off, was an Inn; in which, by the help of Stoves, they presently dried their Cloaths, and were wonderfully refreshed, as well as overjoyed at their sudden and immediate Deliverance from immediate Death. After Dinner, as Horses were wanting in that unfrequented Tract, they travelled on foot to the Inn, where they proposed to lodge that Night, near the Head of the Lake of *Zurich*, about two Miles distant, through miry Roads, and with sliding Steps; none amongst them complaining of the troublesome Journey, because of the fresh remembrance of past Dangers. From thence, upon the return of calm Weather, they went on board a Vessel, which in two days carried them through the delightful Lake of *Zurich*. It was a pleasure here to see a City, which from the earliest times had been the Chief of the *Swiss* Cantons, and had produced a great number of Learned Men. *De Thou* especially viewed the Houses, where *Conrad Gesner* and *Gaspar Wolf* were born, which were very small Buildings at this time; and likewise the Birth-place of *Josiah Simler*; being conducted every where by *John-William Stewkes*, a Gentleman of singular Humanity, and well affected to Our Party. From thence they went to *Solothurn*; whither as *De Thou* was approaching, at little more than the distance of five hundred Paces, he found *Nicolas Brulard de Sillery*, the King's Ambassador, sitting under a Tree in the Road; whom having unexpectedly beheld, he in a moment dismounted with his Retinue, and ran to embrace his dearest Friend; and, being conducted to an Inn, stayed with him for some days. A League was then in full Agitation between the Canton of *Berne* and the Duke of *Savoy*; which if ratified by the People of That District (the Ceremony whereof is usually performed by an Oath, at an Assembly of the several Balliages), Our Affairs would receive a considerable Detriment. This the Five Cantons, corrupted by Foreign Gold, were zealously urging; to whom the Leaguers had sent *Leon Lescot de Clermont*, a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and an intimate Friend of *De Thou*. Whilst the Business therefore was depending, it seemed proper to *Sillery*, to make use of *De Thou's* Assistance, and, by appointing a Conference with *Clermont*, to throw in some Delay or other, which might obstruct the Conclusion. But Relief came from another Quarter without His Intervention; the Ministers, who by no means approved that League, animating the People by their Sermons in the Balliage of *Valais* to such a Pitch, that the Advocates, who had come from the City to exact the Oath from them, were not only dismissed without Success, but found it necessary to consult their Safety by a sudden Flight; against whom, the People also insisted, that a Process should be issued, as against Rebels and Traytors. This Proceeding delivered *Sillery* from a good deal of Anxiety. After Leave taken of him, *De Thou* crossing *Mount-Jura* came to *Basil*; carrying with him the *Swiss* Colonels, who had left *Schomberg* at *Orange*, and, after settling their Affairs at home, were returning to the Army to salute the New King; *Nicolas de Harlay-Sanci*, after the Death of *Henry III*, having been sent back into *Germany* by his Successor, to make new Levies.

Amidst the Noise of Arms, (*Theodore Zuinger*, and *Basilus Amersbach*, with whom *De Thou* had contracted a Friendship ten Years before, being now dead) he frequently heard the publick Lectures of *James Grinay*, a Kinsman of the Great *Simon Grinay*, upon the History of *Sleidan*; to which *Grinay* added many things remarkable and worthy of Knowledge, which had escaped *Sleidan*, and which he himself had gained by a familiar Acquaintance with the German Courts; and explained them with great Elegancy. From thence thro' the *Franche Comté*, which they passed with exceeding Caution, they came to *Langres*, where the new King's Interest was at the highest; through the indefatigable Labours of *Peter Roussard* Provost of the City, (a Kinsman of That *Lewis*, to whom, with *Duarein*, we are so much indebted for the purer Knowledge of the Civil Law) in banishing the Spirit of the League out of those Parts. From *Langres*, antiently called *Andomatunum*, they went through *Arc en Barrois* to *Châteauvilain*, from the Siege of which Town the Enemy had been lately repulsed. *Lewis Diacette*, the Count of the Place, was there; that he might repair the Breaches, and provide it with a strong Garrison; this being the only Town, next to *Châlons*, between *Langres* and the Frontiers, which afforded a safe Passage to the Royalists. *De Thou* had maintained a strict, and as it were hereditary Friendship with *Diacette*; who, accordingly detained him, whilst he was regulating the Garrison, and, agreeably to his Prudence, communicated many things to him in secret, which it behoved the King to know: For he concluded, that at last things would so fall out, that the Government would remain with the lawful Heir, that is, the King of *Navarre*; and that the Adverse-Party, which was supported by the Favour of an unconstant Multitude, and by Foreign Succour, when the Ringleaders should be tired with the Length of the War, would sink, and give way to a Reconciliation with the Conqueror. Whilst the Officers in Garrison were passing in review, a prophetick Expression fell from the Count: For, a Dispute arising about *Peter Choefel-la-Meuse*, who had lately done brave Service in the Defence of the Place, when the Count opposed his Admission, and yet saw him admitted, by the Recommendation of some Persons, whom he did not think fit to contradict; he said, that he had a good Reason for making so long an Opposition; for he plainly saw, that one time or other he should suffer some great Misfortune from that quarrelsome Man: And indeed, this was the Person, who four Years afterwards, upon an Offence taken at some Words of Reproach, killed *Diacette*. As soon therefore as News came to Court, where *De Thou* was present, that the Count had been killed by one of the Officers in Garrison; He on a sudden, guessing the Matter as it was, and calling to mind that ominous Expression, before the Name of the Murderer was told, named *La Meuse*: And, it appearing presently to be a true Conjecture, when he was asked how he could divine in such a manner, he reported the Prediction which he had heard four Years before; all People wondering, that *Diacette* should have been able to foretel his own Death so certainly a long time before. He had married *Anne Acquaviva* Daughter of the Duke of *Atri* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, a Woman of Virtue and Generosity; who with her Son and Daughter continued at *Langres*, whither He also had removed his most precious Furniture, which was afterwards sold, and the Money lent to the King for the Uses of the War. At the Age of more than threescore Years, by the help of a strong habit of Body, as he had from his Youth upwards abstained from soft Pleasures, he lay all the Winter Nights in a Chamber full of Windows, and slept in a Bed without Curtains, never feeling the least Inconveniency from the Morning Cold or a foggy Air; as if God had given him, as he used to say himself, a Constitution suited to the Times: This he seemed to speak with great Spirit, and with a Contempt of his former excessive Riches, and to wish rather for Peace to the Realm, than Ease to himself; and, encouraged with that Prospect, he bore all his Domestick Misfortunes, and shewed a Readiness to bear more, with Patience.

At length *De Thou*, departing from *Châteauvilain* with the Swiss Colonels, pursued his Journey through the Castles of *Vandœuvre* and *Pougi*, belonging to the House of *Luxembourg*, and met *Francis Duke de Piney* himself travelling towards *Rome*; to whom, after some private Conversation, he imparted what had been done at *Florence*, *Venice*, *Mantua* and more lately in *Switzerland*. From thence he went to *Pougi*, where he was very honourably received with his whole Retinue, by *Henry* the Duke's Son, a Youth of ten Years of Age. He then arrived at *Châlons*, much about the time that *Robert de Joyeuse*, Count de *Grandpré*, fought bravely for three Days with *Saint-Paul*, and sealed the Victory with his Blood. *De Thou* deplored his untimely Death in the following extemporary Epitaph.

Mist

* *Mista ligustra rosis & lilia spargite, Cives,
 Ad tumulum; tumulo huic debita vestra salus:
 Per triduum extracto certamine Granpratenfis
 Afferuit patrios victor ab hoste Lares;
 Non propriam afferuit vitam, quam vulnere multo
 Projecit vestris saucius in gremijs.
 At vos, O Cives, tuque urbs Catalaunia gaude,
 Manibus invicti facta beata ducis,
 Nunc tutelari illius requiesce sub umbra,
 Cujus te toties texit amica manus.*

Then De Thou heard the News of *La Fere en Vermandois*, where he suffered the Loss, as we have already said, of all his precious Moveables; which however he took much more patiently, than he did the Death of many illustrious Young Men his Friends, of whom we shall presently speak. From *Châlons* he went to *Château-Thierry* situated upon the *Marne*, which runs into the *Seine*, and, by the same River, conveys plenty of Provision to the most populous City of *Paris*. As he entered the Town in the Evening, whilst the Drum was beating for the nightly Guard; amidst the Noise of Arms, he met, in the Street, *Peter Pichere*, a Native of the Neighbouring Town of *La Ferté-au-Coulph*, and once a Monk in the Abby of *Essone*, a perfect Master of three Languages, and a Man of the acutest Judgment, and who had formerly, together with *John de Salignac* and *John Mercier*, studied under *John de Vatable*. This Person laid hold of his Horse's Bridle: And when De Thou, turning to him, asked what Business he had there, amongst Arms and Trumpets; He pointed to an Inn, and said, that on that Day, which closed the seventy ninth Year of his Age, he had studied fourteen Hours, shutting his Ears resolutely against all those Noises and Horrors; and had made an end of his elaborate Commentaries upon *St. Paul*, by finishing the Epistle to *Philemon*; and that every thing was fairly written out, and ready for the Press, when a Convenience should offer, for which he longed above all things: That, notwithstanding his Age, he did not feel any considerable Weakness of Body; that his Eyes and Ears were still good, and he retained his usual Vigour of Mind; but that, as Young Men were certainly liable to many Accidents, which might cut them off before they arrived at old Age, so most certain it was, that old Men had not long to live. De Thou had been the Person, who encouraged him, after his laborious Commentaries upon *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*, to write upon *St. Paul*; and, at His Persuasion, *Pichere* had cheerfully undertaken the Task; because he was of Opinion, that few Persons had exercised themselves with Success in that kind of Interpretation. For, the Business of Religion excepted, he commended the Diligence of *Theodore Beza*; after whose Harvest, however, he said, there were still left considerable Gleanings for Himself and Others: But by ill Luck it happened, that, his quiet Departure to another Life following shortly after, all his Concerns fell to litigious Heirs; who, whilst they ruined one another by a sort of *Cadmean* Victory, suffered that precious part of their Uncle's Furniture to be dissipated and to pass into strange Hands, from which there is hardly any hope of redeeming it, or getting it published for the Public Service. De Thou, being invited to Supper by the Viscount de Comblisy Son of *Claude de Pinard*, heard of the taking of the Suburbs of *Paris* by the King: Falling hereupon into Discourse on the State of things, they both agreed, that, if the City were closely besieged, it would in a short time be reduced, by Famine, to the last Distress, and to a Necessity of surrendering; and, that the Castle, where they then were, would not a little contribute to that End; as being a Place, through which vast Quantities of Provision had used to pass towards *Paris*. For that *Meaux*, which lay lower, and was possessed by the League, though it abounded with Corn, would not be sufficient, when the Supplies from the higher Countries should be cut off: Upon that Account, That Castle and *Châlons* were very convenient to the

* Strew this Tomb, Countrymen, with white With-Bands and Lillies mixed with Roses; for to this Tomb You owe Your Safety. By a Battle continued for three Days together, *Grandpré* saved his Country from the Enemy: His own Life he did not save, but threw it, covered as he was with Wounds, into Your Laps. Rejoyce then, Countrymen, and You too, O City of *Châlons*, in the Blessing procured to You by the Death of an invincible General. Rest henceforwards under the Tutelary Shade of That Person, whose Friendly Hand has so often protected You,

King; and the Governors therefore ought to be so much the more careful, that nothing be imported by the Allowance of a Passage that Way. By which Words, *De Thou*, being convinced of *Comblisy's* good Disposition, and having also received his Orders to treat with the King, for strengthening the Place with a better Garrison, departed; and, by the Way of *Lagny*, which *James le Fin*, of whom more is to be said hereafter, held for the King, leaving the City of *Paris* below him, he came to *Monfort-Lamaurri*; about the same time, that the King, after the taking of the Suburbs, had come to *Eftampes*, and, upon the Surrender of the Castle, had descended with an Army into the *Pays Chartrain*. From *Monfort*, he passed through *Nogent-le Roy* and *Houdan*, that he might avoid *Chartres*, which was possessed by the League: Then, turning aside, through the Country of *Le Perche*, he advanced to *Frazé*; and, the next Day, as he travelled near *Château-neuf en Thimerais*, in the Darkness of the Night (for it was dangerous in the Day-time), an Alarm was twice given, the whole Company preparing their Arms, as if the Enemy were approaching. At length, their Fears vanishing, as soon as it appeared to be a Party of Royalists, who were conducting the dead Bodies of two young Noblemen to their Friends, their Grief exceeded their former Apprehensions; and *De Thou*, whose Sorrow was inexpressible, gave way to Tears, and, in the best manner which his Concern would permit, lamented their Fate in these extemporary Verses: The first Hearse, that occurred, carried the Body of *Lewis de Roban Duke de Montbazon*; upon whom he poured forth these few Lines directed to *Arete*, or *Virtue*.

† *Flere tuum non est, Arete; sed solvere crines*
Te modo, & attritas ungue rigare genas,
Vidimus, & curvis contundere pectora palmis,
In Monbazonij funere, Diva, tui.
Scilicet ille Deus, Dijs certe proximus heros;
Et decet heroum morte dolere Deos.

There had been a wonderful Harmony of Affections and Counsels between *De Thou* and the Duke de *Montbazon*; and *De Thou* had observed in that illustrious Youth so (a) sincere a Piety, such Love of Rectitude and Honesty, and so great a Zeal for his Country and the Honour of *France*; that He, who had hitherto discovered none of those rare Qualities in Persons of the first Rank, could not help being exceedingly concerned for the Loss of a Man, who was adorned with them: And I can truly bear Witness, that the mention of that Gentleman never afterwards happened, but that it drew Tears from him; so that it ought not to be wondered at, if, whilst the Sense of the Misfortune was fresh in his Mind, Grief should have drawn from him these few Verses, in the midst of Sighs and convulsive Sobblings. An Hour had scarce passed, when the Travellers met the other Hearse; in which the Body of *Josias de la Roche-foucault Count de Roucy*, killed in the Battle of *Arques* on the twenty fourth day of *September*, was in like manner carried. This Person was nearly related to the Prince of *Condé's* Children by *Eleanor de Roye*, being the Son of *Charlotte*, the younger Sister of *Eleanor*; upon which Account, he had lived in the greatest Familiarity with *Charles Cardinal of Vendôme*; and, in That Family, *De Thou*, who constantly attended the Cardinal, had contracted a fast Friendship with him, which he also testified by this extemporary Piece of Poetry, composed on *Horseback*;

* *Russus ut cecidit, flevire leposque jocusque,*
In Geticum auditi dicere multa Deum.
Improbe Mars, nostrum potuisti perdere alumnus?
Pro juvene & blanda nil valere preces?

—† It is not Your usual Method, *Virtue*, to weep; but we have lately seen You let the Tresses of Your Hair flow, wound Your dewy Cheeks with Your Nails, and tear Your Breast with Your Hands, upon the Death of Your Favourite *Montbazon*: For he was indeed a Sort of God, or at least a Hero nearly approaching to the Gods; and it is fit, that Gods should grieve for the Death of Heroes.

(a) For *minime siccitatem*, the Author seems rather to have written *minime siccitatem*.

* When *Roucy* fell, Mirth and Pleasantry wept, and were heard to say many things against the *Thracian* God. Cruel *Mars*! Could You destroy our Votary? Could no fond Prayers avail in behalf of the Youth, whose open Countenance carried so many Charms, and whose

*Cui festivam hilaris solvebat gratia frontem,
Attica cui linguam melle rigabat apis.
Cernere eum coram vel certe audire tulisses;
Imbelli barebant irrita tela manu.
Sed tu luminibus sub casside torva tuentem,
Spirantemque acido pectore & ore minas,
Oppressisti ideo juvenem, trux belliger, iram
Flectere ne posset fronte vel ore tuam.*

He was a very pleasant Gentleman, and, moreover, extremely valiant (both which Qualities are hereditary to the House of *Roche-foucault*); and his Father *Francis*, who perished seventeen Years before in the Massacre of *Paris*, had been very acceptable to King *Charles* upon that Account: He spoke *Latin* properly enough, was a compleat Master of the *Italian* Tongue, and, by his Gesture and Voice, would humour all its several Dialects, as used by different Persons, to a wonderful Perfection; so that, in the private Recesses with his Kinsman the Cardinal, at which *De Thou* was generally present, he diverted his Friends to such a Degree, that the whole Company used to burst into a loud Laughter, whilst he himself never laughed at all.

De Thou at length came to *Chateaudun*, the Inheritance of the House of *Longueville*, in the *Dunois*, where the King was just arrived from *Patai*, which he had garrisoned. *De Thou* saluted his Majesty, and, being kindly received, informed him fully of the State of Affairs in *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*; making mention, even at that time, of a Match with *Mary of Medicis* (which was happily contracted ten Years after), and acquainting him with the Inclinations of *Ferdinand*, the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, to that purpose. It was the Common Wish of the *Venetian* Senate, and the other *Italian* Princes, (who justly suspect the Greatness of the Kings of *Spain*) that the King (as he afterwards did) should profess the Religion of his Ancestors; and yet, in the present State of Things, they did not think it proper to abandon him: But, to make an early Discovery of their Inclinations, they looked upon as useless to the King, and, with regard to themselves, unreasonable and hazardous: Privately therefore, as they could not do it openly, they supplied him with a moderate Sum of Money; continually exhorting him to do That immediately, which he had declared himself ready to do upon certain Conditions. Which Messages being delivered, the King held a long Discourse upon that Subject; saying, that he had been raised by the divine Providence, beyond his Hopes or Desires, to That high Station, to which Others greedily aspire, by violating the Laws, and by precipitate Measures. That he had seen Four in the Royal Family before him, whereof Three had reigned successively, leaving no Children; and the Fourth with incredible good Fortune had attained the Splendour of a King; which having abused, and failed in returning Thanks to God for so signal a Blessing, he had died, before he could take Possession of the Throne: That He therefore was himself obliged to take the greater Care, that he did not in like manner offend by Ingratitude, and incur the same Punishment of being Childless; which would be grievous to Him, and detrimental to the Kingdom: That the Cause of Religion, which was every where so hotly managed, by the way of Hatred rather than of Christian Charity, was What chiefly perplexed him: That he should not be found very obstinate in the Doctrine, in which he had been educated, and which he had hitherto embraced as salutary; and he did not refuse, upon better Instruction, to follow what was best: But he desired, that he might not be compelled; but might be led of his own Accord, and as it were by the Hand, to That Change, as he had been to the Throne it self. He was moreover desirous, that not He himself alone, but many others also in the Kingdom, and, if possible, out of the Kingdom, might be instructed by His Example: This, according to a Method received in the Church, might be conveniently and lawfully accomplished by Councils; if an Oecumenical one could not be summoned soon enough, by a National one; and, if That too was impracticable, Then by a Conference: That he was ready to lay down his Life, to gain a Discharge from the necessary Burden of the War; for the sparing of the Blood of so many innocent Persons, who, by Those worse than *Cadmean* Battles, were exhausted: That he was

whose Tongue was tinged with Honey by the *Attick* Bee? If You could have endured to see him, or barely to hear him, You would not have been able to strike a Blow: But taking the Advantage of the Vizor which covered his Face, as he cast a fierce Eye upon the Enemy, and breathed nothing but Threatnings, You destroyed him, unrelenting Warriour, that Your Fury might not be disarmed by his Countenance, or his Voice.

descended from the present most ancient Royal Family: That His Cause, wherein so many powerful Nations were concerned, ought not to be so far despised, that a Course, so often practised in the Church with great Advantage, should be refused to be taken upon His Account. Did the Salvation of His Soul, and of so many Others throughout all Europe, seem so contemptible a Matter to candid Judges, that it should be thought reasonable and just to deal with him, not by the way of Reason, but by the Violence of a dangerous War? Who knew, but that he was raised up by God, that by His means, and at His Expence, the Peace of the Church might be settled? That This was the Case, he believed, and wished that it might produce such an Effect: In the mean time, he would force No-body, as he was unwilling to be forced himself; and he would religiously keep the Promise, which he had sworn to at his first Entrance upon the Government, to maintain and defend the Roman Catholick Religion, to have the Chief Professors of it about his Person, to protect the Others from Insults, and to procure the Safety of them All and the whole Realm: This, he desired, that All Men might understand, and be persuaded, that he pursued the War upon no ambitious Motives, but for the Trial of his Right to the Succession; that he might consult the Security and Quiet of so many People, who, dreading a Foreign Yoke, called upon him as their Dehtor: If he declined it, he had good reason to fear, lest he might be blamed both by his own Age and Posterity; as if, by Cowardice and Dissimulation, he had suffered That to be lost, which Every-body expected from his Valour. These and many other things were added by this most eloquent Prince, together with Tears, whereby he testified the inmost Sentiments of his Soul, and the Sincerity of his Professions. In the mean time, the Army advanced to Vendôme; of which Place the Governour, appointed by the King, had broken his Faith with the late King, and with the Count de Saisons (who had engaged for him); and had surprized the Great Council, which at the time of the General Assembly was exercising Jurisdiction in the City: But Now, as he neither put himself into a vigorous Posture of Defence, nor answered seriously to the Summons of Surrender; at the taking of the City, He was apprehended and immediately put to Death, together with Robert Cresse a Franciscan Fryar. De Thou, who had been obliged to the latter, did his utmost to procure his Pardon; but, in the heat of the Storm, the King being without the City, and the Marquis de Biran ruling every thing Within at Pleasure; when the Governour, a Man of Quality, was led to Execution, little Regard was had to a Petition in behalf of a mean Person; upon whom, They, who desired to save the Governour harmless, threw the Blame of the Revolt. Vendôme being taken, the King came to Angers, and was received with great Congratulations: From thence, after he had given hopes to Achilles de Harlay the First President (who, upon his late Release from Prison, had come thither), of obtaining the highest Post of the Long Robe, he returned to the Camp; the Forces, which by the way of Angers and Château de Loir had descended into the Maine, being by this time arrived before La Mauve, the Capital of the Province; which, after the burning of its spacious Suburbs, to the King's great Grief and the Shame of the Besieged, being taken, the King resumed the same Discourse again with De Thou; and mention being occasionally made of the Conference held with Vincent Duke of Mantua (at which he had earnestly requested the King to take his Uncle, the Duke de Nevers, into his Favour, and had given De Thou a Letter for De Nevers himself to the same Purpose) De Thou was sent with a Commission to the Duke de Nevers: As he rode, revolving in his Mind the late Convention with the King, and reflecting upon the wonderful Successes at the beginning of his Majesty's Reign, that he might relieve the tediousness of the Journey, he writ the following Ode; which De Thou hopes, may be read without the Offence of any One, and desires the Reader to cast his Eye back to the Time, wherein it was composed; that, even from this Instance, a Judgment may be made of his Moderation; that, when the Minds of Men were inflamed on both sides to such a Degree, that every thing might have been said or done with Impunity, he could write of these Matters with so much Temper.

* *Natus Regentis auctoritas Daigamus.*

Harice, amicum vultibus bapm.

Belloque crebris rueris.

Præsidium columenque regni,

Succede

of boundless evils. If You could have endured to see a Kingdom perishing by Civil War, submit your Head Neck to the Burden of Empire, which God, the Avenger of the Murder committed by the wicked Enemy upon Your Brother,

*Succede fasces viribus integris,
 Quem, fratre adempto per scelus hostium,
 Deus patratæ cadis alter
 Imposuit tibi sustinendum.
 Tu par serendo, jam toties Dea
 Vertentis imis summa cices tuo
 Periculo expertus, rotaque
 Precipitem variantis axem:
 Qui sceptræ magni consilio Dei
 Regenda credit, totus & in Deum
 Incumbit, adversæque ab Uno
 Rebus opem auxiliariæque possit;
 Haud ille cassus spe cadet irrita,
 Nec vota surdis supplicia auribus
 Commissa delusus queretur:
 Mille licet die inermis furim
 Incogitantis tela petam latus,
 Illasus ictus negliget impius;
 Tectusque lorica supremi
 Numinis, intrepidus cohortes
 Saluum explicabit per medias caput,
 Et signa victor manibus hosticis
 Vellet, relucensque ferro
 Late acies domitor fugabit.
 Presentis in rerarum opifer Deus
 Benignitatis jam specimen dedit,
 Cum nuper hostes ad marinam
 Terruit innumeros Diepam.
 Passim per agros densa equitum seges
 Undabat; heic pars facis Ibericæ,
 Et Belgæ Germanæ remissus,
 Judæis & fugiens tribunal
 Heic Transpadanus; qualis & abierim
 Fastigato sive cacumine,
 Saltus per umbriferos Pyrenæ,
 Montibus aut Beneatris acutis,*

• read
posse.

Pinetæ

has imposed upon You. You are equal to the Load, having so often, at Your hazard, experienced the Vicissitudes of fickle Fortune. He, who believes that Scepters ought to be disposed of by divine Direction, and rests wholly upon God, seeking Assistance in Adversity from Him alone, That Man shall not be disappointed of his Hope, nor complain of a deaf Ear turned to his Prayers. Although a thousand Darts in a day are secretly levelled against his unarmed Side, he shall undauntedly neglect the impious Attacks; and, covered with the Armour of God, shall intrepidly expose his head amongst the thickest Battalions, shall victoriously pluck down the Colours from the Enemy's Walls, and defeat their Forces in the Field. God has shewn a singular instance of present Relief in Your Case, when he lately terrified the numerous Enemies at the Port of Diepe. The Fields stood as it were planted with Cavalry; consisting of the Scum of Spain, of Walloons mixed with Germans, and of Italian Outlaws; and, like a Forest of Fir or Pine-Trees upon the Pyrenean Hills, or the pointed Mountains of Bezan, a horrid Squadron of Pikemen on Horseback covered the Field: But Victor, the Disposer of Events, at length ended the Dispute, and gave a happy turn to the doubtful Battle, by obliging such a number of Troops hastily to turn their backs without Blood or Trouble. As a just Cause raises the Spirits of Soldiers, so an unjust one sinks them,

more

Pineta surgunt ; sic equitum arduis
Se turbo pilis horridus intulit
Campis superfusus ; diremit
Tandem aciem, dubiumque pugnæ
Dextro resolvit principium exitu
Sequestra virtus, tot sine sanguine et
Sudore turpiter coactis
Versa fuga dare terga turmis.
Ut justa vires militis erigit,
Injusta frangit causa, potentior
Igni corusco, fulgetraque
Artifici quatiente muros :
Iniquitatis conscia pectora
Mens testis atrox & pudor arguunt,
Nulloque terrorem insequente
Cordibus incutiant protervis.
Hinc est, ut hostis plus nimio tumens,
Clausisse cum se indagine copias
Ipsamque jactaret Navarrum,
Nec misero, nisi nave capta,
*Patere Regi crederet *exitus,*
Pæana dictum nec bene creditum
Turpi recantaret camena ;
Milite moxque minorem & ævo
Exoticis tot conspicuus sagis
Suessionem expaverit obvium.
I nunc & exactos triumphos
Spartacidum super astra tolle,
Partasque lauros obsidionibus
Campoque, quæcunque & rabula crepant,
Mercede conducti movendis
Vulgi animis inopisque sexus :
Insecta causa numina milites
Dirosque morsus pectore sentiunt,
Et Rege vix conspecto abactis
Oppida depopulata pradis

Hosti

* read rather exultum

more effectually than the artificial Lightening and Thunder of Great Guns. Minds conscious of Iniquity discover themselves by Fierceness and Shame, and by Terrors infused into them, when there is no Pursuer. Hence it is, that the Enemy, swelling with excessive Pride, when they boasted, that they had inclosed the Army and the King of Navarre himself in a Net, and that the miserable King had no way to escape but by taking Ship, were forced to retract their rash triumphant Song ; and their General, attended with so many exotic Sages, was afraid to stand his ground against the Count de Soissons, who was both his Junior, and his Inferior in Troops. Go now, and extoll the Triumphs of the Rebel Sons of Spartacus above the Stars, and the Laurels gained in Sieges and in the Field, and let Your mercenary Creatures disperse rumours fit to move the Minds of the Vulgar and the weaker Sex ; the Soldiers feel remorse of Conscience, and are sensible of the Deity's Displeasure, and, before the King appears in Sight, quit the pillaged Towns to the Adversary. Behold Le Maine, see the many Cities surrendered by Capitulation, and the many Castles which repent of their former Guilt. What need is there of mentioning Vendôme, which was exalted by the Blood of the obstinate De Mailly, or the reduction of the Country on both sides of the Loire ? Why need I specify the Suburbs of Paris, which were taken, and the City itself, which, notwithstanding its Walls, was only secured by the arrival of Succours. After so many Ages run out, the Grand Period is returning,

*Hosti relinquunt. Canomanos vide,
Totque incruento fadere deditas
Urbes, tot arces penitentes
Flagitij veterisque culpa.*

*Nam contumacis sanguine Mallij
Quid expiatum Vindocinum est opus
Referre, pacatumque late,*

*Margine mox ab utroque Ledum?
Lutetia quid capta suburbia
Dicam? quid ipsam vix bene manibus
Et militari civitatem*

Præsidio veniente rutam?

*Exacta post tot *specula vertitur
Nunc ordo magnus, quo pudor & fides
Et prisca, Saturni, recudet*

Religio tua secla in aurum.

*Tu fluctuantem seditionibus
Plebem, & feroces frangere spiritus,*

Tu spes iniquorum superbas

Fure sciens moderari & equo,

Ferroque, justum si renuat jugum

Lascivienti turba licentia

Assueta civiles per astus,

Et toties redidit bella;

Tu seve inanes Oenotriae minas;

Et quicquid audent hinc socer & gener;

Hujusque debellare secli

Monstra pijs inimica natus;

O perge tandem, Henrice, Deo auspice;

Heres & ultor sanguinis & domus,

Terrisque mentibusque amicam

Da patria, pater alme, pacem.

* read
secula

turning, wherein Modesty, Fidelity and primitive Religion shall restore the Golden Days of Saturn. But You, O Henry, the Lawful Heir, under the Divine Favour, as well as the Avenger of the Royal Family and Blood, who wert born to break the fierce Spirits of the rebelling Populace, to check the hopes of unjust Men by Law and Equity, and to chastise with the Sword, such as refuse a reasonable Yoke, and are insured to wanton Licentiousness in these Civil Commotions, and so often revived Wars, and also to conquer the vain Threats of cruel Italy, and the Efforts both of the Father-in-law and Son-in-law, and the Monsters of this Age, which are the Detestation of Pious Men; Go on, great Father of Your Country, and at length give Peace to the Earth, and to the Minds of Men.

END of the Fourth BOOK.



BOOK V.

A.D.

1590.



DE THOU, having finished his Negotiation with the Duke de Nevers, returned at the beginning of the New Year to the King; who, after the Surrender of *Le Mans*, had with the same Success received *Laval*, *Château-Goutier*, *Alençon* in *Le Perche*, and *Argentan* in the Diocese of *Seez* to Obedience; and, partly by Force, partly by fair means, had taken the Castle of *Falaife*; and lastly, the Town of *Lyfieux*; where he understood from *De Thou*, what had been done at *Nevers*. From thence the Army marched against *Honfleur*, in the Siege of which Place the King made too long a stay and not without hazard; but, That being also surrendered, with the Castles in the neighbourhood, the King expeditiously decamped to the Relief of *Meulan*, and sent away *De Thou* to *Tours*, with Letters to the Cardinal of *Vendôme* his Cousin: For knowing, what unhandsome Discourses passed amongst his Followers, and flew already through the associated Cities, and also by his natural Sagacity foreseeing the Tendency of such Rumours, he had strictly commanded *De Thou*, that he should depart as little as possible from the side of the Cardinal and the Count de *Soissons* his Brother; concluding, that, as long as they attended to Him, so long they would lend a deaf Ear to evil Counsellors. The Siege of *Meulan* being raised, the Army encamped before *Dreux* in the *Pays Chartrain*. On the 14th day of *March*, followed the Battle of *Jury*; at which the Count de *Soissons*, who had lately returned to *Tours*, was so grieved, that he had not been present, that he would hardly admit of Consolation; and the Vexation was so great, that he fell into a Quartan Ague, that lasted fifteen Months; in all which time he could scarce blot the unpleasant remembrance of it out of his Mind. As all Places rung with joyful Congratulations for that Victory, *De Thou*, amidst the solemn Thankgivings, composed the following Copy of Verses:

Euriaci in campis superato fortiter hoste,

Debetur, princeps, gloria magna tibi,

Tu libertatem miseris & nomina Gallis

Asseris, O regni cura salusque tui.

Nam cum Francorum nomen delere pararet,

Liberaque inciso subdere colla iugo,

Dirus Iber, validis subnixus viribus, & jam

Signa viderentur cedere nostra retro,

Primus in adversos penetras, Henrice, maniplos,

Inque fugam vertis, qui modo victor erat.

Auspiciis vulgo peraguntur praelia regum,

Perque duces illis gloria magna venit:

Tu vincis virtute tua, nec militis hæc est,

Ista tibi propria laurea parta manu.

* The brave Defeat of the Enemy, in the Plains of *Jury*, redounds greatly to your Honour, O Prince. You assert the Liberty and the Honour of *Frenchmen*, You, who art the Concern and the Security of Your Realm. For when the terrible *Spaniards*, supported by numerous Forces, was preparing to abolish the Name of *France*, and to subdue the Necks of Freemen to a hated Yoke, and when Our Troops seemed to be actually giving ground; You, *Henry*, first made an Impression upon the adverse Battalions, and put the almost victorious Enemy to Flight. Battles are generally fought under the direction of Kings, who, from their Generals, receive the Honour of them. You conquer by your own Valour; and have gained this Lawrel, not by the Soldiery, but your own Arm.

He

He celebrated the same Victory also with the following Piece of Poetry:

* *Dicite Io, dextra Henrici victoria parta est,
Qua magis illustris non fuit ulla prius.
Teutones amissis transarunt flumina carris;
Nostrum est, Helvetiis quod sua vita manet;
Traditaque & regis mox munere reddita signa
Dedecus exprobrant perfidiamque viris.
Hispani atque Itali caesi, stolidusque cadaver
Vile Lamoralli Belga cadaver habet.
Nulla ducis tanti jam non videt ora triumphos,
Sparsaque virtutis tot monumenta sua.
Qua trepidum miles tanta de strage superstes
Ferre pedem nequijt, nuncia fama volat.
Ac nisi divini me fallit opinio gnarum
Consilij, magnum hac omnia pondus habent;
Unaque per cunctas victoria *dedita terras
Uni terrarum destinat imperium.*

* read
dedita

Lastly, directing his Speech to the City of *Tours*, then the Capital of the Kingdom, in a strain of Joy, he launched into this Poetical Apostrophe:

† *O quæ reliquias pio
Et dilecta sinu pignora Gallici,
Urbs, complectere nominis;
Urbs quondam Turonum per viridaria
Princeps, nunc caput & parens,
Francorum ditio maxima qua *petet;
Grateis reddere numini
Pro parta tibi nunc tempus adorea:
Pulcinaria calitum
Instaurare, vias sternere floribus,
Ulnis excipere obvijs
Evantes socios, lætaque tempora
Bacca cingere laurea
Cessas? O tibi quam pulchra dies adest,
Fastos per memores dies
Cressa digna nota, quæ trepido anxios
Exsoluit procures metu,*

* read petet

Leto

* Let the People rejoice; for *Henry* has gained the most signal Victory that ever was. The *Germans*, having lost their Carriages, swam cross the Rivers; and to Us the *Swiss* are indebted for their Lives. The Colours, surrender'd, and by the King's Generosity restored, reproach the Men with Dishonour and Treachery. The *Spaniards* and *Italians* are slaughtered; and the unadvised *Flemmings* carry home the vile Carcass of haughty *Lamorall*. There is no Country, which does not bear witness to the Triumphs of so great a Commander, or sees not some Monuments of his Valour. For, where the Soldiers, remaining out of the Slaughter, cannot carry the News, Fame flies with it. But unless I am deceived in my judgment of the Divine Counsels, all these things carry considerable Weight: And one Victory, dispersed in this manner over all the Earth, seems to design the Conqueror for universal Monarchy.

† O Thou City, once the Capital of the verdant *Touraine*, now the Metropolis and Parent of the whole *Gallick* Empire, who bearest in thy Lap the Remains and dearest Pledges of *France*, it is high Time for You to return Thanks to God for the Victories obtained. Do You delay then, to repair the Shrines of the Saints, to strew the ways with Flowers, to receive Your triumphant Friends with open Arms, and to crown Your Temples with

Lawrel-

*Læto maesta beans pectora nuntio.
 Hostis, qui modo laureas
 Spondebat sibi, qui prætumido truces
 Iras pectore dum coquit,
 Exultabat amans credulam inanibus
 Mentem pascere somnijs:
 Nunc versa trepidus vice
 Rebus perfugium quarit inops suis:
 Tot nuperque cohortibus
 Succinctus, tot opum præsidio tumens,
 Paucis vix bene caculis
 Vix cingente latus totus amiculo,
 Uno fugit *ex altero
 Exemplo eximio post venientibus,
 Quam nunquam popularibus
 Auris, ingenijs atque opibus, sapit,
 Quisquis fidere debeat,
 Nunquam spes nimias credere lubrica
 Fortune instabilis trocho.
 Sceptorum & dominandi arbitrium penes
 Unum scilicet est Deum,
 Regnantum dominum, cujus & in fide
 Reges regnaque sunt, graveis
 Fastus terribilis frangere principum,
 Insani & populi minas.
 Hinc sceptræ & trabeas, hinc titulos pete:
 Non suffragia turbida
 Plebis, non scelerum conscia factio,
 Tantum conciliant decus,
 Nec fucata juvat religio impios:
 Mendax quippe sequacium
 Spes & vota suorum ambitus irrita
 Tandem decipit exitu,
 Umbra & somnium uti lumina transeolat:
 At tu, tristibus hæcæ
 Curis sollicitoque ægra silentio,
 Constanti O celebris fide,*

Urbs

Laurel-berries! How glorious a Day is this, worthy of an honourable Place in the Calendar, which has delivered the anxious Lords from Fear, rejoicing their hearts with happy tidings! The Enemy, who flattered himself with the hopes of Conquest, and, indulging his malicious Passion, fondly delighted to feed his credulous Mind with empty Dreams, now, fortune being turned, seeks where to hide his trembling head: And He, who was lately surrounded with so many Battalions, and swelled with the imaginary Security of such a mighty Force, flies half-naked with a few Camp-boys; and once more instructs Posterity by a remarkable Instance, how unwise a thing it is, to trust to the Applause, the Humour and Support of the Multitude, or to build extravagant hopes upon the slippery Wheel of Fortune. For it appears, that the Disposal of Scepters and Crowns is in the hands of God, the Protector of Kings and Kingdoms, who by his Terrors is able to humble the proud Spirit of Princes, and to baffle the Threats of a distracted Populace. From hence Scepters, Robes of Royalty and Titles are to be sought. It is not the Voice of a turbulent People, nor a Faction conscious of Wickedness, that can procure so exalted a Dignity: Nor will the Colour of Religion be of any service to Impious Men: For Ambition is a Lyar, and at length disappoints the hopes and wishes of its Votaries, and amuses the Eyes like a fleeting Shadow or Vision. But You, O constant City, who hast hitherto felt melancholy Cares,

*Urbs; partam meritis sume superbiam,
Annis & redeuntibus
Solemnem renova more pio diem,
Quo fessa sua dignitas
Libertasque prior reddita Gallia.
Sic nunquam rapidis Liger
Undis oppositos diruat aggeres,
Sic prima sub hirundine,
Cum nix aeris soletur in jugis,
Nunquam leta supernatans
Obducatur sterili pascua flumine.*

After the Battle, *Mantes* was retaken, and *Melun*, making resistance, was carried by Storm; and, in the same Heat of Success, *Nogent* and *Bray* upon the *Seine* submitted to the Conqueror. Here *De Thou* waited upon the victorious King, and found him constant in the same Resolution, in which he had left him, before he went to the Duke of *Nevers*: But the Noise of Arms had so deafened the Ears of the Leaguers, that those pious Wishes were not heard. In the mean time, having asked the King's Leave, he departed, by the way of *Lagny*, towards *Senlis*, in order to visit his Wife, whom he had not seen for a whole Year. Then followed the fruitless Siege of *Sens*, the antient Name of which City was indisputably *Agendicum* on the *Ygonna*, the Seat of a Metropolitcal Church at this day. This Siege being raised, that an opportunity might not be lost of besieging *Paris*, the Army marched expeditiously towards that City; which gave occasion to a vulgar Remark, that the King had given over the Assault of *Dreux*, to win the Battle of *Jury*, and had retired in like manner from before *Sens*, in order to take *Paris*. This indeed was his Design, though it miscarried, because the Siege was lengthened out beyond expectation, on purpose, to prevent the Saccage of the Capital. For the ill Success was owing to the Humanity of the King, who chose rather to leave the City entire, than to possess it in a pillaged Condition. This appeared more certainly four years afterwards, when it was actually taken and not plundered: Which could not have been done or expected to be done by any Other, than a Lawful Sovereign, and one more zealous of preserving his Own Right than of invading Another's. Whilst he lay before the Town, desiring to regulate some matters, which hitherto in the midst of Arms and Marches had been confused, he sent for *Philip Hurault* the Chancellor from his Seat of *Esclimont*. *De Thou* was the Person deputed to go to him; who, in two Stages, because of the excessive Heats, performed the Journey, not without danger of his Life. Upon the Road, he composed the following Elegy, which gives a just idea of the Heat and Passions of the Time, wherein it was written.

* *Aura veni, leni mulcens ardentia flabro
Spicula, dum fervet Seirius, aura veni,
Squalent arva siti, riguos nec ut ante per hortos
Lata coronato vertice Flora viret,
Non tremula ludunt nutante cacumine frondes,
Nec movet instabiles populus alba comas.
Fessa armenta jacent, canescunt gramina campis,
Strataque per dumos ilia ducit ovis.*

Fau-

and observed an anxious Silence, assume the Pride due to Your Deserts, and in every returning Year renew the pious Memory of a Day, whereon *France*, worn out with Fatigues, was restored to its Honour and former Liberty. So may the swelling *Loire* never break its Banks; So, in the opening of the Spring, may the Snow, when it is melted on the Tops of the high Mountains, never overflow the joyful Pastures with a barren Inundation.

* Come, Air, and allay the Heats of the Dog Star with a gentle Breeze. The Fields are parched with Drought, and *Flora* does not hold up her crowned Head, as formerly, in the watered Gardens. The trembling Leaves do not sport in the Wind, nor does the white Poplar move her unstable Boughs. The Herds fall tired to the Ground, the Grass is withered

read rather
ther Igne

Faucibus & siccis languet sub sole viator,
 Et non inventa pallet anhelus aqua.
 Aura veni, rapidasque leva gratissima soles;
 Dum mandata fero principis, aura veni:
 * Ique ardens Boreas at Eriobidos Orithyæ
 Atque am volucris firmate verrit humum,
 Talis & aura veni, nestroque modere labori,
 Dum jubeor tritas ire redire vias.
 Nulla heic qua trepidet suspensa ad nomina Procris.
 Nec qualis Cephalo noxia dextra mihi est.
 Quid loquor incassum? resco non Eurus ab orta,
 Non Gaditano spirat ab oceano
 Dilectus Veneri Zephyrus, nec plena per undas
 Impellunt anima liutea Tbreicia,
 Non madidis Auster calum d'borborat alis.
 Vana queror; nostras non capit aura preces.
 Me miserum interea torret Phœbeia lampas,
 Aere & immoto sessus anhelat equus.
 At Te, per teneræ falsos Peneidos igneis,
 Dulce per & Clymene quod Chioneque fuit,
 Parte, oro, urentisque manu depono sagittas,
 Et pharetram ex humeris excute, Phæbe, tuis;
 * Hæc æstus inimitis & exitiale venenum,
 Ars cui Pæonia nulla medetur ope,
 Excute; quid merui? petulantis præmia lingue
 Tantalus ausa caum ledere nomen habet;
 Dum pro Læona felix sibi sorte videtur,
 Hæc tot natorum prole superba parens!
 Ad Siphylum namque ex illo suspet horrida saxam,
 Fletque udo raptam marmore progeniem.
 Parte, pater Thymbriæ; tuis ego turæ templis
 Dona dedi, nec nos nomen inane sumus.
 Et juvenile tuo caluit mihi pectus ab astro,
 Cum sequeretur tacum cæcus & ipse Deum.

* read Hoc

Contra

up, and the Sheep lye panting in the Thickets. The Traveller languishes with Thirst, under the burning Sun, and sickens for want of Water. Come then, Air, and temper the Heat, whilst I am carrying the Prince's Commands. As Boreas, enamoured with Orithyia the Daughter of Erechtheus, swept the Country of Africa with a rapid Blast, come Thou with the same Force, and relieve my Fatigue, whilst I pass and repass the beaten Ways. Here is no Procris, who may startle at the mention of suspected Names; nor am I so dangerous a Person as Cephalus. Why do I speak in vain? No Gale blows from the rosy East; no Zephyr, Favourite of Venus, from the Western Ocean; no Boreas fills the Sails of Ships, nor South Wind flaps its humid Wings. Vain are my Complaints! The Air is deaf to my Prayers. Mean while the Sun's fierce Lamp scorches me, and my tired Horse pants under me. But, I beseech You, Phæbe, by your Pursuit, though vain Pursuit of Daphne, by the dear Remembrance of Clymene and Chione, be merciful; lay aside Your fiery Dart, and cast the Quiver from Your Shoulder. Remove this pernicious Heat, which no Art of the Physician can remedy. What have I deserved? Niobe, daring to offend Your Majesty, received the Punishment due to her petulant Tongue; and whilst she boasted her Superiority over Læona, and unfortunately prided herself in her numerous Issue, was turned into one of the Rocks of Siphylum, and wept for the Loss of her Offspring in the Capacity of Marble: Spare me, Apollo; for I have formerly been Your Votary, and am something more than an empty Name. My Youthful Breast glowed with Your Fire, when I blindly followed the blind God. Rather direct

*Contra hostem potius, Deus, ignea spicula verte,
 Et flammis meritos ultima perdo tuos.
 Factio nulla magis placida invidiosa quere
 Emergit Stygijs in mala nostra vadis,
 Incautas non ulla potentior icere mentes
 Turbida Gallorum miscent ingenia.
 Illam Tisiphone pregnans enixa sorores
 Proesto habuit, nec opem Juno vocata tulit.
 Gorgoneis tremulum Aleto caput hirsuta colubris
 Obstetricis obit officiosa vices;
 Pestibuloque sedens accincta Megera flagello
 Admoxit piceam torva sub ora facem.
 Protinus & prostrat cunas furialis Enyo,
 Martis & auditus sevens ubique fragor.
 Hoc monstrum, horrendum monstrum, terraq; mariq;
 Ulter pestifera perge abolere lue;
 Sterne duces, bellicue moras & fete latronum
 Injeto passim disjice castra metu.
 Hac noceant tua tela tenus; sis cetera visis,
 Et concepta pia pectore vota cape;
 Militibus nostris astum defende nocentem;
 Dum propevo, radios, Phoebe, recande tuos.
 Magnanimum Henricum dura inter proelia serva,
 Cui moa devota sedulitate fides
 Servit; ab hac anima tot eisam flamma ducunt,
 Unius abrupta mox peritura calo.
 Scis huic debere per leges ordine sceptrum,
 Controversa facit qua scelerata cohors;
 At vincet tandem, laurumque merebit utrumque,
 Dux fortis bello, Rex quoque pace bonus
 Amisissis per eum semper Victoria pennis
 Serta triumphali laurea fronte geret.
 Dulcia cognatis reddentur & otia Musis,
 Et vatium cinget Delphica bacen caput.*

Addet

Your fierce Darts against the Enemy, and burn up Those, who have deserved the utmost Severities. No Faction, more opposite to the Pleasures of Peace, ever arose from the Stygian Lake, to plague us: None, more adapted to inflame unwary Minds, and to throw the Temper of Frenchmen into a Ferment. Tisiphone, when she brought her forth, was certainly assisted by her Sisters, and Juno was not present at the Labour. Aleto, with her trembling Head full of grisly Snakes, performed the officious Part of a Midwife; and Megera, sitting upon the Threshold, with a Scourge in her Hand, held a pitchy Torch to her horrid Face: Enyo concluded the Birth, and the Noise of War was immediately heard in every Place. This Monster, horrid Monster, pursue with Your revengeful Flames both by Sea and Land. Beat down the Commanders, and, by alarming the Camp, disperse those Gangs of Robbers, and put an End to the War: Thus far may Your Darts be mischievous; but to Others be gentle and hearken to the Prayers of Pious Hearts. Protect Our Soldiers from the noxious Heat, and, whilst I am travelling in haste, withdraw Your Beams. Preserve the valiant Henry in Battle, to whom my Fidelity is devoted: From this one Life, Many others derive their Thread of Being, which would perish, if this Line were broken. You know, that the Scepter is due to Him by legal Order of Succession, though it be disputed by a wicked Band of Men. But he shall finally conquer, and merit the double Character of a brave General in War, and a good King in Peace. Victory, stripped of her Wings by His Means, shall always wear a Laurel-Crown upon her triumphant Forehead. The Sister-Muses shall be also reinstated in Ease and Leisure, and the Delphick Crown shall adorn the Poet's Head. To the Honours of the

*Addet & ad laurus olea sua munera Pallas ;
 Hoc bellatorem pignore vicit equum.
 Ipsa truois rabido rumeat licet angue Medusa,
 Artes condentis tempora pacis amat.
 Hec series ; lasciva per otia bella seruntur,
 Pax petitur bello, nulla per arma salus.*

The next Day, after *Hurault de Chiverni's* Arrival in the Camp, *S. Denys* was surrendered, whereby the Affairs of the *Parisians* were reduced to the last Distress ; but, through that Dilatoriness, which I have mentioned, upon the Duke of *Parma's* coming up in the mean time with an Auxiliary Army, the Siege was raised. *De Thou* kept his Bed at that time, with a violent Fever of one and twenty Days, contracted in the Heat of the Dog-Days, at the Castle of *Nantouillet* ; the Custody of which had been committed to him by the King, with a very strong Garrison. Whilst he lay sick, he lost his dearest Friend *Peter Delbene* the Abbot, to whom he every Day writ Letters, in the Height of his Distemper, and received Answers from him. Grief drew from *De Thou* this Poetical Performance upon his Friends Death, wherein both his Concern and Bodily Indisposition are lively expressed.

* *Ecquid in humanis non vanum & futile rebus ?
 Delbenius vixit, vivo ego mentis inops :
 Delbenius vixit, studiosæ cura Minervæ,
 Phæbi Musarumque affecta Delbenius.
 Gratia apud regem cui pollens, mellea sandi
 Copia, par summis rebus & ingenium.
 Ut nos, qui in vita hac tanquam statione locavit,
 Fur veluti, medijs opprimit in tenebris !
 * Hoc sero ad sese, maturius evocat illos,
 Spargit & arbitrio cuncta metitque suo.
 Cur tamen O flentes, macarita, relinquis amicos ?
 Quid fugis, & supero te fugiente miser ?
 Tam cito amicitie dissolvi vincula nostræ ?
 Equane lanificis res ea visa Deis ?
 Equane res visa est, ut vix superesse per unum,
 Cum tu ageres animam, * crederes ipse diem ?
 Ne luctantem imis possem prohibere labellis
 Spiritum, & extremum dicere, amice, vale.*

* read
 Hos.

* read
 crederes

Saltem

the Lawrel, *Pallas*, out of her Store, shall add the Olive ; by which Invention she was judged to exceed the Production of a War-Horse : And *Medusa* herself, notwithstanding her angry Snakes, shall fall in love with Peace the Parent of Arts. This therefore is the general Course of Things : The Wantonness of Peace gives Rise to Wars, Peace again is the End aimed at by fighting, but no Safety is to be had by the means of Arms.

* Is there any thing in human Affairs, which is not vain and empty ? *Delbene* ceases to live, whilst I disconsolate Man am living. *Delbene* is gone, the Care of studious *Minerva*, the Follower of *Apollo* and the Muses : High in the King's Favour, endowed with the Charms of Eloquence, and with a Genius fit for the most important Concerns. How does He, who hath placed us in this Life as in a Station, surprize us, like a Thief in the Night ! These sooner, Those he calls later to himself, and scatters and mows down every thing at his pleasure. Yet why, O blessed Man, do you leave your weeping Friends ? why do You take your Flight, whilst I remain miserable by Your Departure ? Must the Bands of our Friendship be so soon dissolved ? And does this seem an equitable Proceeding to the Spinster-Goddeses. Did it seem an equitable thing, that just, when You were dying, I should be judged scarce able to survive You one Day ? That I should be hindered from stopping Your departing Breath with my Lips, and taking the last Farewel of my Friend ? At least, what Fortune denies me the Ability of doing to You alive, I will perform in Your Absence, and shew

Saltem presentis quod fors negat, exsequar absens,

Es cinerem obsequijs officiisque colam.

Dicam natura dotes, & rara per artes

Atque animi cultum tot cumulata bona,

Totque intra atque extra curata negotia regnum,

Mille per insidias, mille pericla vie.

Dicam in amicitijs constans tibi poëta, & buxus

In partem veniam fors sua elogi;

Ut, dum vita fuit, quam tu officiosus amicis,

** Tum non ingratus post tua busta ferar.*

* read
Tam.

The Poetical Translation of *Joel*, *Amos*, *Jonah*, *Obadiah*, *Habakkuk* and *Haggai*, formerly begun, received at this time the finishing Hand: *De Thou* inscribed it, in the Absence of *Gaspar* the Father, to that most accomplished young Man, *Henry de Schomberg* Count de *Nantueil*, and even *Then* passed a Judgment of him, which the Event has since most abundantly answered; since he is at this Day a Person, who by his great Alliances, and vast hereditary Possessions, over and above his Paternal Estate in *Bretagne*, *Anjou* and *Xaintonge*, supports the Honour of his Family, and the illustrious Memory of his Father, with great Reputation at Our Court. From the Castle of *Nantouillet* (the Garrison being dismissed after the raising the Siege of *Paris*) *De Thou* had retired to *Senlis* with his Wife; where, having gathered what he could of his Effects remaining after the Calamity or Wreck of *La Fere*, he took a Resolution of removing his Habitation into the *Touraine*. Putting himself upon the Road rather too late, he was intercepted at *Meru*, by the Garrison of *Beauvais*, and suffered the final Loss of his Remains; his Wife, with all her Maid Servants, being taken. He himself, though very unwilling to leave her, yet being admonished by his Friends, to escape the Danger (which, in the Fury of those Animosities, threatened him with something worse than Imprisonment), made the best of his way, by the help of a fleet Horse, with two or three of his Attendants, to a Place of Safety; and from thence proceeded towards *Chaumont en Vexin*. *John de Chaumont-Guitry* held the Castle, and, being an intimate Friend of *De Thou*, immediately sent a Trumpet to reclaim *De Thou's* Wife and Family. Being able to obtain nothing, he went to *Gisors*, where the King then was; and the *Marquess de Biron*, writing a Letter to *Sessoval*, obtained the Liberty of *Madam de Thou*, her Women, and other Servants; and, by some Money borrowed of Friends in the City, the Horses were redeemed, upon which she returned to her Husband with her Retinue. There, a Design was entertained of sending *Henry de la Tour Viscount de Turenne* into Germany, in order to raise an Army; to whom *De Thou* was joined as a Companion, for the Purpose of treating with the German Princes, whilst he himself should be employed in the most important Part of the Commission. But, at length it was resolved, that *De Thou* should remain at home, for the Dispatch of Business, as a constant Assistant to the Chancellor *Cbiocerni* his Brother-in-law. It afterwards seemed to the King more expedient, that he should go to *Tours*, to attend the Cardinal de *Bourbon-Vendôme* his Majesty's Cousin, and, by his Exhortations and Interest, to confirm and retain him in his Duty. For News had been brought, that some Foundations were secretly laying for a Third Faction in the Royal Family, by certain ambitious Persons, who sought to increase their Fortunes by the publick Troubles. *De Thou* therefore, being sent thither, soon made a Discovery, as he thought, that the Informations, carried to the King, were not altogether groundless. In the mean time, by *Cbiocerni's* Perswasion and diligent Endeavour, all things were disposed for the Siege of *Chartres*; because, *Château-Thierry* having been lost about that time, vast Quantities of Corn were conveyed from the Counties of *Champagne* and *Brie* to *Paris*; and, by the taking of *Chartres*, from whence still larger Quantities were imported, the City would be deprived of More, than could be supplied from *Château-Thierry*.

shew my Respect to Your Ashes by Obsequies and pious Offices. I will declare Your natural Accomplishments, and Your singular Improvements by Art, and the Culture of the Mind; the many Negotiations, which You discharged within and without the Realm, through a thousand Ambuscades and Dangers: I will speak of your Constancy in Friendship, and, under this Head perhaps, shall my self bear a Part in the Character; That, as serviceable as You were, when alive, to Your Friends, I may be reckoned no less grateful after Your Funeral.

A. D. 1591. When things were at first dubious in the King's Camp, and the Event did not answer Expectation at *Tours*, the Inclinations of People began to discover themselves; and, first in Whispers, afterwards openly, it was commonly discoursed, that the King, who had given hopes of his Reconciliation to the Church, having as it were forgotten himself after the Battle of *Jury*, thought no more of those Promises; and placed all his Hopes of quieting the Realm, no longer in the Affection of Friends, but in the Force of Arms: And yet how doubtful and uncertain That Method was, every one might know, even from the Siege, which then held him employed: For, if so small a Town could stop and interrupt the Career of such mighty Success, what might be hereafter expected from the Resistance of so many, so large, and so well fortified Cities, as occurred all over the Realm: That He must be an inconsiderate Person, who expected so much Patience from his Friends, as the taking of Those singly would require: He ought to be admonished, that immediately, and without the least Delay, he would have some Regard to himself and his Dependants; for that otherwise, if Satisfaction were not given by him, to the Wishes of the Publick, they would make the best Terms for themselves. Amidst these Murmurings, *Charrres*, contrary to the Expectations of the *Third Party*, was at length taken by Capitulation; notwithstanding which, these Rumours, once propagated, continued to run about; the Faction being now grown to a Head, and, not only possessing the Royalists, but receiving fresh Strength every Day, from some secret Intrigues, as well without as within the Kingdom. When Troubles therefore began to arise in the City, the Populace being inflamed with Suspicions, and the Duke of *Guise* having made his Escape out of the Castle; by the Joint-Advice of *De Thou*, and of *Giles de Souvres* Lieutenant-Governour of the *Touraine*, a Man of uncorrupted Fidelity, whom the *Tertians* had frequently in vain attempted, the Gentlemen who remained at *Tours*, were summoned to Court. The King was at *Mantes*, his Affairs being somewhat established by the dexterous Surprize of *Louviers*, and by the certain Expectation of an Auxiliary Army. He received his Cousin, when he came, with all his Retinue, in the kindest manner, without the City; and especially Those, whom he understood to be the Suggestors of Evil Counsel to the Cardinal; with This View, that, by the hopes of greater Advantages, than could be expected from Him, he might draw them over to his own side, and use them as Spies about the Cardinal's Person; which accordingly happened. For whatever was agitated amongst them, the sagacious Prince received hourly Intelligence of it; the Faction in the mean time gathering Strength, and ripening to such a Degree, that it had well-nigh produced a most pernicious Event, in the very City where the King resided. After the Arrival of the Cardinal, and some other Prelates (who accompanied him but were averse to the Faction), many things were proposed in Council; that they might appear to have been summoned, not by reason of any Suspicion, but for the necessary dispatch of Business. And in the first Place, the Debate ran upon revoking certain Edicts, which had been extorted from the King's Predecessor, by the Violence of the Leaguers; and upon publishing a New one in favour of the Protestants; wherein the former Edicts should be confirmed, and the Peace of the Realm secured. The Cardinal opposed the Motion, and had a Mind to break off the Debate, by retiring; which was an unseasonable Attempt; since the Prelates, who attended, were by no means disposed to follow him. At length an Edict was drawn, and the Care of registering it in Parliament, for the Security of the Publick Quiet, was committed by the King to *De Thou*; whom he knew to be both zealously disposed to Peace, and an Enemy to the Factions, which weakened the Royal Party. He had also given him a Commission to raise Money from all Ranks of Men, either by Gratuity or Loan; with a Letter to his other Cousin the Count de *Soissons*; who, when his Brother repaired to the King, had staid behind at *Tours*, indisposed with a Quartan Ague; upon the account of which, he had also retired about that time to the neighbouring Castle of *Maille*, for the sake of a better Air. Before *De Thou* departed from *Mantes*, the King had received Advice of the Death of *James Amiot* Bishop of *Auxerre*, Great Almoner of *France*, and Keeper of the Royal Library. This Person, formerly Tutor to *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* had been presented by his generous Pupils, with many large and wealthy Benefices; part of which had been long ago promised to different Persons, (according to a Practice, very prevalent in time of War, of granting Reversions), and other Parts were now divided. *Renaud de Beaulne* Archbishop of *Bourges*, (of whom I have formerly spoken) was advanced to the Dignity of Almoner, and *De Thou* to the Place of Library-Keeper. Here I cannot conceal a thing, which the Interest of Learning requires to be made known: This *Amiot* had translated out of Greek into French, the *Paménica* of *Longus*, the *Ethiopica* of *Heliodorus*, the History of *Diodorus Siculus*, and lastly, *Plutarch*; but the last he had performed, with greater Elegance than Fidelity; chusing rather to please the Ear, than to take much Pains about the exactness

actness of the Sense. By these Works, he had gained a great Reputation: Accordingly, when the Post of Almoner, by the Death of *John le Veneur de Carrouges* Bishop of *Evreux*, and the Presidentship of the Royal College, formerly enjoyed by the illustrious Cardinals, *Charles of Lorraine*, and *Odet de Coligny-Châtillon* successively, which are two entirely distinct Offices, happened to be vacant at the same time; they were jointly bestowed upon *Amiot*. This joint Disposal of two such Places, was an Error of pernicious Consequence; and *De Thou* admonished *De Beaulne* of it at this very time, as he afterwards admonished the illustrious Cardinal *James-David du Perron*, who succeeded *De Beaulne*: For, although by good Fortune, They, who had hitherto held them together, had shewed themselves, for their Learning and Affection to learned Men, most worthy of them both; yet it might very well happen, in this Kingdom and Court especially, where Favour and Interest bear so much Sway, that, some time or other, they might be conferred upon a Person unworthy of Either, or at least of Both; by which means, One, altogether ignorant, would have the arbitrary Direction of Literature, and the Professors of it. *De Thou* therefore had advised them, that, for the respective Offices, which were really distinct, they should take out separate Patents; that They, who hereafter should desire One of them as the richer and more honourable Post, might be informed, that the Other belonged only to Those, who were Judges of Learning; and should not approach to the Sacred Seat of the Muses (from which they stood debarred by Ignorance), like Asses to the Lyre. To this Discourse of *De Thou's*, they Both seemed to agree: But, for all That, neither did *De Beaulne*, who has since departed to a better Life, amend the former Error, nor has the illustrious *Du Perron* hitherto done it; so that it is to be feared, lest, what the Learned are apt to forebode, the last Error may be worse than the first. *De Thou*, as soon as he came to *Tours*, waited upon the Count *de Soissons*; and, having explained the King's Commands, and particularly descanted upon the Edict made in favour of the Protestants, and the Revocation of some former Ones extorted from *Henry III*, by which his Majesty stood excluded from the Right of Succession; declared, that he expected Orders from the King, when the thing should have been maturely weighed by the Counsellors, to require His Presence at the Registering of those Edicts; for so the King had commanded, that from thence it might appear to Every-body to have been a thing concluded with the general Consent of all his Friends and Relations. The Count did not at that time give a Refusal; but, being afterwards exasperated for some other Causes, when *De Thou*, by the Advice of *Giles de Sourde*, at the time predicted, pressed him to repair to the Parliament, the Count received him with bitter Language, and would not be present at the Registering. He afterwards excused that Peevishness; which, he said, he had not used, out of any Ill-will to *De Thou*, whom he respected and secretly favoured, but on the Account of Others, whom it would be superfluous to name at this time.

The King in the mean while, after the taking of *Noyon en Vermandois*, had made an Excursion as far as the Frontiers, that he might receive the Auxiliary Army, commanded by *Christian Prince of Anhalt*, and in Chief by *Henry de la Tour Viscount de Turenne*; which being done, he came to the Siege of *Rouen*, on the eleventh day of November, the Festival of *St. Martin*; whither also *Achilles de Harlay* the First President, with a Committee of Parliament, composed of *John de Thumery*, *James Gillot* and *John de Villemereau*, was ordered to repair. *De Thou* went with them; and, as they were together at *Mans*, News was brought of the Commotions raised at *Paris*, in the Absence of the Duke *de Mayenne*, and of the unworthy Death of the President *Barnabas Brisson*, who was endeavouring to bring things to a Temper, as also of *Claude Larcher* and *John Tardiff*; which the Duke *de Mayenne* afterwards generously revenged. As there was no One, who did not lament the hard Fate of a Person, so well deserving of Literature; so, most People were of Opinion, that Learning had suffered more by his Death than the Commonwealth; since he had perished amongst a Company of Men, with whom, at the Hazard of his Life, and Expence of his Reputation, he had chosen to live and hold the first Rank, rather than, with the Safety of Both, to follow the Royal Party with his Colleagues, and sit in his proper Place. *De Harlay* with the Committee, and *De Thou* arrived at *Darnetal*, in the beginning of February; the very Day after, that the King had received a slight Wound at *Aumale*, from the Van-Guard of the Duke of *Parma's* Army, which pressed hard upon him. This Accident caused a general Consternation, not only in the Army, but in every Place, where the Report of it which always grows greater, as it travels, arrived; whilst People considered, how vast an Alteration would be introduced by the hazard of so great a Prince, upon whose Safety the publick Hopes depended; whilst his Successors were weak, and Foreign Forces and Counsels had such Influence in the Kingdom; for so things stood at that Juncture, that the Abilities and Valour of Him alone were thought able to save the State, which upon

His

His Death must necessarily fall into Ruin. From the sudden Arrival of the Duke, the King justly apprehending some Disturbances in the Camp, in order to retard the Enemy's Attacks for some time, had placed *Givry* with a strong Garrison in *Neuf-châtel*; a Town upon the Road, which, it was thought, the Enemy would by no Means leave behind them; and he had joined to him some German Battalions under *Fabian Rebours*, of whom honourable Mention is frequently made in the Historical Books. This Place being at length surrendered upon good Terms; because the Name of *Rebours*, the Chief Commander of the Foreign Troops, had not been expressed in the Articles; it was long debated, whether he should be understood to be comprised in them; and the Duke of *Parma* contended, that he was not comprised, and for that Reason had detained *Rebours* for some Days as a Prisoner; whom afterwards, when the Fact had been settled betwixt them, he sent back to the King, styled by him the Prince of *Bearn*, who, being appointed Judge of the Controversy, pronounced at length in favour of *Rebours*. When he arrived in the Royal Camp, before his Cause came on, being in the first Place asked by the King, what the Duke of *Parma* talked of the Excursion and Skirmishes of the preceeding Days, he at first excused himself; but, being commanded to speak, he answered, that the Duke wondered, how so great a Prince, without any Necessity, should have exposed himself to such imminent Danger, when he could gain nothing by it, and ran the Hazard of entirely ruining his own Affairs, and those of his Friends. This Judgment passed by the Duke, more truly than agreeably to Expectation, was received by the King with great Choler; who said, it was no wonder, that the Duke of *Parma* thought so, who made War under Another's Command, and with Another's Soldiers and Money, without hazarding any thing of his own; whereas he himself sustained all the Weight of His part of the War, by his single Courage and Person, and took the hazard of the Event in a manner wholly upon himself; which was the Cause, that through Vexation, and an Impatience of the impending Danger, he often ran into Danger; and, surrounded with so many Misfortunes, sought an End of them by precipitate Measures, even at the Expence of a troublesome Life. *De Thou* had also made the following Remark in his Common-Place-Book: After That bloody Sally, the blame of which *Biron* threw upon *Lewis de Grillon* Colonel of the Guards, who by his frequent Correspondence with *André de Brancas de Villars*, the Commander of the City, and of *Fort Sainte Catherine*, had furnished the Enemy with an Opportunity and Conveniency of making the Attempt; when *Grillon* came after Dinner into the King's private Apartment, to excuse himself, and, from Excuses breaking into Expostulations, provoked the King's Passion by saucy Language, and often repeated Curses; the King, on the other side, bidding him be gone, and retiring continually from the Door, at last grew pale with Impatience, and made Every-Body apprehensive, lest, snatching a Sword from some one of the By-standers, he might dispatch that impertinent Man. At length, *Grillon* being thrust out of the Room, when the King had returned to himself from that Passion; turning to the Lords who were then present, and to *De Thou* amongst the rest; when they admired, how He, who was so often and so grievously provoked, had been able to keep his Temper; he answered, that by how much the more he was naturally prone to Anger, so much the more Caution he had used from his very Youth, that he should not do any thing in a Passion; as having learnt by Experience, that Anger was the worst of Counsellors; and therefore he had always studied, how to bridle it, and was glad, that he had such good Witnesses of his Moderation: And, in truth, he was so formed by Nature, and, by daily Labours and the various Assaults of Fortune, had so fortified his Mind, that he was a better Master of his Anger than his Pleasures. It was observed, that, whilst *Grillon* had those high Words with the King, *Biron*, who was present, and leant in a sleeping Posture upon a Chest, the hotter the Contention grew, and the louder the Voices were raised, slept the more soundly; although *Grillon* at the beginning whispered many opprobrious Words in his Ear, and called him a snarling and mangey Dog: Which was thought by the Company to have been done on purpose, lest, if he had appeared to awake, he must have been forced to take upon himself the burthen of the Quarrel, which he desired to leave wholly in the King's Hands, with a fighting mad Man.

In the time of the Siege, before the Sally, the Trenches used to be frequently viewed; and the King would take a Pleasure in carrying *De Harlay*, *De Thou*, and the rest of the Committee, to see the Works and the Mines, as they were hurried on. The Pontifical Censures were also then brought upon the Carpet; and, after the Decrees promulged on the other side at *Châlons* in *Champagne* and at *Tours*, the Cardinals and Prelates, who followed the King, were very pressing, that, agreeably to the Decree lately made by himself at *Chartres*, in Opposition to those Censures, the King would give them leave to send a Deputation to *Rome*. *De Harlay* and the Commissioners,

Commissioners, who had been summoned to the Camp upon that Business, opposed the Project for some time; because it had been forbidden by an Arrêt of Parliament, which, in troublesome times, by the laudable Custom of our Ancestors, was always reputed to have the Force of a Royal Edict; for that it concerned the Support of the King's Authority, that no Persons, who followed the King, should act any thing contrary to the Royal Mandates, or the Tenour of Royal Grants. At length, with the Consent of the same Gentlemen, after a Consultation held with the Cardinals and Prelates, a sort of Pragmatick Regulation was secretly drawn up; whereby a Provision was made for Dispensations, in times of Division, for such Benefices and other Matters as used to be fetched from Rome; and according to which, the Parliaments of the Kingdom were to give Judgment in those Cases; all which is more fully explained in the *Annals*. This being done, and Leave granted to the Clergy for sending a Deputation to Rome in the mean time, *De Harlay* and the Commissioners were honourably dismissed: At the same time, *De Thou*, who had brought thirty thousand Crowns (borrowed by him from all hands) into the Camp, was sent back to *Tours*, to procure a fresh Supply: He had also secret Instructions, which he might use at Pleasure; and Persons were appointed, to execute his Orders, as the King's own Commands. These he used in such a manner, that, to the best of his Power, he gave Satisfaction to the King, without the Injury of any Man; by which sort of tender Conduct, he and his Company, through excessive Caution, involved themselves in great and inextricable Difficulties. In their Return, *De Thou* was seized at *Chartres* with a violent Fever, which he bore with all possible Patience, on horseback, in a Chariot, and on a Litter, as far as *Tours*; and the last Day, he was so terribly afflicted with it, that he had well-nigh expired upon the Road. At *Tours* he was visited by *Charles Falaizeau* and *Francis Vertunian*, eminent Physicians, and his singular Friends, and by *Jaunai*, sent by *Diana d'Angoulême*, a Lady of Heroick Virtue, who had always entertained a kindness for *De Thou*. He had contracted this Distemper by a Stay of four Months in the Camp, where, by reason of the length of the Siege, the corrupted Air had produced a Pestilence. After the seventh Day, Pimples began to break out all over his Loins, the most certain Tokens of a pestilential Malady, so that his Life was actually despaired of: No Remedies were left untried for the Cure of so dangerous a Distemper; and at length, on the 14th Day, by the Direction of *Falaizeau*, who said he had often made the Trial with Success, the Bezoar Stone was applied. This being constantly furnished by the same Lady, thro' *Jaunai's* Hands, and taken in Cordial Waters; after some fainting Fits, those Malignant Spots disappeared, and, the Patient's Strength beginning to return, the Fever remitted; and at length, to the Joy of all Good Men in the City, who sincerely lamented his desperate Condition, *De Thou* recovered his former Health. Having escaped the Danger, he was chiefly solicitous, how, by some signal Testimony of Gratitude, he might express his Sense of God's Mercy towards him; and accordingly he published a Performance, which he had long meditated, in Imitation of *Æschylus's Prometheus*, and dedicated it to his dearest Friends, and the most concerned for his Health, *John de Thumery*, and *Claude du Puy*. At length about the Close of the Year, he went to the Court, which was then at *Cherbourg*; just after the time, that Cardinal *de Gondi*, and *John de Vivonne* Marquess *de Pisany*, upon the Duke of *Luxembourg's* Refusal, had been sent into Italy, to treat with the Pope about the Business of a Reconciliation; in which the Venetian Senate was to join, and the Great Duke of *Tuscany* had promised by his Minister to employ his best Offices. About this time, *Catherine* the King's Sister, came from *Pau en Bearn*, where she had remained during the whole War, to see her Brother; who went forwards to meet her, and received her at *Tours*. In his Absence, the Enemy, had encamped before *Noyon en Vermandois*; and, at length took the City by Capitulation. The King in the mean time descended into the *Pays Chartrain*, and from thence to the *Vermandois*, that, if possible, he might relieve the besieged City. But the Articles of Capitulation had been already drawn up, and a Day appointed for the Surrender, if Succours did not come from the King in the mean time; which being impracticable, the Surrender followed. There came also to Court, about the same time, *Sofroy Calignon*, made Chancellor of *Navarre*, upon the Death of *Michael Hurault de l'Hospital*: He had formerly studied in the College of *Burgundy*, and, being four Years older than *De Thou*, had shewed him the way of making Verses; which he himself has somewhere acknowledged: A Man of eminent Probity and Learning, and One who used the Prudence, which he had acquired by long Experience, with great Advantage, in the Conduct of Affairs. *De Thou* renewed with him a Friendship, which had been intermitted through the Calamities of the preceeding Times, and preserved it with Constancy to the last.

A. D. 1593. Some Foundations were then also laid for a Conference between the Parties, on occasion of a Treatise published by the Duke of Mayenne at Paris about the end of the Year: To which, when by the Common Advice of *De Thou* and *Schomberg*, an Answer had been returned, with the King's approbation, by the Princes, Prelates, and other Lords who were in the King's Retinue; at length, by mutual Consent, when neither Party could honourably decline the Proposal, a Day and Place were fixed for an Interview. Of which frequently repeated Conference, This was the Result; that the People, during the Truce, which followed upon it, taking breath, became as fond of Peaceful Counsels, as they had formerly been of Riots. At the same time the Historical Work was commenced, for the sake of which this Commentary has been principally written. The Plan of it had been laid fifteen years before; in all which time *De Thou* had been collecting Materials from all Quarters; by making Friendships, during his Travels in his young days, either by Letters or in Person, with the most illustrious Men of all Europe; and especially Those of our own Country, who performed any considerable Actions under the several Kings: He also used the Commentaries of Those, who were employed in the most important Embassies, and turned over the Papers in the Offices of the four Secretaries of State; not declining even the help of such Books (for nothing ought to be dissembled), as were written on both sides in the hottest Fury of the Factions, but which he afterwards religiously examined by the Report of Those who had been concerned in the respective Transactions: Insomuch that he may justly affirm, that he drew what he writ, not from Rumours and Pamphlets, which is vilely objected to him by his malicious Adversaries, but from the very Fountain-head of Truth. For the same reason he also celebrated *Truth* (which he always studied, apart from Favour and Aversion) in an elegant Copy of Verses, and prefixed them to his Books. They likewise, who are acquainted with him, know, that, in the whole Course of his Life, as he did not scruple to own his Infirmities in many respects, so he always shewed himself superior to a Lie; and such an Adherer to Truth, that (what *Cornelius Nepos* writes of some antient Personage) he never told a Lie even in Jest. They know too, that he lived openly with several Great Men, from the 20th Year of his Age, and maintained a good opinion amongst them for Virtue and Fidelity: That he himself was also afterwards employed in Affairs of Importance, in which he is concerned at this day, with the same Character of Worth and Honour; in the Course of which, he used This Caution, that, in odious and scandalous Cases, he tempered the Harshness of the Charge with gentle Language, and, agreeably to the Practice of the Civil Courts, always took the least invidious side of the Question. Which, by comparing him with Those, who have related the same things, if yet there be any room left for Candour, may be easily discovered. This also he religiously observed, as I have heard it from himself, that, besides the Prayers, which every faithful Man is bound to offer to God at his first rising in the Morning, he used a Peculiar one for the Work which he had undertaken; and never applied himself to Writing, till his Mind had been purged from Passion and Prejudice by Prayer; imploring the Deity, that he would be constantly assisting to him, and enlighten his Mind, that, from amongst the Heats of Factions and Animosities, he might pick out the hidden Truth, and bring it to light without Envy or Adulation: And this Point, in confidence of God's Blessing and his own good Conscience, he hopes he has in part attained; unless where he may fail in Judgment, the most necessary of all Accomplishments in a Work of this nature; upon which, if the present Age may not do it with Sincerity, the Next will undoubtedly pass an unbiassed Sentence. Being resolved therefore to leave the whole Matter to Posterity, he suffered a Poem to be written by a Friend in His Name; wherein, by way of Apology, an Answer is given to the principal Articles, which he understood to be objected to him at Rome, and in Our Court; which it is not thought improper to insert in this place, even before the Time of its Composition.

* *Posteritati.*

Libertatis ego nimis, verique quod acer

Affertor fuerim, vitiorumque horridus osor,

Et Romæ & nostra passim traducor in aula.

Quid

* *To Posterity.*

Because I have been a vigorous Assertor of boundless Liberty, and of Truth, and a Detector of Vices, I am every where traduced both at Rome and at our own Court. What shall I do?

*Quid faciam? quo me vertam? quo iudice causam
 Defendam? iudex idem accusator & index.
 Tu modo, Posteritas, ades incorrupta roganti,
 Et patrocinium deserte suscipe causa:
 Scripsimus ista tibi, nil nos ingrata moramur
 Judicia, & vili plausus mercede redemptos
 Nil admirantis præter præsentia vulgi.
 Tempus erit quo, nunc quæ non ita grata, placebunt;
 Cumque odio fuerit satis invidiæque litatum,
 Præmia pro meritis constabunt iusta labori:
 Interea liceat mihi simplice crimina versu
 Diluere objecta, & nostro jus præter iniustas
 Cum venia auctorum detergere nomine labeis.
 Libera lingua mihi est, quid si servilis? an is, qui
 Me nunc accusat, non & reprehenderet idem
 Tanquam vaniloquum, tanquam candoris inanem?
 Primus amor veri rectis in mentibus esse
 Debet, ut in caris etiam execremur amicis
 Omne animi vitium, contra admiremur in hoste
 Virtutes, Graius Pelleo iudice necne
 Barbarus ille fuit, nullo discrimine habentes:
 Hoc toto exacti decursu fecimus ævi,
 Nec fecisse piget; laudent culpentque susurris;
 Pruritus ad teneras quod mollibus excitet aureis;
 Magnatum circum volitantes atria muscæ,
 Et fuci & parasiti & nigre nomine ficus
 Indigitanda cohors, nostræ infidiosa quieti.
 Ille boni dignus mihi civis habetur honore,
 Cui servare fidem vel cum discrimine vitæ
 Facturave sua didicit, qui spernit honores;
 Detestatur avaritiam, fraudesque nefandas;
 Intus & esse pius mavult, quam fronte videri.
 Nulla fides hodie barba, impexoque capillo,
 Nulla supercilio, rugisque severa professis:*

Im-

I do? whither shall I turn myself? before what Judge shall I defend my Cause? The same Person is my Judge and Accuser. But do You, Posterity, favour my Request without Bias, and undertake the Protection of a deserted Cause. I have written these things for You. I value not the Judgment of ungrateful Men, nor the low mercenary Applauses of a Rabble, which admires nothing but what is present. The time will come, when Those things will please, which are now so unacceptable; and, after sufficient Sacrifices have been made to Malice and Envy, meritorious Pains shall receive a certain Reward. In the mean time let me be allowed, in plain Verse, to clear the Objections, and to wipe off the Stains which have been cast upon my Reputation, with the good leave of the Authors.

My Tongue is indeed free: But what if it were servile? would not my present Accuser blame me in that Case, for a vain talker and a Person of no Candour? In Minds rightly formed, the chief Passion ought to be the Love of Truth; so that we should execrate all criminal Habits of Mind even in our dearest Friends, and on the contrary admire Virtues even in an Enemy; making no Difference, whether he be a Grecian, of Alexander's approbation, or a Barbarian. This I have done in the whole Course of my Life; nor am I sorry for it; let such a Conduct be praised or (because it gives offence to tender Ears) be blamed in Whispers, by those Gnats that fly about the Palaces of the Great, a Company of Men, who deserve the Name of Drones, Parasites, and Sycophants, and are the greatest Enemies to my Repose. That Man seems to me to merit the Title of a Good Citizen, who has learnt to preserve his Fidelity, with the Hazard or even Loss of his Life; who despises Honours, detests Avarice and wicked Arts, and desires rather to be virtuous inwardly than to appear so. No Credit is now to be given to a Beard, or uncombed Locks, or a severe Brow,

*Imponunt externa oculis : Deus abdita novit
Sohus, & arcana rimatur pectore sensus.*

*Arguit ecce alius, quod amore odioque procul sum,
Perpetua quod non usque ad fastidia laude
Putidus hos onerem, non illos asper acuto
Dente secem, plenisque vomam convicia buccis.*

*Atqui Gregorios laudavimus & Marcellos,
Atque Pios, illumque imprimis, Hadria nomen
Cui dedit, & Paulum privata laude merentem
Ascribi antiquis ; habuit nam Roma probatos
Pontifices ; alios minus his & semper habebit.
Sic sunt res hominum ; nihil omni ex parte beatum.*

*Cuncta ad mensuram superi regnator Olympi,
Mensura ipse expers, tribuit mortalibus egris.
Nam quid Alexandro fiet, qui sacra profanis
Miscuit, & gladio nil non & pynide fecit ?*

*In caros quid avo nimium indulgente nepotes ?
Altius ut repetam, quid Julius nepos apnos,
Italia cunctas qui non errante subegit
Clave duces ? contra quid Julius alter ab illo,
Allia qui vacuo dam grandia mordet in horto
Posthabuit levibus se digna negotia ludis ?*

*Multa regi sed enim, quam efferr in luminis auras,
Expedi : O Corydon, Corydon ! arcana potentum
Ulla putas ? ut sent, minime illos credere par est ;
Laudanda ut faciant, audere ut turpia cessent,
Semper adesse putent, qui crimina tecta revelet,
Et, siquid peccent, nunquam sinat esse sepultum.
Sola libidinibus lex est hac dicta potentum,
Ut metuant de se coram quid fama susurret
Publica, quid veniens olim pronuntiet etas.
In medio, quisquis rerum moliris habenas,
Sic positas adens te crede habitare teatro,
Liber uti partem pateat prospectus ad omnem,*

Perque

Brow, or the wrinkled Profession of Austerities. Outward Appearances impose upon the Eyes: God alone knows the hidden Sentiments of the Heart.

Behold ! Another blames me, because I shew no Fondness or Enmity ; that I don't load These Men with nauseous Praises, and lash Those with severe Reflections. Yet I have commended the Gregories, the Marcelluses, and the Piuses ; Adrian especially, and Paul, who for his private Character deserves a Place amongst the Antients : For Rome has had some commendable Popes, and Others of a different sort, and will always have them. Such is the State of human Affairs, that nothing is compleat in all Respects. God, whose own Perfections are unmeasurable, has dealt out Blessings by Measure to poor Mortals. For what shall we say of Alexander, who confounded Sacred Things with Profane, and never scrupled to use Sword or Poison upon Occasion ? What of that other Pope, who was so excessively indulgent to his Grand-Children ? And, to go higher, what shall we say of Julius, that Favourite of Mars, who, with his unerring Key, subdued all the Italian Princes ? What of the next Julius, who, whilst he idly delighted in planting large Garlick Roots in his Garden, preferred trivial Amusements to Business worthy of his Station ?

But, it will be said, many things are better covered, than exposed. O Corydon, Corydon, Do You suppose any Actions of Princes to be secret ? But if they be, it is by no means expedient for Them to think so ; that they may do Praise-worthy Actions, cease to act basely, and think somebody always present, who will reveal their secret Crimes, and not suffer their Villanies to be buried. This is the only Restraint laid upon the Exorbitances of Great Men ; namely, the Fear of what the present Age shall talk of them, and what Futurity shall pronounce upon them. Whoever You are, that forttest up for a Governour, suppose Your House to be situated

*Perque gradus sedeant tanquam ad spectacula cives;
Sic foris atque domi, sic corpore tutus aperto
Poplicola alter eris, ipso te teste beatus;
Invida nec metues plebeia verbera lingue,
Nec Siculas inter mensas lautosque paratus
Districtum cervice super trepidabis ob ense.*

*Quid quod scribendi petulantius, atque loquendi
In procerum mores, ipsa mos natus in urbe?
Fescennina quis ignorat? quis ovata jocosis
Inter cornicines nescit dicteria pompis?
Pasquilli cui sunt ignota sophismata? cui sunt
E medio responsa foro, quæ reddit amicus,
Vix pretextatis vix & referenda cinedis?
Annum Silvester claudit: vis cetera dicam?
Esuriunt vates: nosti quid deinde sequatur.
Hactenus & nullis lasciva protervia penis
Frenari potuit; frustra custodia mutas
Excubat ad statuas, vigilique satellite servat.
Pasquillus * nusquam furto deprensus in ipso est,
Marforius semper loquitur, semperque loquetur.*

* read rather
never
quam.

*Doctrinam at sanam nihil hæc dicteria tangunt,
Æternamque fidem, quam Petrus in urbe cruore
Et Paulus sancere suo, quamque ordine longo,
Semper eandem & ubique & ab omni gente probatam,
Inde ad nos series deducta ostendit avorum.*

*Non si quis liber, si verum dicere gaudet;
Laudatorque boni vitij si parcere nescit,
Continuo niger est, tibi vel, Romane, cavendus;
Non pietati adeo libertas pugnat avita.
Ingenua siquid sum simplicitate locutus,
Liberius siquid, subitove quid excidit æstu,
Non ego propterea lactantis ab ubere matris*

Abscessi

situated in the midst of a Theater, with an open Prospect into it from every Part; and that the Citizens sat upon Benches like Spectators. By this Means, at Home and Abroad, You shall be another *Publicola*, safe in Your Person without Guards, and blessed with the Testimony of Your own Conscience: Nor shall You fear the Lashes of vulgar Tongues, nor, amidst a *Sicilian Banquet*, tremble, for the Sword, which hangs naked over Your Head.

Besides, the Humour of writing and talking freely about the Manners of Great Men, had its Rise in the City itself: Who is ignorant of the *Fescennine Liberties*? Or, of the *Sarcastical Jest* which were used at Triumphs? Who knows not the Inventions of *Pasquin*? and the Answers returned by his Friend in the midst of the Market-place, scarce fit to be repeated by Pages or Carmites? *Silvester* closes the Year. Would You have any more? Poets are hungry: You know what follows next. This wanton Sawciness has not hitherto been suppressed by any Punishment. In vain is there a constant Guard placed upon the dumb Statues; *Pasquin* has never yet been taken in the Fact, and *Marforio* talks continually, and will always talk.

But these Invectives do not affect sound Doctrine, or that eternal Faith, which *Peter* in the City, and *Paul*, ratified with their Blood; and which, in a long Succession of one constant and universally received Doctrine, the Primitive Times have delivered down to Us.

If a Man is free, and delights to speak the Truth, and, praising the Good, does not know how to spare the Wicked, he is not immediately a Malignant, fit to be shunned by You, who are a *Roman*. Liberty has no such Inconsistency with ancient Piety. If I have said some things with an ingenuous Bluntness, or suffered some free Speeches to escape me in a Heat,

*Abscessi & gremio ; desertis non ego castris
 Miles in adversum migravi transfuga vallum.
 Non ego Smalcadica juravi fœdera pacis,
 Namnetumve dedi dextram inconsultus in urbe,
 Ambrosia turres frustra tentare paratus ;
 Sed procul a turbis omnique cupidine vitam
 Majorum constans in religione peregi,
 Semper & abstinui rebus per bella novandis ;
 Ossatum sit fas post tempora summa citare,
 Ossatum testem, qui me juvenemque virumque
 Inque toga & trabea, qui me intus & in cute norat.
 Viveret ! haut tristis vexet censura columbas,
 Cunctave permittat laxata licentia corvis.
 Illumne appellem, qui nunc superatque vigetque,
 Perronum, Aonidum spem præsidiumque sororum ?
 Unus pro cunctis magni pars magna senatus
 Tu, Franciscæ, mibi es, rerum O tutela mearum.
 Tu mecum, tanto tu me complexus amore,
 Partiri sœtus curas ; scis strenuus in me
 Quid solidum creper, aut mendoso tinniat ære,
 Candoremque meum, qui sit, re sæpe probasti,
 Sponsorem te proinde ac prædem huc denique sisto ;
 Ne, Franciscæ, bonæ vadimoniam desere causa.
 At Protestantes laudas, quos nempe Vatini
 Debueras odisse odio, & cane pejus & angue :
 Eloquium quidni laudem, ingeniumque colendis
 Artibus, & si quid calamo vel voce valebant ?
 Nam Siculi exemplo Divodori instructa paratur
 Bibliotheca viris, quos Mars amat atque Minerva,
 Quos Clarius, Clarij quos dilexere sorores.
 Hermias hoc fecit idem, & fecisse diserte
 Gaudet, & hoc minime factò peccasse fatetur.
 Ergo Leunclavius, Gesnerus, Fabriciusque*

Dictus

I have not therefore departed from the Breast and the Bosom of my Nursing-Mother, or turned Deserter to the Enemy's Camp: I never swore to the League of *Smalcald*, or gave my Hand unadvisedly to the Association of *Nantes*, or prepared with the Rest to make a vain Attempt upon *Ambrose* ; but have led a Life, far removed from Disturbances or Ambition, in the constant Profession of the Religion of my Fore-fathers ; and abstained from attempting Innovations by the way of Arms. Give me Leave to appeal to *D' Ossat* even after his Death, *D' Ossat*, who knew me in Youth and Age, in the Gown and the Robe, and in the inmost Recesses of my Heart. Were He alive, no innocent Persons should be persecuted with Censure, no spiteful Accusers should use such flagrant Licentiousness: Or shall I call upon Him, who is still alive, and in the Vigour of Age, *Du Perron*, the Hopes and the Guard of the *Muses*. You, *Francis*, who make such a Figure in the illustrious Court of Parliament, shall serve me instead of All: You, my Protector, and dear Friend, have been used to divide my Cares: You know what sound Parts, and what Flaws are in me, and have in Fact made a frequent Trial of my Candour. You I call upon as my Sponsor and Surety. Do not refuse to be answerable for a good Cause.

But You praise the Protestants, whom You ought to have detested with a *Vatinian* Hatred, ever worse than a Toad. But surely I may commend Eloquence, and fine Parts, and all the Excellencies of their Pen and Tongue. For I have fitted up a Library, in Imitation of *Didorus Siculus*, for the Reception of all such as are Favourites of *Mars* and *Minerva*, *Apollo* and the *Muses*. *Hermias* did the same thing, and openly avows and justifies it. The Fault then is, that *Leunclaw*, *Gesner*, *Fabricius*, *Camerarius*, *Xylander*, *Junius*, *Wootton*, *Ascham*,

*Dictus honorifice, Camerarius atque Xylander,
Junius & Votonus & * Aschamus & Buchananus,
Laudati Stephani, queis tota Lycea recusos
Egregie ob veterum libros bene grata precantur,
Insuper & plures alij: quid magnus Erasmus?
Mene in eum, cui res tantum literaria debet,
Et debebit adhuc, genuinum stringere? crimen,
Vos, veneror, manes, hoc a me deprecor absit.
At peccavit, homo fuit atque humanus Erasmus;
Humane & carpi voluit, placideque moneri.
Hem quis homo es, qui ferre alium nequis improbe lapsu
Peccantem humano, cum tu deterrima pecces
Interea, inque homines Divosque injurius ipsos,
Obscenasque cavo luctantis pectoris antro
Admota doleas face perlucere latebras?
Sunt hominum atates varia; juveniliter illum
Exultasse stilo fateor: verum ultima semper
Distractæ studijs spectanda est clausula vitæ,
Que pulchra in Batavo fuit irreprehsaque cycno,
Ad Belgas testis quam scripsit epistola fratres.*

*Hinc alij atque alij insurgunt, quibus, altera leges
Numina quod patrias dixi moresque receptos,
Displicet, ignavis fundata crepidine qua stet
Publica res, quantoque tot usurpata per annos
Legitimo in regno mutantur jura periclo.
Imperiorum auctor Deus, imperijsque regendis
Constituit leges, quas qui violaverit olim,
Ultricem sciat ille paratam numinis iram,
In Tiberim Sejanus ut alter scilicet unco
Ducendus, meritaque adfectus morte Cethegus:
Nunc & sacra vide quid in banc rem pagina dicat,
Ne tu limitem agro positum metasve revele,*

Frigidus

*Ascham, and Buchanan, are mentioned with Honour; that Praises are bestowed upon the
Stephenses, who have the good Wishes of All Men, in Gratitude for the Books of the An-
tients which they printed: Many others are also objected to me. But what shall I say of
the Great Erasmus: Should I shew my Teeth against Him, to whom the Commonwealth
of Learning is, and ever will be, so much indebted. I intreat You, Ye departed Spirits,
may this Behaviour be far from me. But he offended; Erasmus was a Man like other Men:
It may be true; and he would not have refused to be blamed in a Human Manner, or to be gently
reprimanded. But who are You, who cannot endure Another offending through Human
Frailty? when You Yourself are guilty of the most heinous Offences towards God and Man,
and are only vexed, that the vile Secrets of Your Heart should be discovered by the holding of
a Light to them. The Stages of Life are very different: I own, that he trifled in his younger
Days: But the Close of a Life, distracted with Studies, is always to be regarded; which, in
His Case, was distinguished and justified by the Batavian Swan, and his Epistle to the
Brethren of the Low Countries.*

*Hence Others again arise, who are displeased with me, because I called the Laws and re-
ceived Customs of Our Country, by the Name of Secondary Deities; Men, who are ignorant
on what Foundation the Commonwealth stands, and how dangerous it is to change the an-
cient Usages and Rights in a Kingdom. God is the Founder of Empires, and has consti-
tuted Laws for the Government of them; the Violators whereof may expect the divine
Vengeance, and to be dragged with a Hook into the Tiber like Sejanus, or, like Cethegus,
put to a deserved Death. See now, what the sacred Pages say to the same Purpose, Remove not*

*Frigidus ecce rubos inter latet anguis acutos,
Si sapias, O mediam, pastor, ne dirue sepem.*

*Offendit Synodi Pisanae & mentio quosdam,
Quam pius & memori recolendus pectore Gallis
Indixit Lodoicus, ut importuna minacis
Arma coerceret Juli, catusque fidelis
Tunc pulchro harenteis aboleret corpore sordeis.
Narravi historiam, totum que nota per orbem,
An narrasse nefas, & erit narratio fraudi?
Propositum sed enim laudati principis ipse
Laudasti, & Sedem obliquo sermone notasti.
Tu, qui me arcessis, vitam non ante peractam
Arguis aut mores, sed verba jacentia tollis.
Emendari & que fieri meliora necesse
Tunc erat, ac penitus Babylonis nomina perdi,
Id non in tanto summe laudabile rege
Procurare fuit, totasque impendere vireis,
Sponsa Dei ne qua vilesceret obsita ruga,
Ullius offensæve querelæ aut causa subesset?
Atque utinam optatum potius sortita fuissent
Consilia eventum, quam postquam Julius omnem
Miscuit Italiam, ferro grassatus & igni;
Haut meliore via Leo grassaretur & ipse,
Cuncta suis sibi que indulgens ac sacra profanans;
Accensa cineris concluso e fomite flamma,
Que totum serpens incoasit proximus orbem.
Non reliquo avulsi nunc corpore Teutones errent;
Anglia non laxis impulsæ feratur habenis,
Anglia Aboriginum mores signa secuta suorum.*

*Rursus Pragmaticam objectant Caroli atque beati
Laudatam Lodoici, indignanturque repostum,
Oblivi ceca mallent quod nocte sepultum.
Quid facias? Galli pridem, dum senu sinebant,*

Felices;

the antient Land-Marks; A Snake lies concealed amongst the Brambles, take Care, Shepherd, how You break down the intermediate Hedge. Some are offended with my mentioning the Synod of Pisa, summoned by Lewis (whose Memory ought to be gratefully celebrated by the French), in order to restrain the Fury of Military Julius, and to clear the Body of the Faithful from the Filthiness which it had contracted. I told a Story, known to the whole World. Can such a Narrative be Criminal, or deserving of Punishment? Yes, but You commended the worthy Prince's Design, and cast an oblique Reflexion upon the See. However, You, who now accuse me, bring no Charge against my past Life, but only exaggerate some of my Words. But, was it not indeed a laudable thing in so great a Prince, to desire the Amendment of grievous Faults, and that the Name of Babylon should be destroyed; and to exert His best Strength, that the Spouse of God should not be dishonoured by ugly Wrinkles, and that the Foundations of all Offence and Complaint should be removed. I wish that his Counsels had taken the desired Effect, before Julius had confounded all Italy with Fire and Sword, and before Leo had taken a no less pernicious Course, by the Indulgence allowed to himself and all his Followers, and a Profanation of Holy Things; whereby the Sparks, almost buried in the Embers, flamed out, and spread over the whole World. The Germans would not Now have wandered in a State of Separation from the rest of the Body, nor would England have slipped the Bridle and run loose, in Imitation of its earliest Natives. Again, They object to me the Praises given to the Pragmatick Sanction, instituted by Charles and the blessed Lewis, which they would have to be buried in the dark Night of Oblivion. What should a Man do? The French, with good Success, as long as the Fates suffered

*Felices, hoc passim usi sunt jure, priusquam
Ulla infecisset miseros sectaria labes.
Nunc, quia Germanos vexant vexantque Britannos
Pannoniasque duas longi contagia morbi,
Jure suo Gallos prohibent & legibus uti,
Et scriptis mandare quod usu & more receptum,
Tempore quod rebus tanto fuit utile nostris.
Idne equum, cives, aut aqua mente ferendum?*

*Postremo mihi crimen atrox & morte piandum
Objicitur, verbis quod sum infectatus amaris
Urbe Parisiaca lanienam mane patratam,
In Constantini quæ nunc & visitur aula,
Præcipuos inter Romæ depicta triumphos.
Tempora nil opus heic, loca sed distinguere: montes
Hanc citra vobis liceat, pia turba Quirites,
Illustrem laudare diem, & celebrare quotannis.
Per Vaticanas alternis dicite cellas,
Eumenides Sicula, sacra vespertina canamus.
Non eadem Gallis, Italis quæ leta videntur,
Quisque suo gaudet sensu. Tu mellea credis,
Alterius quæ sunt absinthia tatra palato.
Laudem ego, tantorum quod apud nos causa malorum
Exstitit, & porro seclis erit usque futuris?
Quod cunctas gentes inter populosque propinquos
Gallorum infami deturpat crimine nomen,
Quodque tot edictis damnavimus? hoc ego laudem,
Implevit trepidas quod suspicionibus urbes,
Libertatem odijs dedit, immanique cruoris
Per cædeis populos fundendi accendit amore?
Non execrer ego potius, dirasque nefando
Indicam sceleri, legum quod vincla resolvit,
Quod pacem turbat, regni quæ publica constat
Alma salus, summo quam passim Ecclesia tota
A rerum Domino concepta voce precatur,*

Temporibusque

suffered it, continually used this Right, before the Rise of any poisonous Sects. But now, since that Contagion has infected the Germans, Britains, Hungary and Austria, they forbid the French to exercise their Legal Right, and to commit to writing, what was received by ancient Practice, and has been found so advantageous to our Affairs. Is This equitable, Countrymen, or to be born with Patience?

Lastly, it is a heinous Crime, worthy of Death, that I inveighed against the Massacre perpetrated at Paris, in open Day-light; a Representation of which is at this Day to be seen, in the Chamber called Constantine's Hall, painted amongst the principal Triumphs of Rome. We have no Occasion here, to distinguish the Times, but only the Places. It may please You, Ye pious Romans, on Your side of the Alps, to praise that illustrious Day, and to celebrate the Anniversary of it; and You have Leave, in the Cells of the Vatican, to invoke, by way of Antiphon, the Sicilian Furies, for their Assistance in chanting the famous Vespers. But the same things are not pleasing to Frenchmen and to Italians. Each Nation enjoys its own Sense of things: And You regard as Honey, what to another's Palate is Wormwood. Should I praise a Transaction, which has caused so many Evils to Us and our Posterity? and has rendered the Name of Frenchmen infamous to the neighbouring Nations, and the whole World? which We have condemned by so many Edicts? which has filled the trembling Cities with Jealousies? has given Licence to Animosities, and filled the mad Populace with a Thirst and a Taste of Blood and Slaughter? Should not I rather execrate and curse the wicked Action, which has broken the Ties of Law, and troubled That Peace, wherein the Safety of the Realm consists, and which the Church every where implores of God in its Prayers, and

*Temporibusque suis optat contingere supplex?
 Vos quosque, Dardanius sanguis, quibus otia blanda,
 Et plumæ molles, & corda oblita laborum
 Securam spondent æterna in pace quietem,
 Damna aliena ad vos qui nil spectare putatis:
 Ex improvise si Martius ingruat horror,
 Hispanisque feræ opibus post funera victor
 Carolus in media ponat vexilla Suburra,
 Nocturnisq; dolis Albanus mania pulset;
 Sera licet, tandem capiet miseratio nostri,
 Invisaque adeo pacis pia cura subibit.
 Quod mihi quod cuiquamvis, potest contingere cuivis.
 Sunt exempla domi. Scit dives Avenio quondam
 Qua Serbelloni luerit mercede furorem
 Roma potens, quantisque laboribus atque periculis
 Constiterit sævas expertus Arausio flammæ,
 Væ nimium vestris vicinus Arausio terris.
 Quid si animis idem redeat furor, & quod ubique
 Multi urgent laris expertos & jura gravati
 Exlegesque, domi nascens lachrymabile bellum
 Invadat placidas turbato fœdere gentes;
 Naufraga si toties puppis non horreat undas,
 Nec fœdis pelagi tot conflictata procellis
 Illisum trepidet scopulis affigere rostrum;
 O quanti ex illo motus errore sequentur?
 Quæ tantas inter sat erunt solatia cladeis,
 Lymphatus cum vasta dabit Mars omnia circum,
 Sanguis ubique fluet, deserto nullus in agro,
 Vallata rarus visetur in urbe sacerdos,
 Siquis erit, diris probrisque a plebe petetur,
 Fons quasi tantorum fomesque caputque malorum:
 Et sane ut fuco verum queramus omisso,*

Quam

begs as a Blessing to its own times. And You too, ye descendants of *Dardanus*, wrapt up, as Ye are, in soft Idleness and Luxury; whose inactive Minds flatter You with eternal Peace and Security; who think the Misfortunes of other Countries no part of Your Concern: if the Horrors of War should on a sudden invade You, and *Charles* [of *Bourbon*], victorious after Death, should by the help of *Spanish* Troops plant his Standards in the Streets of *Rome*; or if the Duke of *Ava* should attempt the Walls by a Stratagem in the Night; You would then at length, though too late, feel some Pity for Us, and be solicitous for That Peace which now You so much hate. What may happen to Me or to any One Man, may be the Portion of any Other Man. You have Domestick Examples. The rich City of *Avignon* remembers, how severely *Rome* suffered for the Fury of *Serbellon*; and what Labours and Dangers it underwent, for having burnt the Principality of *Orange*; a Principality alas! too nearly bordering upon Your Territories.

What if the same Rage should again possess the People, and if (what is every where so much solicited by Vagabonds and Outlaws) a Civil War should produce a general Rupture; if the Ship, so often wrecked, should entertain no Fear of the Waves, and, notwithstanding the former Storms, run boldly upon the Rocks, what horrid Commotions would be the Consequence of such an Error! What Comforts can remain to Us, when the Fury of War shall lay the whole Country waste, and involve it in Blood; when not a Priest shall be seen in the deserted Provinces, and very rarely in the fortified Towns; and when, if any one appears, he will be reviled and cursed by the Populace as the Author and Fomenter of all their Troubles. And indeed, if rejecting all Varnish, we seek the real Truth, what Share has Christ in these Troubles? Where is that Social Love, which ought to unite the Hearts of Brethren? without which all the other Virtues are cold? Where is that innocent Modesty and Reverence of the Laws, the Service of which is perfect Freedom to a Good Citizen.

But

*Quam partem in turbis Christus sibi vindicat istis?
Cognatas socialis amor qui jungere mentes
Debet, ubi est, sine quo virtutum cetera turba
Friget? ubi innocuus pudor & reverentia legum,
Queis servire bono libertas maxima civi?
Ut verbo expediam, belli civilis in asse,
Si totum excutias, non est semuncia recti,
Non fidei aut prisce pietatis scrupulus unus.*

*Ponite jam gladios igitur, qui corpora ledunt,
Trojugena, ferrumque animas quod dividit anceps,
Sumite, siderea ferrum fornace recoctum,
Et lachrymis precibusque Deum placato potentem.
Hec vos arma decent: multis sectaria pestis
Non culpa est, culpa sed debita pena putatur.
Quo minus in tali licet excandescere casu,
Si vitio humano lapsa, non crimine, mentes
Doctrina cujusque leves agitantur ab aura.
His blandi affatus monstros mansuetaque corda,
His opponenda est melior doctrina piorum
Ex prisco promenda penu cellaque parentum;
Non tela atque cruces, quibus irritabile turba
Segregis ingenium tantos ciet orbe tumultus.*

*Famque mihi oppositos casseis livoris iniqui
Retiaque & *modos pius evasisse videbar,
Cum subito a leva purgatam vellicat aurem,
Ingeminatque patris monitor venerabile nomen,
Cujus ego cineres & maneis rite sepultos
Sollicitavi amens, conturbavique quietem,
Inoitum excusasse diem cum diximus illam,
Obligat infando que Gallica sceptrum piaculo.
Patris ego cineres placidos manesque revelli?
Patris ego nomen lesi? pro *nomine nomen
Quod mihi semper erit, cujus spiransque recensque
Usque magis noctem atque diem obversatur imago.
Quicquid ago, quicquid meditor vel mente revolvo,*

* read
modos

* read
nominis

Semper

But to conclude in a word; in a Pound of Civil War, if You examine it thoroughly, there is not half an Ounce of Rectitude, nor so much as one Scruple of Faith and primitive Piety.

Lay aside then the Sword, which hurts the Body, ye Grandsons of Troy, and take up That two-edged one, which cuts the Soul, and is cast in the Furnace of Heaven, and pacify God by Tears and Prayers. These Arms best become You. The Sectarian Pestilence is no Fault in some People, though it be thought deserving of Punishment. In these Cases therefore, we ought the less to be angry, if Minds, falling through Human Frailty only and not by Criminal Habits, are easily tossed about by the Breath of every Doctrine. These Monsters are to be encountered by affable Discourses, and good-natured Treatment; and to be opposed by sounder Doctrine, drawn out of the antient Repositories of our Pious Forefathers; not by Gibbets and Weapons, which only provoke the People to follow their Bent to Separation, and fill the World with Tumult.

By this time I thought, I had extricated myself from the Toils and Snares of unjust Envy, when my Monitor on a sudden sounds in my Ear the venerable Name of my Father; whose Ashes I have violated, and whose Repose I have disturbed; by saying, that he unwillingly excused that fatal Day, which spreads such Infamy over the French Name. Have I disturbed my departed Father's gentle Spirit? Have I abused his Name? a Name, which I adore like a Deity? whose Image, still fresh and breathing, night and day occurs to my Sight. Whatever I do or meditate, He is always present; ready to reprove me severely when-

*Semper adest ; culpæ tanquam objurgator acerbus,
Siquid deliqui ; si quid laudabile conor,
Instat agens, stimulosque animis properantibus addit.
Ille mihi ante oculos majorum exempla meorum,
Dictaque præclare, generose & facta reponit.
Ille refert proavos ad mania celsa Genabi
Fortiter occubuisse focos arasque tuentes :
Ille refert Marlam bis centum circiter annos
Pallati quaestorem annos, equitumque magistrum,
Ambo devotos, ambo pro rege ruentis
Immanem plebis rabida satiasse furorem.
Jam Deganaum quid ego, pacalis olive
Heroem quid ego memorem de nomine dictum,
Officio atque arta consanguinitate propinquos ?
Nec me degenerem ventura redarguet atas,
Plura habitis cupidum non incusabit habendi,
Præfocante animos non ambitione furentem,
Non simulatricis grassantem fraudibus artis
Inestas quæ nunc virtutibus obsidet aulas,
Et caligantum præstringit lumina regum.*

*Vos O majorum cineres, teque optime longis
Solliciti genitor defunctæ laboribus ævi,
Testor, pro patria nullas regniue salute
Vitavisse vices, vestra virtute meaque
Indignum nil fecisse, & si fata tulissent,
Prodessem ut patriæ, patriæ succurrere, lior
Absistat, pietate mea meruisse petenti.
Pura ad vos anima atque bodiæ nescia culpa
Descendam, quandoque novissima venerit hora,
Nostraque sub tacitos ibit fama integra maneis:
Nunc quia fata obstant, manifesta & percitus ira
Consilijs placidas sanis Deus obstruit aureis,
Quod puer angustum præfago pectore feci,
Cum canerem ævias acies, pugnasque volantum,*

In

whenever I do amiss, and to encourage and animate me in all my laudable Endeavours. He sets before my Eyes the Examples of my Ancestors, their famous Sayings and generous Actions: He tells me, that Some of them died bravely before the Walls of Orleans, in defence of their Hearths and Altars: how *Le Marle* the Chancellor, and the Constable [*d'Armagnac*], two hundred years ago, fell a Sacrifice to the Rage of an incensed Multitude, in defence of the King. Why need I mention *Deganay*, and the Hero who took his Name from the peaceful Olive, Both nearly allied to me by Friendship and Consanguinity. Nor shall Posterity convict me of degeneracy, or of desiring more than I possess, or of giving way to the rage of that suffocating Passion, Ambition, or of using deceitful Arts, which now possess the debauched Courts, and blind the Eyes of short-sighted Kings.

You, Ye Remains of my Ancestors, and Thee, most excellent Father, who hast finished thy long laborious Race, I call upon to bear witness, that I have declined no hazards for the safety of the Nation, nor have done any thing unworthy of Your Character; and that, in spite of Envy, I have deserved of my Country, by my pious Intention of serving her, if the Fates had given me an opportunity. I will descend to You a Pure Soul, unacquainted with Modern Corruption, and my Reputation shall follow me unsullied to the silent Grave. But, since the Fates oppose it, and God, manifestly provoked, shuts our Ears against sound Counsel; agreeably to a Prediction made by me in my Childhood, when I sang of Aërial Armies

*In flexu ætatis senijque in limine firmo,
Invidia cedo, & fasceis trabeamque resigno.*

Eid. Martijs cxi to cxi.

When this Poem was composed by a Friend in *De Thou's* Name; He, foreseeing that the Pains, which he had taken for the Publick Service, would prove detrimental not only to himself but to the Common Interest; and remembering also the Prediction, which he had made twenty seven years before at the end of his *Art of Falconry*, concerning himself and his Fortune; had insinuated the following Thought to his Friend: For the clearer understanding of which, it seems good to subjoin the Verses themselves in this place.

* *Atque aliquis, longo cineres post tempore nostros
Miratus viridi tumulatos cespite, dicet,
Huic quanquam in plumis fortunaque insuper ampla
Cotingerit nasci, & superarent gratia opesque,
Quas teneris hodie cuncti mirantur ab annis,
Majorum quamvis repetentem exempla suorum
Gentis bonos & laudis amor, clarique parentis
Fama recens majora etiam sperare juberet;
Otia musarum tamen, ignotosque recessus
Maluit ille sequi, scopulosque auleque procellas
Effugere, & vanos hominum contemnere fumos;
Maluit ille ederas & lauros sponte virenteis,
Quam spolia & macra pingues de pace triumphos.*

Since therefore no Sacrifices were made to Affection, or Enmity, or lastly to Ambition; and he proposed nothing else to himself by the whole Work, than the Glory of God and the publick Service, which require that the Truth of Facts should be both published for the present, and transmitted pure to Posterity; and since nothing is related therein, but upon the most certain Testimonies and from the best Hands: It often came into my head to wonder, how a Man, who never injured any one in the whole Course of his Life, who frequently returned Good for Evil, should meet with so many defamers upon the account of his History: Men, who, not contenting themselves with noting Human Slips, which could not possibly be avoided in so large a Work, lay hold of every opportunity of loading the Author with Cavills and Calumnies; and, in the Height of their Rage, that they may leave nothing unattempted, fall from his Writings to his Domestick Life and Conversation. Upon enquiring more carefully into the Causes of so prodigious and unprovoked Hatred, and consulting the Author himself about them, he answered; that he knew of none, but such as were invisible, and latent, and which his malicious Enemies durst not produce. Being dismissed by him with This Answer, when I had nothing left but Conjecture, I began to consider with myself, what Those latent Causes might be; and at length, after I had long revolved the Matter in my mind, I found them to be no other, than, because he seemed every where to detest and abhor the making War for the sake of Religion; and because his Writings were calculated for deterring the Readers from taking Arms at some other time upon that account; and likewise, that he said with more than ordinary Freedom, in the Preface, that War was not a lawful Method of removing Schism out of the Church: Moreover, because he, in many Places, seems to recommend the restoration of the antient Ecclesiastical Discipline, and (pursuant to a Decree of the Oecumenical Synod of *Constance*) the renewal of Councils, and the calling of an Universal one every ten years, unless Necessity require one to be summoned sooner. It also galled them to the

Armies and the Battles of Birds; I now give way to Envy, in the Turn and Declension of my Age, and resign the Badges of Magistracy. *March 15. 1611.*

* And some body, a long time hence, gazing upon my Ashes covered with a green Turf, shall say, "This Person, though he happened to be born in Down and Plenty, and to flourish in Favour and Interest, which all Men covet from their earliest Youth; and though, when he reviewed the Examples of his Ancestors, the Honour of his Family, the Love of Praise, and the fresh Reputation of his eminent Father, gave him a manifest Prospect of Advancement; yet (chose to follow the unseen Retreats of the Muses, to avoid the Rocks and Storms of a Court, and to contemn the vain Incense of Men: He preferred the ever-green Boughs of Ivy and Lawrel to the richest Spoils of violated Peace."

last degree, what he subjoined concerning the National Laws, the Prerogative, Liberties, Priviledges, and lastly the *Palladium* of the Realm: For, in short; they are a Company of *Sipons*, who lye in wait for occasions of enriching themselves by the Ruin of others, that is, of invading the Liberties of oppressed Kingdoms; of making a vast Parade of exorbitant Power by trampling upon the Crown; and of increasing the same by Wars and Tumults, at the hazard of destroying the Church and widening the Breach. This vexes them, this secretly cuts them to the Heart. Hence those Passions and Animosities, those infamous Pamphlets dispersed up and down, take their Rise, and from no other Fountain. Hence it was moved at *Rome*, that, without assigning any Cause, an unlimited Censure should pass upon the Historical Books of *James-Augustus de Thou*, of which only a Part had then been published, but ushered in indeed with That Preface, which rings and pinches them so at the heart, though they will not confess it. For at that very time, the illustrious Cardinal *Bellarmin*, when he was reading it, being asked by a Friend, what he thought of it, answered; that there was nothing in it, which seemed worthy of Blame; but added, that it was written with too much Haste, and that the Reign of *Henry II.* which was so much exercised with Foreign Wars, stood in no need of such Apology. But the Preface respected the whole Work compleated, wherein our worse than Civil Wars are related; and the Reign of *Francis II.* which gave Rise to them, had been published with the Preface. Yet his Calumniators go on, and do not desist, after ten years. These are the Men, for example, who desire the Breach of That Peace, secured by Pledges, which we now enjoy; for the compassing whereof, Our Author, by the Command of the Great *Henry IV.* took vast pains above thirteen years ago; and upon that account he thinks himself obliged to speak with the greater Moderation (which Malicious Men charge upon him as a Fault) and as it were upon an equal footing with other People, of the Protestants. These are the Persons, who tinctured with a New-fangled Doctrine, but regardless of Divine Providence, imagine God's Glory to be increased by Wars, Slaughters, Cabals, Plots and Conspiracies; and think Contrite Hearts, Tears, Prayers, friendly Conferences with the Sectaries, to be little available, against the growing Evil. Against such as call for the Assistance of Councils, they inveigh, as Separatists, Lukewarm in the Cause of Religion and Suspected Persons; have quite thrown away all Primitive Charity, and with it the whole Care of the straying Sheep; who choose Pride, Pomp, Vanity and a Love of Arbitrary Sway, with Schism, rather than a Peace, attended with Simplicity, with the moderate Income of the Antients and mutual Love; who delight, under Colour of Ecclesiastical Liberty, to exercise an unseasonable Severity against the Maintainers of Union, rather than to testify their Charity by endeavouring to reclaim Revolters: Lastly, who, being wise in their generation, in time of Peace make Preparations for War; that, what has hitherto succeeded so ill, they may prosecute with Fire and Sword and Desolation; and demolish and overturn whatever opposes or does not fall in with their pernicious Counsels. These are the Men, with whom the Writer of the *Annals* is concerned. This is the Cause of their Spite; the Fire of which is so much the more dangerous, as it burns inwardly, and is thought hardly possible to be extinguished without an entire Destruction. To maintain the Rights, Liberties and Honour of the Kingdom, to fortify himself with the Examples of Ancestors against Foreign Contrivances, to defend the King's Safety by a Draught of the Gallick Laws, and to ward the Sword from his Throat and Side, is now-a-days a great Crime, and no less, forsooth, than High Treason against God. The Actor of these things would formerly have been thought worthy of an Oaken Crown and a Triumph, when the Prerogative of the *French* Name flourished amongst an unanimous People: But Now, during the Quarrels, since our sworn Enemies have been suffered, either by our Cowardice or Prevarication, to penetrate into the Secrets of the Realm; the Dignity of the Nation being sunk, and the Allegiance due to Majesty trodden under foot; the Author himself, is held as an accursed, prophane, and excommunicated Person, and

Triste jacet cunctis vitandumque bidental.

Lies like a Carcass blasted with Lightning, to be shunned by all mankind.

But I once more check my Stile, and beg pardon of the Reader, if in the Defence of so just a Cause, and for the Honour of an innocent Person, I have launched out too far and with some Degree of Heat, and have done, what He would not have done or consented to.

END of the Fifth BOOK.

BOOK



BOOK VI.



De Thou, being returned to *Tours*, where he dwelt with his Wife, im-
 ployed the rest of the Year in writing; having, from his well-fur-
 nished Library, which he had left at *Paris*, brought with him, du-
 ring the Truce, several Books and Commentaries long before col-
 lected. In the next Year the Counsels turned upon the Consecration
 of the King, who by this time had reconciled himself to the Church,
 but had not as yet regained the Pope's Favour: The Ceremony was performed at
Chartres by *Nicolas de Thou* the Bishop of the Place, Uncle to the Author; who
 himself also repaired thither with his Wife, in the Company of *Achilles de Harlay* the
 First President, and other Counsellors summoned by the King. The private Treaty
 had been already commenced with *Brissac*, for the Surrender of *Paris*; and *Anne d'*
Este de Nemours, the Duke of *Mayenne's* Mother, had gained Intelligence of it by
 her Agents about the Court, and had in vain discovered it to her Son; as she after-
 wards told the Story more at large to *De Thou*; with whom she maintained a close
 Familiarity, which she had begun with his Father. Nevertheless the Duke of
Mayenne made no seasonable Advantage of those Admonitions; but, resolving to go
 to the Army, left the City, with Expressions of the highest Confidence, in the Power
 of *Brissac*; who had actually agreed with the Royalists, and soon after delivered it
 up to the King. In the mean time, *De Thou* and *De Harlay* returned to *Tours*, and, in
 the following Month of *March*, the secret Negotiation took Effect. When, upon the
 Recovery of *Paris*, it was to be hoped, that the Parliament would not be restored
 in the City, 'till They, who had continued faithful to the King, and for five whole
 Years had exercised Jurisdiction at *Tours*, should have returned to *Paris*; the In-
 trigues of *Francis D'O* (who laboured more than any Man to depreciate the Dignity
 of Parliament, and, being Governour of *Paris*, thought thereby to gain the Fa-
 vour of the reconciled Party and the Populace itself) prevailed so far with the King,
 that the Business was precipitated without expecting *De Harlay's* Return; which af-
 fected the latter with incredible Concern, both as he lost a fine Opportunity of utterly
 extirpating the Seeds of a pernicious Faction, and, as he saw with Impatience the
 Consequences of that Indulgence, in encouraging the Faction to resume their former
 Counsels. *D'O's* unexpected Death, which followed shortly after, mitigated the Sor-
 row; when, the Power of that Government being divided and lessened, there was no
 Person, who with equal Authority could collect the Sparks of the almost extinguished
 Faction in the City. About the End of the Year, the Jesuits were also banished; in
 the Prosecution of which Affair *De Thou* was affected with great Sollicitude; as
 thinking it expedient and highly necessary, after so shocking a Danger, to pro-
 vide for the publick Safety by all means whatsoever; and yet grieving, that he
 should be separated by this means from the Acquaintance of *Clement du Puy*, the
 Provincial of that Society, with whom he held a strict Friendship. This Person
 used frequently, before the Blow, to come with *Peter Pitbou* and *Nicolas le Fevre*
 to *De Thou*, and shewed extraordinary Candour in his Proposals for settling the
 Publick Peace; a Man, besides, of great Learning and Eloquence, and most ex-
 quisite Judgment. About this time, *Charles de Lorraine* Duke of *Guise* made his
 Peace with the King; and *De Thou* was chosen, in conjunction with *Maximilian de*
Bethune-Rosny, for regulating the Conditions. Which Business being concluded, he
 returned to his former Studies, and spent all the following Year in them; composing
 also a Copy of Verses; from whence it appeared to the World, how unwillingly,
 and either provoked or compelled by the publick Calamity, he had come to Court;
 how willingly he would at first have lived out of it; and, how glad he should be of
 a fair Opportunity for leaving it again; which it is also thought proper to insert in
 this Place.

Aula

* read rather *sumus*

* read rather *frons*.

* *Aula vale, Musis inimica, aulaque ministri,
Quos coluisse pudet, quos memorare piget.
Res tamen ut memorem, * funus, simulatio, fucus;
Fluxaque mentita religione fides;
Et vox pectoribus, * fraus & contraria menti,
Speque lucri fæda conciliatus amor;
Rebus & alterius macrescens livor opimis,
Plusque sua semper sors aliena placens;
Et libertatis specie qui fallit aperta,
Ipse palam laudans, clamque inimicus atrox;
Cunctaque monstra adeo, Stygio quæ Ditis ab antro
Extudit in pœnas ingeniosa suas
Gens humana; doli, technæ fraudesque, valete;
Non ego vos posthac, turba profana, colam.
Utne tegam spurco vilis latus assecla Lydo?
Carmina Virronis flagitiosa legam?
Furacis mensas sæcter parasitus Amilli?
Sustineam fastus, dives Apella, tuos?
Vipereos patiar morsus impune Cerastra?
Thaidos aut frontem nequitiasque feram?
Fasque habeam atque nefas uno ordine? sitæ vel bujus
Aut bujus potior, quam mihi juris, amor?
Ingenua illatam non vim virtute repellam?
Aut nullo offensas murmure ferre queam?
O potius valeant felicitis commoda vite,
Quicquid & hac redimi conditione potest;
Quam mea libertas, turpi labefacta lucello,
Aut intentata vique metuque minor,
In leges peccet patrias, tritumque relicto
Devia virtutis calle sequatur iter.
Sed bene habet, cura non sollicitatus amara,
Non acri fervens ambitione, Larem
Deserui, testor superos, aut illicis aule
In foveam prudens me laqueosque dedi.*

Inoitus

* Court, Thou Enemy to the Muses, farewell, and Ye Ministers of the Court, whom I am ashamed to have followed, and whose Names I do not care to mention. Yet, that I may enumerate the Qualities, Fraud, Hypocrisy, Words and Looks contrary to the Heart, Affections gained by the hope of filthy Lucre, Envy at Another's Fortune, Discontent under One's own, the Art of deceiving by an open Countenance, and by publicly commending the same Person whom You are secretly ruining, and all the Monsters, which Mankind, ingenious to its own Mischief, hath derived from Hell; Adieu to You all, I shall never more pay any Regard to such a wicked Route. Should I pitifully walk by the Side of filthy *Lydus*? or read the scandalous Verses of *Virro*? or, like a Parasite, frequent the Table of the Thief *Amillus*? Should I endure the Looks of rich *Apella*? or the deadly Bites of *Cerastra's* Tongue? or the Front and Wantonness of *Thais*? Should I treat Right and Wrong with the same Respect, and have a greater Love for This or That Man, than for Justice? Should I not repel Aggressors with an ingenuous Bravery? And must I bear Affronts without murmuring? Farewel first, all the Conveniences of Fortune, and whatever is to be purchased at such a Price; rather than I will suffer, that my Liberty, either truckling to base Interest, or conquered by Threats and Fears, should offend the Laws of my Country, or, leaving the Track of Virtue, wander into the beaten Path of Corruption. But All is well; I call the Heavenly Host to witness, I never left my House, out of Covetousness or Ambition, nor willingly cast myself into the Snares of a bewitching Court; but was violently forced to repair thither, and to leave the dear Goddesses the Muses: At the time that the enraged Capital besieging the *Louvre*,
and

BOOK

Inuitus colloque obtorto raptus in aulam,
Vos liqui, castæ numina cara Deæ.
Tempore qua positis regina Lutetia castris
Ad Luparam rabie sustulit ista caput,
Conata Henricum regnis detrudere avitis,
Exemploque urbes traxit ad arma suo :
Tunc, qui vitandos sapientibus esse tumultus,
Tutius & procul hinc rebar abesse mihi,
Me turbe eripui, teque, O Schomberge, secutus,
Aulicus hinc capi protinus esse cliens :
Nec mora, legatus Boreales mittor in oras,
Armorique procul littus ad Oceani :
Scilicet ut causam regni causamque bonorum
Unus apud multos nomine regis agam.
Spe trepidos animem, titubantia pectore firmem,
Grassantisque premam semina dira mali.
Hæc primum arrisit tanto fortuna labori,
Rotomagum nostra rexque receptus ope est.
Inde mihi invidiam, scio, magnam odiumque creavi :
Quid facerem ? res est imperiosa fides.
Ordine commissi mandatus muneris hic est,
Emendicatus non mihi venit bonos.
Jamque videbatur callum duxisse cicatrix,
Vulnus & in solidam jam coisse cutem :
Acrior insurgit violato fœdere prado,
Regnandique modum nescit habere furor.
Ergo conjurata iterum miser exulo ab urbe,
Aulicus & fieri cogor, ut ante, cliens.
Cum fugerem, quoties oculis post terga reflexis
Exciderunt mæsto talia verba mihi ?
Principium atque moræ, scelerata Lutetia, belli,
Alite non dextro tela retusa rapis.
Magna quidem erga te generosa gratia gentis ;
Multa, nec inficior, gloria, multus bonos.
Sed quanto infausti constabunt sanguine amores,
Tanti pane tibi gente carere fuit.

* read
pectora

Sic

and endeavouring to deprive Henry of his Hereditary Crown, lifted up her infatuated Head, and drew the Cities into a War by her Example : Then, I who thought Tumults fit to be avoided by wise Men, and that I should live more safely at a Distance, made my Escape out of the Fray ; and, following You, O Schomberg, became from that Moment a Retainer to the Court. Immediately, I was sent Deputy into the Northern Parts, as far as the Coasts of Bretagne ; that I might plead the Cause of the Realm, and of Honest Men, in the King's Name, before a Variety of People ; that I might animate the Timorous with Hopes, confirm the Wavering, and suppress the first Seeds of Disaffection. At first Fortune smiled upon my Labours, and the King was received into Rouen by My Management. From thence, I know, I contracted a great share of Envy and Hatred. But what should I do ? Allegiance is an imperious thing. It was an Office committed to me by the proper Powers, and not an Honour of my own seeking. And now the Wound seemed to close and heal, when Another more fierce Aggressor arises to violate the Peace, and Fury shews her boundless Desire of Dominion. I am again therefore forced to retire from the rebellious City, and to follow the Court, as before. In my Retreat, how often, (looking behind me) did I vent my Sorrow in these Words, O wicked Paris, the Cause and Prolonger of the War, thy Evil Stars have influenced You to run hastily again into Arms : Great indeed is Your Interest with the generous Nation, and Your Honour and Reputation, I confess, are high. But this general Affection will unhappily cost You so much Blood, that You would better have stood by Yourself, unbefriended

*Sic ego. Sed venti iustas rapuere querelas,
In mare & aversus Sequana ferre dedit.
Quid referam interea, terra quot adire labores
Contigerit, sacro quaque pericla mari,
Ad latus harentem dum Gasparis? utile regi
Hoc servate, oro, Dij, patriaque caput.
Testis Aquitana iugiterat circulus ora,
Quam rapido medius amne Garumna stetat,
Testes Marologi manus & tristia busta,
Et sacer exusta qui fuit urbe liquor;
Rex Gabali & Mimate iugi, Olusque fluentis
Mutatis totius pretereunda cadis;
Atque Utica cunis Merceri urnaque recenti
Urbs, quam tergmina mole, superba magis,
Inde Forum Jali descendimus, & rite curas
Verrimus equorei carula terga salis
Acriasque procul Nicae abscondimus arces,
Radimus & muros, alta Saona, tuos.
Marmorea tandem Genus statione recepta
Substitit in tuta pila phaselus aqua.
Moxque per Eridanum promo descendimus amne,
In Venetum terras Hadriacosque lacus,
Heic ego dum Pragam meditor, quo jussa * traheram;
Vixisse Henricum fama molesta refert.
Ut mihi vis animi, mensque omnis corde recessit!
Brachia ut ex humeris tunc cecidere meis!
Publica tu moriens fregisti commoda, Princeps,
Gallia tecum una tota sepulta jacet.
Ergo complexu Schombergi avellor, iterque
Hinc mihi per Ratos Helvetiosque fuit:
In patriam donec redij miserabilis hospes,
Exul, inops, ipsa nec bene mente valens;
Et procul a studijs, quod re mihi durius omni est;
Hac poterat tantis esse medela malis.*

* read
traherent

Rursus

by the Nation: Thus I talked to myself. But the Wind blew away my just Complaints, and the discontented Seine hurried them down to Sea. Why should I relate the Labours and Perils by Land and Water, which I underwent, during my close Attendance upon Gaspar! This Head, preserve, Ye Heavenly Powers, for the Service of the King and Nation. The travelled Country of Guitone, divided by the rapid Garonne, bears Witness to my Toils: The Desolation and Ruins of Mareuge, and the sacred Liquor which flows through the burnt City, bear me Witness. So does Mande, the Capital of the rocky Gevaudan, and the River of Lot passed at so many different Fords. So does the City of Uzes, more famous for the Birth and Burial-place of Mercier, than for its numerous Buildings. From thence we descended to Frejus, and, taking Ship, lost sight of lofty Nice, passed under the Walls of Savona, and at length arrived safely in the Harbour of Marble-built Genoa. We then were conveyed down the River Po, into the Territories of Venice and the Adriatick Gulph. Here, whilst I was meditating a Journey to Prague, whither my Commission bound me, the Ill-News arrived of Henry's Death. How did my Heart and Courage sink within my Breast? and my Arms drop from my Shoulders? O Prince, Your Death disconcerted the publick Measures, and all France lay buried with You. I was forced therefore to part from my dear Schomberg, and to travel through the Country of the Grisons and Swiss Cantons: Till at length I returned to my Country, a wretched Stranger, a poor Exile, distracted in my Thoughts, and, what added to the hardship, at a distance from my Studies, which might have served as a Medicine in the midst of all these Calamities. Here again, the Eddy of the Court drew me into

*Rursus at in turbas aestu vehementer resorbens
Torta Palatini me tulit unda freti.*

*Ex illo jam nunc biemes per quatuor aniam,
Atque novus miles regia castra sequor;*

*Quo spes ante alios & amor male fidus habendi
Ducebant trita per scelus omne via,*

*Nestrarum hic rapiunt me desperatio rerum,
Atque alibi nusquam tua reperta quies;*

*Damnosaque mihi, patriæ pudor utilis uni,
Et nullo sortis turbine lesa fides.*

Causa perorata est: suffragia libera de me

Posteritas, præsens nam vetat hora, feret.

Tollite, si merui, veniam a me deprecor omnem,

Inventus plectar, si modo sponte per I.

Non ego sponte per I, magnum solamen in hoc est,

Cum percas, culpa non perijsse tua.

Sed non omnino perij, sperare salutem

Rebus & integris penitus licet.

Jamque adeo ad Musas, atque otia blanda relabor;

Sera licet, certa est, quæ venit inde salus.

At the Close of the Year, the *Venetian* Embassadors arrived with a very splendid Retinue, after they had halted some time by the Way, and were received at *Paris* with more than ordinary Pomp: And because *De Thou* had been named to treat with them in the King's Name, he was sent to meet them with *Andrew Hurault de Maisse* the late Envoy, and ordered to attend them continually. In this Year, *Augustin de Thou*, President in the Parliament of *Paris*, after he had honourably served his Country and Friends, resigned his Soul to God: *De Thou*, having long since received a Grant of the Reversion, was immediately appointed to succeed him: As he had shewed his Moderation before, when, during the Imprisonment of his Uncle with *Achilles de Harlay* the First President, at *Paris*; he refused (notwithstanding the King's Instances) to execute that Office at *Tours*, as it has been above-related; so he used no less Moderation at his Entrance upon the new Dignity, and, till his Uncle had been solemnly buried, would not take his Place in Parliament. In the same Year, in the Business of the young Prince of *Condé*, and his illustrious Mother, who, by reason of her Husband's doubtful Death, had been exposed to great Danger; *De Thou*, who had formerly done good Service to them Both, took a great deal of friendly Pains: And, when, by the King's Command, they had Both been brought to the City, he promoted their Interest and Honour, as far as lay in his Power, both at Court and in Parliament; because he judged such a Proceeding very conducive at that time to the Settlement of the King's Affairs, and Those of the Kingdom; though by his Envyers at Court, he fell upon that Account under such a Suspicion, that by his good Offices he obtained nothing but the Ill-will of Each Party. This was very hurtful to him a long time after; but it affected him the less, as he was accustomed to slight the Loss of that Favour, which other Courtiers so anxiously catch at, and the Hazard of external Things; as thinking the Testimony of a good Conscience, a sufficient Recompence for his utmost Pains.

into a Sea of troublesome Business; and, for four Winters, I followed the Royal Camp, in the Capacity of a raw Soldier. As Hopes of Gain and wicked Intentions led Others into the Field; I was drawn into the same Road by the desperate Situation of my Affairs, and by the Impossibility of finding Rest any where else; by a Modesty, useful indeed to my Country, but prejudicial to myself; and by a Fidelity incapable of being shaken by any Storms. I have now finished my Plea; let Posterity (for the present times will not bear it) pass a free Judgment upon me: Condemn me, if I have deserved it; I ask no Quarter: Let me have the Mortification to be punished, if I have willingly perished: But I have not willingly perished; and this is a wonderful Comfort to a Man, when he suffers, that he does not suffer by his own Fault. And yet I am not altogether undone: There is room for Repentance, without losing any part of my dearest Stake: And Now therefore, I return to the Muses, and the Pleasures of Retirement: The Happiness arising from thence is certain, though it may be late.

That

A. D. 1596. That the Affair might the more easily be concluded, and the Protestants might not throw in Delays; before *John de Vivonne* Marquis de Pisany went to the Prince at *S. Jean de Angely*; an Edict, at the Motion of the Duke de Nevers, was framed at *S. Germain's*, and, by *De Thou's* Management, registered in Parliament; wherein it was resolved to enlarge the nineteenth Article of the Edict published in the Year Seventy Seven, concerning the Admission of Protestants to publick Honours; and it took Place accordingly without a Condition: But because the Royal Proctor was desirous, that it should be universally known to have been issued, without His Request, though not 'till he had been heard; from thence the Protestants grew jealous, as if an Occasion was sought for departing from the former Edicts. A Necessity therefore was imposed upon the King, in the next Year, of issuing out a new Edict. For, whilst he was employed in the Siege of *La Fere* upon the *Oyse*; the Protestants, at a very unreasonable Juncture, offered a Petition to him for their better Security; and the prudent King, to avoid the Storm of a dangerous Insurrection, thinking Dispatch to be necessary, resolved to suffer their Assembly to be held without an Inhibition, and to depute one of his faithful Counsellors to discuss the Points propounded at that Meeting. The Person chosen for this purpose was *De Thou*; who, thinking nothing of any such Matter, was busy at home in Writing, and, after the Havock made of his Estate for five Years together, in putting his Domestick Affairs into Order. By the Tenour of the Mandate, he was ordered, without even waiting upon the King, to put himself upon the Road, and to repair to *Loudun* in *Poitou*: But He, who had hitherto experienced the vilest Ingratitude from Those, of whom he by no means deserved it, began to excuse himself to the King, and to *Villeroy*, who had underwritten the Mandate. For he even Then foreboded, that the Conduct of a Business, which, as things went amongst Us, was reckoned of the highest Importance, might some time or other prove detrimental to him; and that his Enemies might create him Ill-will amongst his own Countrymen. But when, by often imploring the Intercession of his dearest Friend *Schomberg*, who was detained at *Paris* by Sickness, he had desired to be excused; *Villeroy* on the other hand insisted upon it, and pressed *Schomberg*; that *De Thou*, laying aside all Delay, might immediately undertake the Charge, which the King's Affairs, he said (though he did not assign the Reasons), required to be administered by His Hands. When *De Thou* found *Schomberg's* Interposition to be ineffectual to his Excuse, he applied himself to *Nicolas de Harlay-Sancy*, Sur-Intendant of the Finances, his old Friend, and Relation by Marriage; by whose Favour and Interest with the King, he obtained his Discharge from that Burthen; and *Mery de Vie*, and *Sofroy de Calignon* Chancellor of *Navarre*, were chosen by the King in his Room: He himself received Orders to go with *Schomberg* into the *Touraine*, that, in the Presence of the Queen-Dowager *Lovise*, the Relict of *Henry III.*, they might treat with the Agents of her Brother, the Duke de *Mercur*, upon the Articles of Peace.

After a Debate of some days, they went to *Angers*. There *De Thou* was overwhelmed with the News of the Death of *Peter Pitbou*, a Man united to him by a similitude of Sentiments and Studies, and who had first advised him to the Writing of his History. He was so struck with it, that he could hardly forbear tearing to pieces what he had done, and abandoning the Work, since he was left destitute of so valuable an Assistant. At least he abtained for some days from appearing publicly, and lost much of his usual Chearfulness; when, looking every where about him for a Director of his Studies, he could find none: For *Pitbou's* Help was extremely useful to him in the Work; as he was a Man, who had a most exact knowledge of Our Affairs, and brought a most exquisite Judgment to the Examination of them, and who tempered his inviolable Love of Truth and Rectitude with singular Prudence and Candour. The Transactions of *Henry II.* had been written in his Life-time, and in part revised and corrected by him; and, when he died, he had the Copy in his keeping: For other Matters, *De Thou* used other Philological Friends. When he had returned with *Schomberg* from *Angers* to *Tours*, he writ an Answer to *James Gillot*, a Counsellor of primitive Integrity, who had sent him a Letter of Consolation; and, having an opportunity of writing to *Casaubon*, writ Him also a Letter; wherein, in the most expressive Words, he gave Vent to the fresh Sense of the heavy Calamity: A Copy of which, being found amongst his Papers, is thought proper to be inserted in this place; that all Men may be convinced, how highly he esteemed the Man, and how deeply he was afflicted with the Loss of him. *James-Augustus de Thou* to the most learned *Isaac Casaubon* Greeting. "When I was lately at *Angers* (whither I had been sent by the King, with the illustrious *Gaspar de Schomberg* Count de *Nanteuil*, for the business of reconciling *Bretagne* to the Peace), I received the melancholy News of *Peter Pitbou's* Death: With which, because it had happened contrary to all Hopes and Expectation, being,

" as You may well imagine, confounded to the last degree; and, having no Person
 " near me, who entertained a just Sense of the Loss, or to whose Bosom I might
 " commit the Grief conceived upon that occasion, I became altogether inconsolable;
 " inſomuch, that, forgetting myſelf, I almoſt forgot alſo my Office and Dignity. Not that
 " I mean to excuſe the Weakneſs or Softneſs of my Mind, in ſinking under ſuch a
 " Weight of Sorrow; becauſe it is of That kind, which may befall the moſt reſo-
 " lute Man alive. For how Good and Great a Perſon *Pitbou* was, You know
 " enough of Yourſelf, though You never knew him by Sight: He is known alſo
 " to Others, who live at a much greater Diſtance from us: So that, I doubt not,
 " but You will the leſs wonder, if They, who were familiarly acquainted with him,
 " and long enjoyed his Friendſhip and pleaſant Converſation, bear his Death with
 " a degree of Impatience. For what is there more delightful than the Friendſhip
 " of a Pious and Wiſe Man, and Learned beyond imagination? For, in reality,
 " beſides a rare and accurate Knowledge of Antiquities, Eccleſiaſtical eſpecially,
 " the Civil Law, and polite Letters, there was to be found in him the ſtrictest
 " Probity of Manners, far removed from Diſſimulation and Ambition, as well as
 " the moſt conſummate Skill and Prudence in worldly Affairs. In Publick Buſineſs
 " eſpecially, he had ſuch a Diſcernment and Foreſight; that, although he led a
 " private Life, yet our Chief Miniſters of State conſulted him like an Oracle, and
 " believed their Counſels to be better calculated and eſtabliſhed, as often as He
 " adviſed or approved them: So certain it is, that nothing of Moment, relating to
 " the Safety of the Nation, was privately debated amongſt the beſt of the Great
 " Men, either in Court or City, or carried from thence to a Publick Conſultation,
 " which had not been firſt communicated to Him and ſubmitted to His Examina-
 " tion. Of theſe Particulars, They, who were not perſonally acquainted with him,
 " are ignorant, though they are otherwiſe no Strangers to the Name of *Pitbou*.
 " For My part, I was happy in his Friendſhip, as long as it was allowed me
 " to enjoy it: And, as by his Death I loſt the only Conductor and Aſſiſtant of my
 " Studies and Counſels; ſo I was concerned to ſuch a Degree, that I had well nigh
 " bid a final Farewel to all my Studies, and even to the Commonwealth itſelf (to
 " which, God had been pleaſed, that I ſhould in ſome meaſure be ſerviceable); if I had
 " not been withheld by the Words of that very Man, whoſe Deceſſe fills me with all this
 " Sorrow, ſtill remaining freſh in my Memory. For it came into my Mind, that
 " He, as often as he ſaw me dejected and deſpairing of the Commonwealth, uſed
 " to raiſe my Spirits by this Argument; ſaying, that, although his own Preſages
 " of the Publick State were no leſs diſmal than Mine, yet Good Citizens, as
 " well as Stout Soldiers, were placed by the Chief Commander in a certain Sta-
 " tion, which ought not to be deſerted in the worſt of times. For, to ſpeak the
 " matter in a Word, he was indeed a Man born for the Publick Good; and who,
 " by the Greatneſs of his Genius and Parts, having with wonderful Prudence made
 " himſelf Maſter of all the Parts of Learning, together with an accurate Knowledge
 " of Publick Affairs, ſuffered no portion of Time to paſs unemployed in ſerious
 " Occupations; with a view either of doing ſervice to Poſterity, by publiſhing the
 " Monuments of Antiquity diſcovered and illuſtrated by his own Diligence, or of
 " helping forward the Endeavours and Labours of others for the General Good;
 " or laſtly, of aſſiſting his Friends with his Prudence and Advice. For which
 " reaſon, They, upon whom God has beſtowed great Parts, ought to ſtrive, that
 " they may emulate ſo laudable a Diſpoſition to the Service of Mankind, and
 " thereby recommend the Memory of a conſiderable Perſon to Poſterity. As to
 " You, moſt learned *Cafaubon*, he had always a ſingular Love for you; and uſed to ſay,
 " that You were the only Man in the Age, who, notwithſtanding the Banishment
 " of Learning during the Civil Wars, kept the Hopes of it alive, and would not ſuffer
 " us altogether to deſpair of its Return: And I particularly remember, that, when I
 " ſhewed him my Friend *Scaliger's* Letter, wherein he ſays, that You poſſeſſed,
 " even by the Confeſſion of Envy, the chief Place amongſt the Learned Men of
 " theſe times; he was highly pleaſed with that Great Man's Teſtimonial of You;
 " and rejoiced, that God had ſet You up to be an Oppoſer of the barbarous Ig-
 " norance (ſo he termed it), which was coming upon Us. He had accordingly
 " adviſed me to ſend You an Invitation, which, I ſuppoſe, he alſo did himſelf in
 " many Letters, which paſſed betwixt You. For that good-natured Gentleman,
 " who had nothing in view but the publick Advantage, hoped, that, from that
 " mutual Communication, ſomething might flow for the Benefit of the World, and
 " that he ſhould give You no reaſon for repenting of that Interview and Conver-
 " ſation. For, in truth, he had a great number of things, that either the
 " Decline of Age or Burthen of Buſineſs would not ſuffer him to attend; which
 " he would willingly have delivered to You, a Young Man and more at leiſure
 " from Employment; and which, He believed, You would have been glad to
 " receive

“ receive at his hands. These things, by his Death, are now partly lost and partly
 “ so confused, that, unless *Nicolas le Fevre* (an excellent Man and his dear Friend,
 “ with whom he lived in the City during the calamitous Times in perfect Union,
 “ and who for that reason was admitted into the Knowledge of his Schemes)
 “ would lend an helping hand, they cannot be collected, put together, and
 “ finished, so as to be useful to the Publick, by any other Person: Which
 “ that he may some time or other resolve to attempt, I shall not cease to sol-
 “ licit with repeated Exhortations. Let it not be displeasing to You in the
 “ mean time, to have heard the Causes of my Grief explained perhaps in too many
 “ Words; and, since I know that You will partake in my Concern, refuse not to
 “ testify it to Posterity, according to Your usual Humanity, by giving it a Place
 “ in Your Writings: For, if any Man of the Age, He certainly deserved, that
 “ his Name, famous enough in itself, should be celebrated by the Praises of his
 “ Contemporary Worthies: Which that You may do Yourself (for You are able),
 “ and that You may exhort other able Persons to do the same, I again and again
 “ intreat You. Farewel, and acquaint me often with Your Concerns and Studies;
 “ and be persuaded, that, in this Sea of human Troubles, nothing affords me more
 “ Comfort, than Your Letters. Once more, farewell. *Tours, Nov. 25. A. D. 1596.*

The whole Winter was spent in a fruitless Negotiation with the Duke de Mercoeur: Mean while, *Vic* and *Calignon*, who had been appointed to preside in the Disputations of our Protestant Countrymen, having laboured in like manner to no purpose, came from *Rouen* to *Schomberg* at *Tours*, and brought an Order from the King; whereby *Schomberg* himself and *De Thou* were commanded to lend their Hands to the Business. *Schomberg* made no Scruple of complying; and although *De Thou* was unwilling to meddle in an invidious Affair, from which he had at first excused himself, yet he would not dissent from *Schomberg* (with whom he lived to the last in perfect Harmony), but undertook the Business, which at length, being still undecided, rested wholly upon His and *Calignon*'s Shoulders; *Vic* being sent by the King to *Lions*, and *Schomberg* detached to *Bretagne*, in order to prepare in earnest for a War, since the Duke de Mercoeur started new difficulties every day. The Assemblies were held at *Saumur* and *Châtel-Erault*; and in the mean time certain Commissaries met at *Tours*, in order to be near Queen *Lovise*, who was at *Chenonceaux*; whither the Duke de Mercoeur was continually sending Expresses.

A. D. 1597. Here the News (uncertain at first, but afterwards confirmed by the King) of the Surprisal of *Amiens*, came to *Schomberg*: It was received, not only with universal Sorrow, but with the Despair of particular Persons; who, entertaining dismal Apprehensions of the General Safety, thought it expedient to take care of their separate Interests. The Protestants themselves, and their Chief Leaders, entered into an Association with Others, not for the sake of Religion, but for the publick Exigency in the present Calamity, without consulting the King; and, notwithstanding *De Thou*'s persuasions to the contrary, did it without His or *Schomberg*'s Knowledge. The Expectation of so great an Enterprize for the recovery of *Amiens* held the Minds of People in suspense for this whole Year, partly with Fear, partly with Hopes; but at last it ended in an Event answerable to the King's Valour, by the regaining of the City, and the Settlement of the Borders: By which Success the Enemy's Attempts were defeated throughout the Kingdom; and the Protestants, who, looking upon All as lost, had been making their private Bargains, each Man for himself, at length accepted of Terms from the victorious King; as no longer despairing of a happy Establishment, under him. Whilst the Success of the Siege continued uncertain, *De Thou* had admonished the Dukes de *Bouillon* and de la *Trimouille* to raise Troops, and carry the Recruits to the King in the Camp; for that otherwise the Edict, which they pressed to have enlarged in several Articles, would be generally distastful, and opposed by the Courts, wherein it ought to be registered. But, in the universal Consternation, the Minds of all Men were so affected, that they neither hearkened to salutary Counsels, nor themselves took right Advice in their Affairs: Accordingly the Former, with the Troops which he had levied in the *Limousin* at the King's Expence, turned aside to *Auvergne* and *le Gévaudan*, where *Montmorency-Fosseuse* had kindled a War; and the Other, with the Forces raised likewise at the King's Charge in *Poitou*, remained inactive; and neither of them came near the King. Which Conduct the King with good reason resented in such a manner, that he never forgot it as long as he lived: And *De Thou* himself, when in behalf of Them, with whom he had often and sharply expostulated in person, he writ a Letter of Excuse, became upon that account less acceptable to the King, and sustained a great Load of ill will in the Promulgation of the Edict. But when he openly excused them to the King and Others; he did not do it, with a view of ingratiating himself into the Favour of those Gentlemen, whom in private he used to chide with great Freedom; but because he feared,

left the Fault of a Few, being exaggerated, might retard the conclusion of a Business, which the King himself judged highly expedient to the Publick Security. For they, who were secretly collecting the Sparks of the not yet extinguished Faction, took occasion from thence of blackening the Protestants, as if they were laying hold of a favourable Opportunity to help themselves; as also of traducing the King's Commissioners themselves, as inclining to that Party: To this purpose they filled the Ears of the illustrious Legate the Cardinal of Florence, who was at Paris, with constant and importunate Complaints; insomuch that he had not more Trouble in settling the Articles, than he had with the Disaffected at Court, and with the People and lastly with the Parliament, in procuring them to be approved and accepted. In which Proceeding the Legate's Candour and Moderation was highly commended by De Thou; who, as often as he repaired to the Assembly by the King's Command (which happened once or twice), to treat with him, and to explain the reason of some disputed Articles, experienced his admirable Temper: For the Cardinal frankly owned the many Complaints brought before him, but considered, withall, that he was employed in the Affairs of Others, and judged it best, to leave the entire Care of the Commonwealth to Those, to whose Prudence the King had committed it. When De Thou accordingly took leave of him, he perceived himself to be dismissed, with Marks not only of Cordial Benevolence, but of Confidence; the Cardinal seeming to be persuaded, that nothing had been done in that Affair, but what the State of things and the Tranquillity of the Realm required; and that the King, and his Commissioners had paid no more regard to Favour than to the Necessity of the Times. About the time of the Surrender of Amiens, De Thou with De Vic posted thither by Relays of Horses, to lay the Conditions, as settled with the Protestants, before the King, who had then made an Excursion into Artois, and who, whilst he sat before Dourlens, returned an Answer to them. A Place and Time were then appointed by Villeroi and the President Richardot, for negotiating a Peace between the two Kings: And, not long after, the illustrious Legate went to the Conference of Vervins, whither Pomponne de Bellievre and Nicolas Brulard de Sillery also repaired by the King's Order, to treat with Philip's Plenipotentiaries. The Treaty lasted 'till the next Year; when the King, having settled the Frontiers and left the Constable Henry de Montmorency at Amiens, went into Anjou, with an armed but small Party; and, with great Affection (for so it had been agreed) received, at Saumur, the Dukes de Bouillon and de la Trimouille, who came from Chinon to meet him; and, at Angers, he put the last hand to the Edict: Which however, by reason of many other Difficulties that arose, was reserved to be absolutely finished at Nantes, and was thence called the Edict of Nantes. Before the King's Arrival, some slight Matters happened at Chinon and Saumur, whither De Thou was come with Calignon; which, by a professed Writer of his private and Domestick Life, ought not to be omitted. At Chinon he lodged in the largest House in the Town, formerly belonging to Francis Rabelais; a Gentleman, who, notwithstanding his eminent Skill in the Latin and Greek Languages, and in his Profession of Physick, at last, laying aside all serious Studies, abandoned himself wholly to Debauchery and Intemperance; and, taking up the Art of Laughing (which he used to say, was peculiar to Man), with the Freedom of a Democritus, and in a scurrilous Stile, he writ a most ingenious Piece; wherein, under feigned Names, he brought all sorts of Men and Characters as it were upon the Stage, and exposed them to the Laughter of the People. Here De Thou and Calignon could not help calling to mind that ridiculous Man, whose whole Life and Writings had afforded Matter of Diversion to Others; and they both agreed, that nothing could be more agreeable to his Genius, or do more Honour to his Memory, than that his House should be turned (as it was) into a Publick Inn, where there were perpetual Carousals; his Garden into a Court-yard for the Exercise of the Townsmen upon Holy-days; and a Closet, which jutted into the Garden (where, in his studious Times, he used to have his Books, and to read) into a Wine-Cellar: Upon this occasion, De Thou, pressed by Calignon's Invitation, made the following extemporary Copy of Verses:

A. D.
1598.

Ipse Rabelaisus yxaxeroids loquitur.

Sic vixi, ut vixisse mihi jocus, atque legenti

Quos vivus scripsi sit jocus usque jocos.

Per risum atque jocos homini data vita fruenda,

Inter amarescit seria felle magis:

Es

* Rabelais, the Jester, speaks in his own Person.

I lived in such a manner, that my Life was a Joke, and to read the Jokes, which I writ in my Life-time, is still a perpetual Joke. That Life, which is given to Men to be enjoyed in

*Et nunc, ne placidos ledant quoque seria maneis,
 Cavit Echionij provida cura Dei.
 Nam, que a patre domus fuerat Chinone relicta,
 Qua vitreo Lemovix amne Vigenna fluit,
 Postquam abij, communis in usum versa taberna
 Letifico strepitu nocte dieque sonat.
 Ridet in hac hospes pernox, ridetur in horto,
 Cum populus festo cessat in urbe die,
 Tibique inflato saltanteis incitat utre,
 Tibia Pictonicos docta ciere modos.
 Et que musæum domino, que cella libellis,
 Nectareo spumat nunc apotheca mero.
 * Sic mihi, post minimum vite tam suaviter actum,
 Dent hodie ad prisca fata redire jocos,
 Non alia patrias ades mercede locare,
 Vendere non alia conditione velim.*

* read rather Si.

Mean while, some things happened at Chinon, which were of a more serious Nature. One Beaumont, who called himself a Gentleman, being found guilty of Magick at Angoulême, had appealed to the Parliament. As he was upon the Road, he was stopped at Chinon by a Lady of Quality, over-curious in these Matters, and remained in that Place as a Prisoner at large, for the Space of two years; in which space of time he was reported to have said and done many things, above the reach of human Abilities. Giles de Souvère therefore, the Lieutenant-Governour of la Touraine, who then happened to be come thither from Tours, had an earnest Desire of seeing the Man, and asking him Questions; and obtained Leave of the President De Thou, that he might be produced. When Souvère urged further, that the Criminal might be examined, De Thou made his Excuse; because he foresaw, that he himself, who presided in the Parliamentary Chamber of Capital Causes, should have occasion to examine him at another time, by Virtue of his Office. This Burthen therefore was undertaken by Calignon, an excellent Scholar, and well versed in Philosophy and Mathematicks, as well as the Civil-Law, and, besides, a Man of acute Parts; who, after putting the Common Questions to him, concerning the Principles, Method, Excellency, Professors, and Effects of Magick, and his own Actions, both before and after the Sentence, very gravely examined Beaumont; whilst De Souvère and De Thou, sat with their Faces turned to the Window, that they might not be seen. Calignon used such an insinuating Lenity, that the Criminal, who now thought himself in a manner discharged, took Courage upon it, and made a voluntary Confession of many things, which afterwards at his Trial at Paris, when he saw his Hopes defeated, he constantly denied. From this Conference, rather than Legal Examination, Calignon drew this Confession; that the Magick Art, professed by Beaumont, was the Method invented by such Demons, as are a Particlé of the Deity, for maintaining a Correspondence with Mankind, for their Benefit, and not for their Hurt; very different from the Art vulgarly used by Sorcerers, who are but the vile Tools of Evil Spirits, immersed in the deepest Ignorance, and who, by Poison and horrid Witchcraft, do Mischief to Men at the Pleasure of their Masters; whereas Magicians, on the contrary, command the Genii themselves, and by Their Company and Conversation are enabled to discover many Secrets of Nature not commonly known, or to be found in Books, to prognosticate future Events, to avoid Disasters, to prevent Dangers, to recover lost things, to remove their Bodies from place to

in the way of Laughter and Jest, is embittered by serious things, worse than by Gall. And now, lest my departed Genius should be offended with any thing serious, effectual Care has been taken by the God Bacchus. For the House, left me by my Father at Chinon, on the Banks of the limpid Vienne, ever since I have been gone, has been turned into a Tavern, and rings Night and Day with the Noise of Mirth. Here the Mid-night Guest laughs; and, in the Garden, is laughed at by others; when the Common-People make Holiday, and dance to the Bag-pipe, as it plays the Tunes of Poisson. And, what the Master made a Study, and a Repository for Books, now froths with the delicious Juice of the Grape. Would the Fates but grant me, after the scanting of Life already passed in Merriment, to return once more to my former Jokes, I would not let out my old House upon any other Terms, nor sell it for any other Purposes.

place,

place, more nimbly than is possible by human Means, to reconcile contending Parties, to unite Fathers to Sons, Wives to Husbands, and Friends to such as are proper for them; in short, that *Beaumont* himself held a Commerce with Aërial and Heavenly Spirits, who, being naturally beneficent, were capable of nothing but good Offices; that, on the other hand, the terrestrial and subterraneous Spirits, who govern Sorcerers, are malignant and only skilled in Mischief: That Schools and Professors of this noble Art, had been frequent in all Parts of the World, and still were so in *Spain*, at *Toledo*, *Cardova*, *Granada* and other Places: That they had also been formerly celebrated in *Germany*, but for the most part had failed, ever since *Luther* had sown the Seeds of his Heresy, and began to have so many Followers: That in *France* and in *England* it was still secretly preserved, as it were by Tradition, in the Families of certain Gentlemen; but that only the Initiated were admitted into the Sacred Rites; to the Exclusion of profane Persons; lest such noble Mysteries should be divulged amongst the Vulgar and the Unworthy: He then proceeded to relate many wonderful things performed by himself, not to the Hurt of any Man, but to the Good of Those only, who desired his Assistance. Whilst he gave this Account, he maintained such a steadiness of Countenance, that notwithstanding the prodigious Vanity and Impiety of the Pretence, he seemed to speak from his own certain Knowledge and Experience; and declared, that, what he practised, he thought to be by no means forbidden. Being carried back from thence into the Castle, by *De Thou's* Order; he was put under a closer Confinement; and *Souvre*, who had been present, admiring the Obstinacy of the Man, desired that honourable Lady, that she would cause the Criminal, whom she had so long detained, to be removed to *Paris*: Which was also presently done, before *De Thou* had returned to the City; where, not confessing the same things, that he had owned to *Calignon*, but being convicted by the Proofs found against him at *Angoulême*, he met with an End worthy his flagitious Life.

During the King's Abode at *Nantes*; by *John Valet*, and *John Talbouët* a brave Gentleman of *Bretagne*, who had long served with Reputation as Camp-master under the Duke of *Mercur*; a Priest, named *Cosmo Ruggieri*, had been accused to the King, for contriving His Majesty's Death by the detestable Arts of Magick: For that in the Castle of *Nantes*, under the Pretence of Painting, he had a private Chamber, and in it an Image of Wax, representing the King's Person, which, using dreadful Imprecations, he every Day pricked with a Needle; and from thence had given Assurances, that the King would perish by a languishing Distemper. The Charge being subscribed by the Accusers, the King appointed *De Thou* and *Charles Turcant* to take Cognizance of the Crime. This was the same *Cosmo*, who twenty five Years before, a little before the Death of *Charles IX*, in a Conspiracy then detected, had been seized, and put to the Torture, for the same mischievous Practices. At the Trial, when he was reminded of this Circumstance by *De Thou*; he answered, that he had been injuriously and maliciously accused upon that Account by his Enemies, and that, his Innocency being made appear to the Judges, he had been honourably acquitted: But that the general Suspicion, entertained against him, was owing to This; that being skilled in Astrology, he understood the Science, known to few Others, of calculating Nativities with Certainty; by the Help and the Rules of which Art, having foretold many things to many Persons, he had fallen under a Suspicion, as if he had learnt those things by a secret Familiarity with Evil Spirits: That nothing was done but by Art; and if That sometimes answered, it was an ill Conclusion from thence, that he was culpable: As to the present Crime, objected to him, how foreign That was from his Thoughts, might be collected from the singular Affection, which he had born to the King for many Years: For that, after the Tumult of *Paris*, when it was debated, what was fit to be done with the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, whom the King had in his Power; the Queen-Mother *Catherine*, paying a great Regard to His Skill, asked him, whether he had calculated their Nativities; that he answered, he had done it, and affirmed from his Art, that Neither of them would ever raise any Troubles in the Kingdom; that accordingly, the Counsels, taken against them, were dropped: That he had desired *Francis de la Nouë*, who was then at Court, to acquaint the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* with the Thing, and to advise them in His Name, that for the future, they should carry themselves to the King and *Catherine* in such sort, that his Predictions might be verified, and their own Security consulted by the same Means: That he had not done this thing so much by the help of Art, as out of a good Affection to them; since it was not a Matter, capable of being discovered by the Science of Astrology: He believed, the King had not forgotten that signal Piece of Service; and was confident, that his generous Mind would rather consider That Action, than give the World an Occasion of saying, that he paid more Regard to false Accusations, than to such certain Proofs of a good

Disposition. When *De Thou* had reported these things to the King; He, after some Turns backwards and forwards, said, he remembered, that *La Nouë* had discoursed with him about such an Affair at that time; but that, trusting to God's Protection, he little minded those pernicious Sorceries, which have Power over such only as are destitute of a Confidence in God. A Stop therefore was put to the further Prosecution of *Cosmo*; and he himself was restored to Liberty, and became an intimate Confident of the Court-Ladies; by whose Favour, the King, when he said those Words, had been already induced to grant him a Pardon. It has been thought proper to explain this Affair at large; because, as all the Particulars were not specified in the Historical Books then published, that impudent and profligate Fellow, had the Boldness afterwards to affirm, that what is said of *Cosmo Ruggieri*, under the Year 73, did not at all relate to Him; but that *De Thou* had been deceived by the same Name, born by a Gardener, who was accused of that Fact: Nay, he carried his Extravagance so far; that, having begged a Pension at Court, he procured himself to be intrusted with the Office of Historiographer. Nevertheless, from the Confessions subscribed with his own Hand, which are yet remaining in the Custody of *Charles Turcant*, a Man of uncorrupted Probity, the contrary manifestly appears. For, in Those, he does not at all disown himself to be the Person, but only says, that he had been falsely accused, and afterwards honourably acquitted, as I have already said: Though, even here, he is guilty of a notorious Lie: For, from the Archives of the Court, it is likewise evident, that, after the Torture, he had been condemned to the Gallies; but that, through the usual Countenance shewn by Courtiers to this sort of Men, the Punishment had been remitted; and, being taken out of the Chain, as he was upon the Road, he made his Appearance immediately at Court. This being known to those shameless Calumniators, who had wickedly resolved at any rate to ruin *De Thou's* Credit; they did not dare to deny, that the Person, tortured for Magical Arts in King *Charles's* Reign, was the same *Cosmo*, who, under *Henry IV.* was accused of that Crime at *Nantes*; but, that they might not omit any Opportunity of slandering *De Thou*, they blamed This in him; that he had spitefully affected to charge a Clergyman with that detestable Wickedness. But, when *Cosmo* was first put to the Question, he was not in Holy Orders: And, when his judicial Astrology was objected to him by *De Thou*, as an impious Science, and therefore unworthy of a Priest; he himself, in the best Words that he could devise, palliated the Matter; and, in his Excuse, amongst other things added, and religiously affirmed, that, since he had been Ordained, which was not the Case till a long time after, he had not calculated any Person's Nativity; as it appears from the Confessions already mentioned: And as to the point of Malice, whether *De Thou* in his Narrative, was guilty of it towards *Cosmo*, may be determined by the truly deplorable End of that wicked Man; when He, who had lived in the utmost Disimulation, in his last Moments declared himself an Enemy to the Christian Faith; and, being accordingly debarred from the sacred Rite of Absolution, which the Church is used to impart to the Faithful, and also Excommunicated (not without publick Offence, and the great Scandal of Those, who had assisted a wicked Sorcerer at Court by their Recommendation), he was thrown into a profane Place.

De Thou made continual Progress in the Work, which he had begun; as far as he could steal any time from the Business of the Court: And, the Edict of *Nantes*, after many and various Difficulties with Regard to particular Persons, being at length concluded and sealed; He and his intimate Colleague *Calignon*, having asked Leave of the King, before his Departure out of *Bretagne*, went together to *Paris*, about the End of *May*. It seemed a material Point to Many; before the Faction of the League, which was secretly averse to the Edict (after so many prosperous Successes, whereby it had been reduced to a State of Subjection and Silence) could collect its Strength, and raise new Tragedies upon that Occasion; that the Promulgation in the Parliament should be hastened: And *De Thou* was of Opinion, that, the Business being immediately dispatched, the Minds of Men, before there was time for fermenting, would acquiesce in the King's Pleasure; and that, to the Terms of Peace, settled by a most excellent and prudent Prince, all the Estates of the Nation would begin to be reconciled: But the Authority of the Legate, who had deserved so well of Our Country, appeared in opposition; and prevailed so far, that the Promulgation was suspended till after his Departure: And the Duke *de Buillon* undertook, that the Protestants should not take it amiss. The Matter therefore was deferred to the next Year; and, after various and long Altercations, that Edict was at length registered on *Asb-Wednesday*. After so great a Delay, it being expected, that some knotty Difficulties would arise, for the Solution of which the Presence of *De Thou*, who had born a part in the Business, was wanted; He, (who had been appointed to go Embassador to the most serene Republick of *Venice*) was detained at home; and the President *Anthony Seguier* was sent in his Room. The other

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other Matters, relating to the Edict, are related more at large in the hundred and twenty second Book of the Annals not yet published. In this Year, *De Thou* received a most sensible Grief from the Death of three eminent Men united to him by Blood and Harmony of Designs, *Gaspar de Schomberg* Count de Nantueil, *Philip Hurault de Chiverni* the Chancellor, and *John de Vivonne* Marquess of Pisany: Which, in the Historical Books concerning the Council of *Trent*, because it was not then brought to a Conclusion, being only slightly touched, requires a further Explanation in this Place from *De Thou's* Common-place-book. After the Edict of *Nantes*, framed in favour of the Protestants, and published in Parliament; many incidents happened, which loaded the King's Affairs, upon that Occasion, with a great Share of Envy and Ill-will: For the asswaging whereof, it was thought adviseable, that, by some notable Action, the Damage done to the Catholics, and the Leaguers (who inflamed the Catholics with Apprehensions of Danger) by the Indulgence granted to the Protestants, (as they pretended), might be compensated. The Council of *Trent* therefore, the mention of which had so often been agitated, and hitherto eluded, was again brought upon the Carpet: The Reception of it had been imposed upon the King by the Pope, as a necessary Article: *Villeroy* pressed it, and affirmed the Publication of it to have been decreed by the late King. Some of *Villeroy's* Friends earnestly promoted the Business; and by Concert had persuaded the King, that it was an Affair, which had been promised to the Pope, and would also be acceptable to the Catholics; was highly seasonable for pacifying the Discontents occasioned by the Edict of *Nantes*, and by no means disagreeable to the Protestants; which they also confirmed by an Appeal to *Henry de la Tour* Duke de *Buillon*, and *Maximilian de Bethune-Rosny*, the Heads of the Protestant Party, then present: For indeed, they had actually persuaded these Gentlemen, that the Publication of the Synod did not at all concern Them: For that, by the King's Decree it should be provided, that the Promulgation of it might not be understood to derogate in any thing from the Rights, Prerogatives, and Privileges of the Realm and the Crown, or the Edicts of Pacification: That, by these Limitations, the Honour of the Kingdom, and the French Name, the Immunities of the Gallican Church, and lastly, the Liberties of the Protestants would be abundantly secured; and that The Parliament, to whom the Registering of it would belong, ought not to be too exact and difficult in examining the particular Articles of the Synod. Having therefore, as they thought, duly prepared the Minds of the Courtiers, they had nothing to do, but to employ the same Diligence in preparing the Counsellors, from whom they expected to meet with more Opposition. In order to which, they proceeded to cajole the Members separately, beginning with the First President, whom they suspected as the greatest Adversary to their Measures. And, because He happened then to be sick in Bed; by the King's Command, they procured a Council of the Chief Lords to be summoned to meet at His House: Which being signified to Him, who was ignorant of the King's Intentions towards him; he began to excuse himself by his Indisposition, and humbly to deprecate the Honour of a Royal Visit; and at last added, that on that Day he had taken Physick, and consequently could not attend the King in any weighty Affair. It was the Design of Those, who with so much Warmth and Impetuosity, and no less Cunning, urged the Business; to take *Achilles de Harlay* unprepared, and when he should be astonished and overwhelmed with the Honour of the King's Presence; that he might not have his Reasons in Readiness, to oppose them, in a Business of that Consequence, before the King; and that, by that Consultation, they should so far at least secure his Vote, that he would not afterwards deliver his Opinion in Parliament with any great Courage. When he had sent his Excuse, and the King, who was actually in a Chariot, on the Way to him, had turned aside to the Hôtel of *Zamet*; *De Thou*, who, ignorant also of the Design, had been summoned by the King's Order to the Council, and *James la Guesle* the Fiscal Procurator, made their Appearance. As soon as *De Thou* had been secretly acquainted with the thing by *Andrew Hurault de Maisse*, who was present; seeing himself the only one of the Presidents summoned thither, he perceived the Snare laid for exposing his Person and Name to the Spleen and Resentment of the Zealots; and therefore thought the more Caution necessary, that he might not give his Envyers and Adversaries an Handle for defaming him. When he came, the King took him aside; and, after some Discourse of the Conference, which had been resolved, and was afterwards pursued, between *James-David du Perron* Bishop of *Evreux*, and *Philip Mornay du Plessis*, said; that he had it in his Thoughts, to give the Pope Satisfaction at last, in the Point of the Council of *Trent*: *De Thou*, shewing the Importance of that Consultation, added, in order to prove his Assertion; that, for full thirty seven Years, it had been often debated, first under *Charles IX*, then also under *Henry III*, a most religious Prince, and an Enemy of Sectaries, and had been as often waved:

From

From whence his Majesty might form a Conjecture, that the Affair seemed at that time full of many and great Difficulties; which indeed were still in force, and which it would be necessary in the first place, at leisure, and without Prejudice, to discuss and ponderate with mature Deliberation, first in the King's own Cabinet-Council, and next in the Parliament: He accordingly begged, that in an Affair of such Importance, to which he should afterwards be obliged to speak in his Place in Parliament, he might not be commanded to anticipate his Judgment at this time, without sufficient Premeditation. These and other like things being said by *De Thou* in his Excuse, the King went forwards with some of the Great Lords, out of the Anti-Chamber into the Inner-Appartment; and, resting upon a Couch, after ordering the Company to sit down about him, began to this Effect: "That he was resolved to fulfil the Engagements entered into by his Agents for the Promulgation of that Council; which his Predecessors had been hindered from doing, not so much by the Hazard of the thing, as by the Insincerity of the Persons employed in it: That, whilst he remained alive to assert his own Rights, and the Gallican Ecclesiastical Liberty, there was no Reason to fear a Company of unarmed Men; who, if ever they do a wrong thing, proceed by the way of Fraud, rather than Force: Nor had the Protestants more reason to be afraid; for whose Safety abundant Provision was made by the Clause annexed, in relation to the Pacificatory Edicts: That the Duke *de Buillon*, and the Marquess *de Rosny* were present; who openly professed themselves unconcerned in that Promulgation: That the Cardinal of *Lorraine* was not the Promoter of it, but the King himself; who, being subject to no evil Prepossession, as he had already done in War, so, by his natural Prudence and Love to his Subjects, had learnt also in Peace, to consult the Good of the Nation: But, he desired, that the Compliment, meant to be paid thereby to the Pope, to whom he was highly indebted, should not be impeached by any unpleasant Delay, or by that horrid Liberty, used in later Days, which the present Age would not admit; and that care should be taken to prevent all peevish Wranglings, which in such Cases often happen, in Parliament; and that the Counsellors, acquiescing in the Clauses annexed, without a more nice Disquisition of the particular Heads, should consent to the Promulgation". *Bellievre* and *Villeroy* spoke next, and declared the Instrument with the Clauses to be already signed and sealed; and that nothing remained, but that, when it was sent to the Senate, the Business might be transacted without Noise or other Conditions. Which Speeches being concluded, there followed a profound Silence in the whole Company, each Man looking tacitly upon his Neighbour. Then *De Thou* being commanded by the King to speak; when he had again excused himself, by alledging, that the giving of his Opinion beforehand might prejudice his Freedom of Speech in Parliament; and the King nevertheless insisted upon it, that, in His Presence, with the same Freedom as in Parliament, he should deliver his Sentiments upon the Question; he at last subjoined, "That, from the King's Words, and Those of his Counsellors, he perceived a Resolution to be taken, that not only the Council should be received, but that, without further Examination, or additional Conditions, it should be registered with the Clauses annexed. But, since by the King's Command and Favour, he had the Liberty of speaking his Mind freely; he was desirous to inform his sacred Majesty, that, whatever Others might have made him believe, the Affair would not be concluded to his Satisfaction. For that the Counsellors would enter into a further Examination of it, and even debate each single Article: This he foresaw from Hence; that, from the earliest Infancy of the French Sovereignty (the most powerful of the whole Christian World), there was no Example extant of a Council's being received in the Realm: For, that the Kings, being the most zealous Champions of Piety and sacred Discipline, had always indeed kept their own Hands from the Sanctuary; but that, by their Prelates, they had used to pick out some choice Points out of the Ecclesiastical Constitutions and Councils, and to promulge them in their own Name, by Pragmatick Sanctions. This the Kings of the second Race, and the Emperors, had with great Success, and by a laudable Example to Posterity, frequently practised; and, even Now, the Capitularies of *Charlemagne*, *Lewis the Pious*, *Lotharius*, and Others, were extant. That in later Times, within two hundred years past, after the Celebration of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*; when Our Divines, who had been present at them, insisted, that, for the Benefit of the Universal and consequently the Gallican Church, they might be approved in France by a publick Testimonial; a most remarkable Convention was held at *Bourges*: Wherein, the respective Articles being maturely weighed, according to the Direction of the King, the Prelates and Lords, and a Committee of the several Parliaments; and Embassadors being first sent to the Pope, for the Explanation of certain controverted Points; at length the Pragmatick Sanction, as it is called, of *Charles VII*, was in the King's Name

" drawn

“ drawn up, and, as a Supreme and Salutory Law, received by all the Orders of the Realm, and registered in the Parliaments, and is every where at this day religiously observed, even by the Colleges of our Divines: That this late One, was the only Instance of a Council received in the Kingdom; the Memory of which, as often as the Laws of *Trent* shall be considered, would infallibly be renewed: And that, in the Examination and Reception of it, the Parliaments of the Realm, and especially That of *Paris*, which by its Weight and Authority must influence the rest, would be of Opinion; that the same Method and Order ought to be observed, which our Ancestors used in the *Caroline* Pragmatick”. Which being said, when most of the Company agreed, that the Pope, whom the King meant to gratify, could be displeased with nothing so much, as with the Mention of the Pragmatick Sanction, which followed the Synod of *Basil*; and that it was better, to drop altogether the Business of the Promulgation, than to do a thing, whereby, instead of the Favour, which the Pope expected from it, he should be paid with a most heinous Affront; *De Thou* added, “ But they most imprudently impose upon the King, who persuade him, that the Consultation can possibly be carried on without the mention of the Pragmatick; for, out of an hundred Counsellors, who will deliver their Opinions, I dare affirm, upon my Head, that Ninety and More will declare for following the Precedent of the Assembly of *Bourges*”. At which Word, the King, who had a great Share of Prudence, but had been ill informed by Those who praised the Publication, that the Session might not seem to break up without Effect, said; “ Do not consider yourselves as called at this time for determining the Publication, and sending the Instrument to the Parliament; but rather for fixing upon a Method, whereby an Affair of this vast Importance may be concluded with the Consent of the Courts, to the Pope’s good liking, and without the Detriment of the Realm: To that purpose I desire, that the other Presidents and Fiscal Advocates may be separately consulted, before the Instrument be sent to the Parliament for their Deliberation”. Which Speech being ended, they all arose. Then *De Maiffe* declared, before *Bellievre* and *Villeroy*, that the Design of publicly receiving the Council was full of the last Danger; and no Man could answer for the Consequence of it to the King and the Kingdom. On the contrary, others related, that, after the first Synod held at *Trent*, when it was debated in the King’s Cabinet-Council at *Fontaine-bleau*; the Presidents being called out of Court, *Christopher de Thou* the First President, a Man well versed in the Laws of the Realm, and, a Retainer of the Primitive Gravity, openly opposed the Project, and, in a long and vehement Harangue, disputed against the Synod; and that, when the Cardinal of *Lorraine* urged the Business with some Passion, *De Thou* resisted him to the Face: But that *Peter Segurier*, the Second President, was of a different Opinion; and, with many and as weighty Reasons, shewed the Possibility of admitting the Council under Restrictions: So that the Parliament was even Then divided upon that Point, under those eminent Leaders: Which was purposely said, that, by reviving the Memory of that imaginary Quarrel, a New Division might be created in the Parliament. But the Stratagem did not succeed. For our *De Thou* being intimately acquainted with *Peter Segurier*, who succeeded his Father in that Dignity, and who, by a Contrivance, had not been summoned to the present Consultation; and being asked by him immediately after, what had passed upon that Occasion; *Segurier*, when he heard of the Quarrel mentioned to have happened between their respective Parents, confidently denied any such Difference upon the Subject of the Council’s Promulgation; both publicly, and in private, to his Friends affirming, that the Sentiment, of each of them was one and the same, and in every part agreeing. Which being told to Those, who had placed their Hopes of Success in that Difference, when they saw themselves disappointed, they altogether gave over the further Prosecution of a Scheme begun with so much Heat and Cunning. Not long after, followed the Conference between the Bishop of *Evreux* and *Du Plessis*, at *Fontaine-bleau*; and, after that, the King’s Expedition into *Savoy*; which Transactions are more largely recorded in the latter End of the Annals. *De Thou* suffered no less in his Reputation, the same Year; when, after the Parliamentary Promulgation of the Statutes, for the University of *Paris*, (in the Digestion and Correction of which, he had taken indefatigable Pains for two whole Years, with *Renaud de Beaulne* Archbishop of *Sens*), he was ordered by an Arrêt of the Court, with the Assistance of the two great Luminaries of the Parliament, *Lazare Coqueley*, and *Edward Mori*, to introduce them, at a Congregation of the same University summoned extraordinarily for the Purpose. For, in compliance with the Necessity of the Times, many Additions, which secretly galled the Faction and the Relicks of the League, were made to them, for the Security of the King and Kingdom, against a pernicious and novel Doctrine, introduced by Foreigners, of murdering and deposing Kings; which nevertheless, through the profound Negligence

gence or Prevarication of the Courtiers (the Faction beginning in the mean time to grow again to an Head), afterwards recovered its lost Forces; and with so much the more Success, as They, who maintained the contrary and antiently received Doctrine of Allegiance, fell by Degrees from Favour at Court, through the bewitching Prevalence of those false and foreign Notions, and began to be removed from Publick Posts as suspected Persons. The following Year was fatal to *De Thou*, in the Loss of his beloved Wife, after a long and troublesome Distemper; whose Death he lamented in this extemporary Poem.

* *Bis septem exactis nunc ecce revolvitur annis
Lux eadem, tadis que prima jugalibus arsit,
Funereasque faces genialibus ultima lectis
Intulit: hæc eadem fratri vitam abstulit olim;
Semper acerba dies, summo mihi semper honore
Et semper lacrimis, voluit sic numen, habenda.
At tu, lætitiæ quondam nunc causa doloris,
Barbanzona anima, atque oculis mihi carior ipsis,
Erepta ante annos primoque in flore juventa,
Quo fugis? atque virum in luctu & squallore relinquis
Heu solum atque orbem! saltem mihi siqua supremum
Ante diem de te proles suscepta fuisset,
Que matrem specie & vera pietate referret,
Esse aliquod potuit tanti fortasse doloris
Solamen: sed vana queror, frustra que laboro
Heu demens! stat fixa Dei constansque voluntas
Voto adversa meo, cui me parere necesse est:
Hanc veneror, testorque animo, quod voce vocere
Quisque solet; fiat, Pater, O tua, summe, voluntas
In celo & terra: uxorem mihi nempe dedisti
Dilectam, atque a qua optassem mihi lumina condi;
Hanc repetis, miserumque jubes superesse maritum:
Ordine nature præcedere debuit ille,
Visum aliter tibi, summe parens; natura repugnat,
Haud ego diffiteor, primique in pectore motus
Adversus mentem pugna luctantur iniqua.
Sed mens divina vincat ratione subacta,
Atque Dei justæ moderantis cuncta bilance
Imperijs discant captivi cedere sensus.*

Tu

* Behold, after a Revolution of fourteen Years, the same Day which lighted up the Nuptial Tapers, returns, bringing along with it a funeral Torch. The same Day bereft me formerly of a Brother; a Day (for so it has pleased God), to be always observed by me with Sorrow, Tears, and solemn Awfulness! But You, the Cause formerly of my Joy, and now of my Grief, dear *Barbanzon*, dearer than my own Eyes, snatched away before the Time, and in the very Flower of Your Age, whither do You fly, leaving Your mournful Husband solitary and Childless? If, at least, You had left any Issue, which might resemble the Mother in Countenance and true Piety, my Grief, perhaps, would have found some Comfort: But vain are my Complaints, and all my distracted Efforts: The Will of God stands fixt and resolute, in Opposition to my Wishes, and enforces my Obedience. That I adore, and inwardly testify, in the same Form that is used in Publick Prayer: Thy Will be done, O Father, in Heaven and in Earth: Thou gavest me, it is true, a beloved Wife, by whom I was desirous that my Eyes might have been closed: Thou now demandest her back again, and commandest the wretched Husband to survive. The Course of Nature required, that I should have led the Way; but Thou, O Heavenly Father, hast otherwise determined. Nature, I own rebels, and the first Motions of my Breast maintain an unjust War with Reason. But may my Mind, subdued by Divine Reason, at length conquer; and may my Senses learn humbly to submit to That Providence, which dispenses all Things with an equitable

*Tu potius sanctum vere pietatis amorem
 Mortis & impavidum pectus, vitamque pudicis
 Moribus exactam memori complectere mente,
 Certaue ab his justo solatia quare dolori.
 O anime, hac tua sunt : quæ frustra amissa requiris
 Haud tua erant, ideoque minus jactura dolenda est.
 Illa propinquantem mortem imperterrita contra
 Mente petit solida, vultuque immota sereno;
 Sub pedibusque premens mundum, vitæque fugacis
 Illecebras, morbo vires sumebat ab ipso:
 Atque innixa crucis merito, noctesque diesque
 Hanc animo versans, vitæque hinc omina captans
 Æternæ, Christum spes defigebat in unum:
 Hunc animis & voce, hunc tota mente vocabat.
 Hanc sunt vera pie transacti præmia cursus,
 Ut bene qui capit, bene desinat, atque peractæ
 Quale fuit tempus, talis sit clausula, vita.
 Nulla dies abiit, quotquot fuit illa superstes,
 Nobiscum in terris, quin ter pia semina supplex
 Funderet ad summum solemnia vota parentem,
 Deque Deo summo crebros gaudebat habere
 Sermones, mortem media inter gaudia vitæ
 Assidue meditans, ut, cum venisset, ad ejus
 Conspectum trepido non expallescere ore.
 Quin & quotidie sacros evolvere libros
 Sueverat, & mentem mane exercere legendo;
 Cetera lux rebus transmittebatur agendis:
 Has illi a teneris quasi lac immulserat annis
 Religiosa parens artes, quas inde petito
 Exemplo in mores longo contraxerat usu.
 Quid memorem ingenium excelsum & donare benignum;
 Prospera quod spernebat, in adversisque gemebat
 Alterius, miseris semper succurrere promptum,
 Sincera, atque a labis avaræ crimine purum?*

Quod

equitable Balance. And do Thou, O my Heart, rather think upon that sacred Love of real Piety, that Fearlessness of Death, that Chastity of Life and Manners; and fetch Consolation from hence to assuage your just Sorrow. These things are your own: What you vainly grieve for, were not Yours; and therefore the Loss of them is the less to be regretted. How intrepidly and unmoveably she courted approaching Death, and with a steady serene Countenance, despising the World, and the Allurements of a transitory Life, gathered Strength even from her Disease; and, relying on the Merit of the Cross, meditating upon it Day and Night, and founding Assurances of an Eternal Life upon it, she fixed her Hopes upon Christ alone, and invoked him with her whole Voice and Soul. These are the genuine Rewards of a pious Course; that He, who has begun well, shall end well, and conclude his Life in the same manner as he led it. No Day passed, whilst she remained upon Earth, wherein she did not three times pour out solemn Prayers to God; of whom she delighted to hold frequent Discourses; amongst the Joys of Life, constantly meditating upon Death, that, when it should come, she might not meet it with Horror: She also daily used to turn over the sacred Books, and to exercise her Mind every Morning in reading; the rest of the Day was employed in Domestick Business. These Arts had been early infused into her, like Milk, by her religious Mother; in Imitation of whom she had contracted a Habit of them. Why should I commemorate her noble Qualities, her Readiness to Give, her Contempt of Prosperity, her compassionate Sense of Another's Adversity, her Proneness to succour the Afflicted, her Sincerity, and Freedom from Covetousness? If then, for a Woman

*Quod si spernere opes, aula contemnere fumos,
 Et procerum fastus, illustris gentis & infra
 Tot numerantis avos sese demittere sortem,
 Prasenti in vita jam vitam agitare futuram,
 Humani exsuperant longe fastigia captus;
 Huic sublimis apex virtutum contigit uni:
 Ista, Thuanæ, tibi conjux in morte reliquit
 Pignora, quæ memori gratus sub pectore serves,
 Atque animo recolās, tanti solatia luctus:
 Illa tibi caræ spirantem uxoris ubique
 Ante oculos sistens speciem, exemploque præbunt;
 Fortiter ad mortem, cum venerit hora, ferendam.
 Quid majora petis? jam contrahere plena vaganti,
 Ne spatio excurrat plus justo, vela dolori.
 Spes supero vitæ melioris in axe reposita est:
 Huc nos respicere, huc par est intendere cursum,
 Teque sequi: cui me miserum persolvere justa
 Quando Deus voluit, meritis si forte minora,
 Inferiora tuis ut sunt mea cuncta, rependo;
 Ignosce, O dilecta mihi, dilecta marito
 Quantum nulla fuit: jam pridem exaruit in me;
 Siqua olim puris Musarum e fontibus hausta
 Vena fuit: lauri atque edera vis marcida languet,
 Et, dudum vitæ portum quæ respicit, atas;
 Obrutus & curis, tanto accedente dolore,
 Ipse animus veluti de calo tactus hebescit.
 Ignosce, O conjux, fideique extrema jugalis,
 Affectusque probi, cape tristia munera, quæ nunc,
 Singultu fauces intercipientem canoras,
 Vix ego vocali suspiria pectore mitto.
 His te supremum * effari, dulcissima conjux,
 Meque simul solari, & curas demere dictis
 Ut liceat, felix calo patiare recepta,
 Atque boni officium pietatis consule nostræ.*

* read
affari

Jamque

to despise Riches, and the Vanity and Pride of a Court, to let herself down often below the Rank of her antient and illustrious Family, and in the present Life to think of Futurity, are Perfections exceeding Human Comprehension; That sublime Pitch of Virtue was attained by Her alone. These Pledges, *De Thou*, Your dying Wife has left behind, which You may gratefully recollect, and apply to the Mitigation of Your just Concern: These will in every Place represent to You the Breathing Image of Your dear Wife, and serve as a Lesson to enable Yourself to bear Death bravely, when it comes. What would You desire More? Take down the swelling Sails of Grief, lest they carry You beyond the proper Bounds: The Hopes of a better Life are laid up in Heaven. Hither indeed, we ought to cast our Eye, and to bend our Course, and to follow You, my departed Consort; whose Obsequies since God is pleased that I should celebrate, if I perform them in a manner unworthy of Your Deserts (as all my Abilities must fall short of them); forgive me, Thou dearest of Women, whom no Man ever loved so tenderly. That Vein of Poetry, once derived from the pure Fountain of the Muses, is long since dried up within me. My Laurel and Ivy are faded, and my Age is looking now towards the Haven of Life: And, what with constant Cares, what with this fresh Accession of Concern, my Mind is perfectly overwhelmed, and stupified, as it were, by a Blast from Heaven. Pardon me, I say, and accept these last, these melancholy Tokens of conjugal Fidelity, and honest Affection, which I now send to You, dictated by a Heart almost choaked with Grief, and by a Tongue interrupted with Sobbing. Suffer me, Thou happy Stranger in Heaven, that I may finally address You, and relieve my own Sorrow by these Verses, and take in good Part my well-meant Piety. And now, farewell, Thou,

*Famque vale, mea lux nuper, mea sancta voluptas,
Nunc tenebrae & gemitus desideriumque perenne,
Donec honorata decurso stamine vitæ,
Post exantlatas in publica commoda curas,
Mors ærumnoso tandem me corpore solvat,
Et patrijs, quo nunc præmitteris, inferat astris.*

A Statue of *Luna Marble*, made by that excellent Artificer *Bartolomew Prieur*, and erected at the Church of *S. André aux Arcs*, in the Chapel of *Messieurs de Thou*, has This Inscription on the Fore-part of the Pedestal.

D. O. M.

* *Maria Barbanfona-Cania Francisci F.
Michaelis Picardie Legati N.
Quæ dum Viro morigera,
Et Patritiæ curæ dulce levamen,
Concordiam conjugalem suavissimam faciens
Interiore ac sincera pietate,
Assidua sacrorum librorum lectione,
Alacri & animosa erga tenuiores benignitate,
In omnes liberalitate,
Morum sanctitate,
Veteris & clariss. familie decus auget;
In hoc virtutis viteque cursu,
Florentibus adhuc annis erepta est.
Jacobus Augustus Thuanus,
Tanta jactura propemodum intolerans;
Hoc monumentum uxori incomparabili
maestissime posuit.
Vixit Ann. xxxiiii. — M. vi. — D. xvi.
Obijt A. S. cld. dcc. l. Non. vi. tilib.
Hæc & vale, Dimidium Animæ Meæ;
Dimidium quod superest, cum Deus volet;
In calis recuperatura.*

Thou, who wast lately a Fountain of Light and sacred Pleasure to me; but Now only fillest me with Darknes, Sorrow, and everlasting Solitude; 'till the Time shall come, that after a Life spent in honourable Employments, and publick Services, Death shall set me free from a troublesome Body, and introduce me amongst our Kindred-Stars, whither Thou art sent before.

* To the Memory of *Mary*, the Daughter of *Francis de Barbanfon-Cany*, and Grand-Daughter of *Michael*, Lieutenant-Governour of *Picardy*; who, whilst, by a kind Behaviour to her Husband, she eased his weighty Cares, even sweetning the Pleasures of conjugal Affection; and whilst by an internal and sincere Piety, by daily reading of the Scriptures, by a chearful and ready Liberality towards the Poor, by a Generosity towards all Men, and by Sanctity of Manners, she was raising the Honour of an antient and illustrious Family; was snatched away in the Flower of her Age, in the midst of this Career of Life and Virtue: *James Augustus de Thou*, hardly patient under so great an Affliction, has with the deepest Concern erected this Monument to his incomparable Wife.

She lived thirty four Years, six Months, sixteen Days.
She died A.D. 1601, on the Fifth Day of *August*.
Hail and farewell, Thou Half of my Soul:
The remaining Half, when God pleases,
Thou shalt receive again in Heaven.

In the Inner-part, These Verses of *Isaac Casaubon* are to be read.

* read
γλυκερῶν

+ read
Σύζυγε
§ read
ἀγαμοί

± read
ἀμφίεσσι

* Ἀι, αἰ. ἀειστέγγεθαι, σὺ μὲν βροτῶν μελεδωνῶν
Λήξας ἱλυμπόνδ' ἀσμένη ἰσανίχης.
Κυρίδιον δ' ἄλοχον περιπύσσα πρόβειθ', αἰ, αἰ.
Θαῦμα εἰς θύανον ἄχαιο θάυμασιν.
Ἵ μὲν ὀδυρόμενος γοῶν τὴν νύκτα καὶ αὖ
ἱμέρει * γλυκερῶν, πόθνα, σὺν ὀδῶν.
Σὺν ὀδῶν, σιμῶν τε νόοιο, φῶς τ' ἐρατεινῆς,
Γραπὸν ἔχων καρδίῃ σῆς τύπον ἀγλαΐας.
† Σύζυγε δ' αἰδέομαι σου ναυάζουσιν ὁμαρτῇ
Ἡ τλήμων ἀρσῆ, τὰ τ' ἡγάμααι χεῖρες.
Οἱ μοι λευγαλῆς ἀλῆς Τίς γὰρ χερ' ὀρέξει
Τυμνιν, οἷζυρῇ τωρόμενοι πανίη;
Νεσκέμεν τίς ἐπισκύνει; τίς λύτεα δεδῶσι
Δάσει; τίς γυμνὸς ἰδίσιν ± ἀμφίεσσι;
* Ἀ δειλὸν μέρητον γένος, ἄρ' ἐταῖον τις εἴπει,
Πᾶν τὸ πειρίον αἰεὶ ἐστὶ μινυθῶδον.

* Alas, admirable, well-descended Lady, You are at rest, for Your Part, from mortal Cares, and have willingly taken Your Flight to Heaven; unseasonably leaving the Husband of Your younger Days, the admirable *De Thou*. He, full of the most piercing Sorrow, Night and Day, afflicts himself for want of Your agreeable Conversation. Your fine Sense, and lovely Beauty, bearing the Figure of Your Person engraved in his Heart. Whilst Your Consort laments, patient Virtue and the unmarried Graces condole with him. O sad Misfortune! who will hold out a Hand to the Poor? who will visit the Sick? who will ransom the Captives, or cloath the Naked? O wretched Race of Mortals, may one truly say; since every thing, that is extraordinary in its kind, is also short-lived.



END of the LIFE

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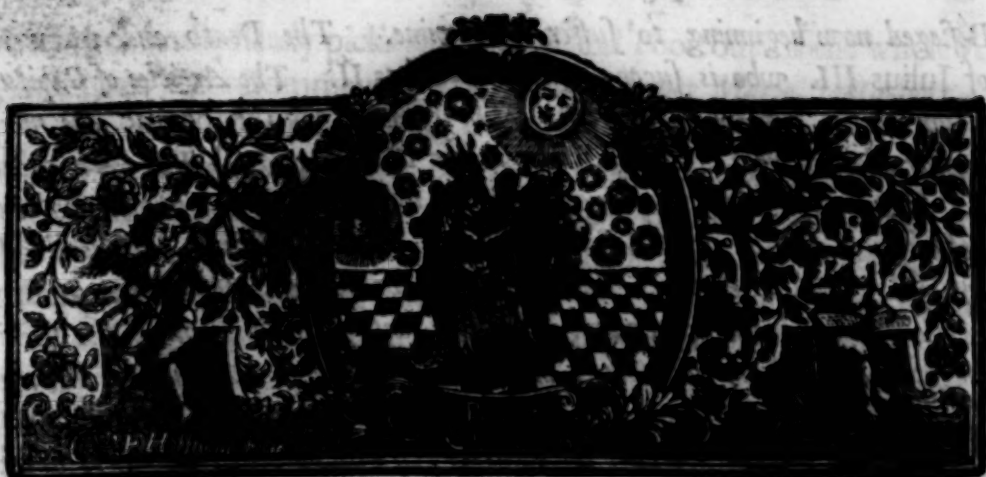
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Monfieur de *THOU*'s
H I S T O R Y
O F
His Own T I M E.

V O L. II.

B O O K XV.

A R G U M E N T.

Corte in Corfica is taken. In Piedmont the Town of Valfenera, having been fortified by Gonzaga, is unsuccessfully attempted by the Marshal De Briffac. Gonzaga recall'd by the Emperor out of the Province. Ivree surrender'd to our Men. San-Giacomo fortified by Briffac. Casal di S. Vaso surprized by James Salvafon. Vulpian taken by Our Troops and demolished. The Marquefs Di Marignan assaults Siena with his whole Force: Meeting with a Repulse, he uses Delay, the

Vol. II. *B* *Be-*

Besieged now beginning to suffer by Famine. The Death and Manners of Julius III. who is succeeded by Marcellus II. The Articles of Capitulation at the Surrender of Siena. The French with Montluc are very honourably dismissed. Transactions in the Netherlands. The Fort called La Mauvaife S. not far from Metz, unfortunately attempted by our Soldiers. A Plot of the Franciscans at Metz about the same time discovered. A like Plot at Abbeville. Succours sent to Mariembourg. A Conference begun concerning a Peace with the Emperor: The Plenipotentiaries on both Sides meet in a Place built for the purpose between Calais and Ardres, under the Mediation of the English. Marcellus (a Pope of few days) succeeded by Paul IV. The Life and Manners of the former. Cosmo regulates the State of Siena by the means of Angelo Nicolini. Porto Ercole, which was garrisoned by our Troops, besieged and taken by Marignan: Ottobuono Fieschi made Prisoner there, and cruelly treated by Doria; and even the dead Body of Leo Strozzi inhumanly used. A vain Attempt on Our Side upon Valenza. The Duke of Alva made Governour of the Milanese. His Enterprizes. The Camp pitched to no purpose before San-Giacomo, and a fruitless Ambuscade at Casal. Moncalvo taken by Salvaison; and the Castle, after a Breach made, surrendered by the Commanding Officer. A Combat by Agreement between a Party of French Lords and Others of the Imperial Side. The Arrival of the Turkish Fleet, in aid of the French, upon the Coasts of Italy. Our People besiege Calvi in Corsica to no purpose. The miserable Condition of Siena, after its Surrender; and an Assignment of it made by the Emperor to his Son Philip.

A. D.
1554.



WHILST the Armies in *Tuscany* continued fighting without Success; In *Corsica*, about the beginning of *June*, Captain *Chambre*, who with about fifty Soldiers held the Castle of *Corte* built upon a Rock inaccessible almost on every side, slipping down through the Back-gate by a Rope, at the coming up of the Enemy, betray'd the Place to them for an inconsiderable Sum of Money; for which Fact being apprehended at *Marseilles* with ten of his Servants, who laid the Blame upon him, he was afterwards hanged. *De Thermes* thinking it necessary to recover this Castle, as being situated in the Heart of the Island, where the only Passage lay to either Coast, came thither with an Army in the Month of *August*. The Siege being continued to the very End of *October*, and the Besieged happening to make a Sally; *San-Petro Ornano Corso*, with only an hundred Soldiers and a Band of Islanders of his Party, not only gave them a warm reception; but having killed many, and put three hundred of of them to flight, took above an hundred Prisoners; tho' indeed with the less Satisfaction, as he received a Wound in the Thigh, which endanger'd his Life. At length, when through the want of Water, which usually fails those Places in Summer-time, the Besieged were upon the point of capitulating; the Garrisons of *La Bastia* and *Calvi* began to think of relieving them, and having mustered fourteen Ensigns of Foot marched towards *Corte*. *De Thermes* being well apprized of their Design,

Design, immediately picks out a thousand Foot out of the whole Army, *A. D.* and gave the Command of them to *James Mario Santa-fiore*; and 1554. *Ornano* (who notwithstanding the weakness remaining upon him from the Wound was resolved to bear a part in the Expedition) raised a like Number out of the Islanders, who had entered their Names out of hatred to the *Genoese*: *De Thermes* setting out with these and some Troopers, and receiving Intelligence, that the Enemy were retiring for fear of his Approach; when he was within two Miles distance of them, sends forward *Simon Grand* and *Motet* with two Companies and some Horsemen, to fall upon their Rear: *Santa-fiore* with the rest of the Forces, having by a different Rout fetch'd a compass round an intermediate Mountain, which extended itself for three miles, came up with them in flank, near the Foot of a very high Hill (where the Village of *Casa-nuova* stands); as they were mounting it, by a path so very narrow, that they were obliged to march singly. There our Men, after a continued journey for two days, falling upon the Enemy worn out with Hunger and Fatigue, kill'd about sixty, and obliged the rest to surrender; but with the loss on our Side of *James* himself the Head of the Party. The Terms of Agreement were, That, receiving every Man a Ducat, they should depart out of the Island. However, before their embarkation, they were made to pass along in sight of the Besieged; that These, seeing themselves destitute of all Hopes of Succour, might the earlier be induced to capitulate; which indeed they did soon after, upon the condition of having their Lives and Effects saved. *Corte* being retaken, our Troops were sent into Winter Quarters.

In *Piedmont*, *Ferdinand Gonzaga* was busily employed in the Fortification of *Valsenera*, the Government of which he had confer'd upon *Alvaro de Sandi*, a *Spanish* Officer of great Note. In the mean time the *Biraghes* made a vain attempt upon the Town of *Vulpian*, which was maintain'd by that vigilant Commander *Cesar Maggi*. *Gonzaga* had been for some time accused to the Emperor; that, despising the Magistrates and the Emperor's other Agents in *Italy*, he administer'd all things by the hands of his own Dependants, a most rapacious kind of Men; in consequence of which, the Soldiery for want of their Pay observed no Discipline, and aggrieved the Country by their Insolence; whilst the Power of the *French* increased every day; and there remained no possibility, as long as *Gonzaga* held the Government of the *Milanese*, (since the Treasury was exhausted) of making head against them. To these were added other Arguments, very proper to move the Emperor, who was of himself inclined to suspiciousness: Namely, That he aimed at higher matters than consisted with his Duty: That consequently the supreme military Command in *Italy* could not safely be lodged in the hands of a Man, who was an *Italian*, and allied either by League or Relation to all the Princes and States of *Italy*; and who perhaps upon the Death of *Charles* would think of usurping the Sovereignty of *Milan*: That with this view he cultivated the strictest Friendship with the Senate of *Venice* and the Duke of *Ferrara*: With the same view, against the general Opinion, he had fortified the City of *Milan*; that some time

A. D. or other he might protect himself against the Garrison of the Castle, 1554. which he could not at present get into his hands: For this end, at a very unseasonable Juncture, when *Italy* was in Peace; that he might have the sole Direction of military Affairs, he incited the Emperor to the *Parmesan* War; and labour'd the point with his Brother *Hercules* Cardinal of *Mantua*, and his Kinsman of *Ferrara*, that Cardinal *Salviati*, whom every one knew to have been always disaffected to the Emperor's Interest, should be created Pope; that by laying the Man under Obligations he might have him afterwards more ready to execute his Projects: That his Creatures were continually heard to talk up and down in the City, that He was nearly related by Blood to the late Duke *Francis Sforza* II: And it look'd somewhat suspicious, that such an active experienced Man shou'd suffer every thing to run to Ruin: The Drift of which Conduct would deserve the serious Consideration of the Emperor; who must know, that greater Commotions have taken their rise in *Italy* from much smaller Beginnings. Upon this account in the preceeding year, *John de Luma* Governour of the Castle of *Milan*, whether from his own, or the natural Hatred of the *Spaniards* in general, to *Gonzaga*; going to Court, had taken pains with the Bishop of *Arras*; and by producing the Testimonies of the Senate of *Milan*, had persuaded him, notwithstanding his former constant Agreement with *Gonzaga*, that the Representations were true. These Things were not carried on without coming to *Gonzaga's* Ears; and accordingly he had often complained to the Emperor of those Calumnies: And perceiving Him to incline to the Side of his Adversaries, he had frequently sent pressing letters to the Emperor's Son *Philip*, whose favour he thought himself to have merited, that he would undertake the defence of his just Cause with the Emperor: To which Instances the Prince used to answer with extraordinary Humanity; and, in order to induce *Gonzaga* to excuse his Father, who was oppressed with the Weight of Business, and grown a little peevish in his old Age, he mentioned the Case of himself, who had been sent away into *Spain*, and confined there for a long time at a distance from the Management of Affairs. *Roderick Gomez de Sylva*, the first Lord of *Philip's* Bed-Chamber, writ also the same things at different times; exhorting him to bear his Fortune with Patience, and in the mean while to depend upon *Philip's* Kindness. These Matters were thus agitated during the former three years. At length the Emperor, who had long dissembled; growing rather more provoked with the prosperous Successes of the *French* in that part of *Italy*, than more moved by those repeated Complaints and Informations; resolved to recall him absolutely from *Milan*: Which that he might do with a better Grace, he writes to *Gonzaga*, that he had a Business of vast Consequence, which he desired to impart to him in Person, and therefore commanded him, to repair to Court immediately; leaving the Civil Administration to the Senate and the Great Chancellor *Francis Taverna*, and the Military Charge to the Marquess of *Marignan*: But if the latter, by reason of his Employment in the War of *Siena*, could not come; he should in that

that case commit the same to *Gomez Suares de Figueroa*, who had been A. D. for a long time the Imperial Embassador at *Genoa*. Soon after he sent 1554. also other Letters, in which, to cut off all Excuses, he ordered, that if his ill state of Health would not permit him to travel on horse-back, he should come to him in a Chaise. *Gonzaga* therefore, seeing no farther room left for Delay, when he had, as he thought, put *Valsenera* into a good Condition of Defence, set forwards about the End of *March*; being more fortunate, after he had laid down his Commission, than he was during the Discharge of it; because his Successor in the Province came very far short of him; so that, by the Comparison, his former great Reputation, which in his last Years had been somewhat eclipsed, recovered its Lustre: For *Figueroa* being more distinguished by Birth than Merit, and having been trained up in Ease and the Arts of Peace, amongst Entertainments, Balls, and Theatrical Shews, it was no wonder that he should be deficient in Military Skill; in which, being now old, and his Body enervated with Pleasures, he made no great Advances; but, instead thereof, by his Remissness caused his Predecessor, however odious, to be very much missed, not only by the Natives, but even by the Soldiers. *Gonzaga* being recalled, *Bernard de Bolea*, and *Francis Paceco* (afterwards created a Cardinal) were presently dispatched to *Milan*, to make enquiry into his Male-administration of the Province; the Result of which Process was, that, after a diligent Scrutiny, and a Report made to the Emperor, he was rather handsomely discharged, than altogether absolved and declared innocent.

In the mean time *Brissac*, who look'd upon *Valsenera* as a great Nuisance, was taking all possible Pains, to interrupt the Workmen, and to reduce the Place at last, through want of Provisions, to a Submission. When therefore he had continued the Siege of it for some time; *Figueroa*, having sent for *Maggi* to take charge of the Infantry, and dispatched forward *John Guevara*, who commanded the Horse, went to the Place. Our Men had laid an Ambuscade in the Road, into which, the narrow Passes being guarded by our Troops, the Enemy must necessarily have fallen: But *Maggi*, a Person diligent and well-acquainted with the Country, used such Expedition, that he prevented *De la Motte Gondrin*, who had been sent by *Brissac* to possess those Defiles: And not long after *A. da Costa* Count *della Trinità* seizes *Somma-riva* three Miles distant from *Valsenera*; for the Recovery of which, because the Besieged received much Damage from thence, and besides it was not very strong, *Brissac* immediately led out a Party: In whose absence *Sandi* sallies out, and takes a neighbouring Fort, which was held by Our Troops, killing an hundred and carrying off the rest with him; and soon after the Count *della Trinità* marching from *Chierasco*, introduced by night a good number of Beasts laden with Bread-Corn into *Valsenera*; so that the Garrison was provided with a sufficient Quantity of Provision to enable them to hold out the Town for many days. Afterwards *Figueroa* having received six thousand *Germans*, partly sent from *Genoa* after the Departure of the *Turkish* Fleet and the Battle of *Marciano*, and partly arrived lately

A. D. from *Trent*, together with a Body of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, who had 1554. served in *Tuscany*, draws together at *Asti* a very powerful Army; to which *Brissac* being unequal, at length broke up the Siege. *Figueroa* in the mean time, preparing a great number of Waggon's at *Villa-franca*, took care to supply *Valsenera* with an abundance of Provisions and all other Necessaries. Whilst the Army lay in the Field, some Skirmishes often happen'd, Our Troops making frequent Excursions from *San-Damiano*, *Poerino*, and the Places round about: But, the Enemy's Army being retired, *Brissac* drawing his Own together retook *San-Salvatore* and many other neighbouring Castles. *Figueroa* was then with *Maggi* at *Valenza*, a Town conveniently situated near the *Po*, but provided with very feeble Walls, and had the *Germans* with him; of whom he had placed part in the City, and distributed part without near the River. *Maggi*, who knew that *Brissac* was upon his march with the necessary Stores for a Siege, pressed very much, that the Town should be fortified, and that *Emanuel de Luna* should be summoned from *Savirana* with his *Spaniards*. The latter only of these Requests had with much difficulty been obtained of the careless old Man, when *Brissac* of a sudden appeared; and then immediately *Figueroa* consults with *Alvaro de Sandi* and *Emanuel de Luna* upon the Measures at that instant to be pursued; and, that he might not be shamefully taken together with the Town, resolves to lead out his Forces. *Maggi*, who foresaw, that after a Skirmish, their Troops would be driven back by Ours within the Town; fearing, that if they came crowding in (as usually happens), and the Enemy should follow at their Heels, they themselves would be in danger as well as the Town; gives it in charge to *Padovano da Leccio* a stout Soldier, that if necessity required it, he should take care, that the Bastion facing *Bassignanno* should be opened in two Places, that so the Soldiers might retire without Confusion into those Apertures. He himself, seeing the Imperialists to be inferiour to the Royal Army, with some Foot pick'd out of the whole Body of *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*, falls upon Our Men; and in the mean time sends Advice to *Figueroa*, who was maintaining the Fight under great Disadvantages, to retire: And He accordingly, entering by that double Inlet, returned without Hazard into the Castle; whilst *Maggi* with *John-Francis Sanseverino* drew off his Men by degrees. When *Brissac* after this bloody Dispute had retired a little, and yet had not entirely departed; the Bridge laid over the *Bormia* was in pursuance of *Maggi's* Command broken by *Sanseverino*; and, by a Line drawn opposite to the Castle, which had been committed to the Care of *Emanuel de Luna*, Our Troops were cut off from all hopes of Success: *Brissac* therefore turning aside, attacks some Castles of less importance, and amongst them takes the strong Forts of *Spino* and *Ponzone*. In the mean while Count *Francis da Landriano* was dispatched by *Figueroa*, with about six hundred *German* Horse into the Vale of *Lumellina* and the Territory of *Pavia*, to check the excursions of Our Forces, if they should take that way. But whereas the Imperialists, since the *French* were Masters of almost the whole District of *Le Langhe*, feared the revolt

revolt of *Acqui*, a Town in the Marquisate of *Montferrat*, which they A. D. had no great dependance in, and whose Inhabitants appeared inclinable 1554. to Our Party; *Maggi* went thither with the *German* and *Italian* Regiments of *Alberick Lodron* and *Sanseverino*. Upon the Refusal of the Townsmen at first to admit *Maggi*, because he came in a sort of Passion, he immediately ordered some Pieces of Cannon to be brought down; but by the Interposition of *Lodron* the Affair was compromised, and *Maggi* received into the City: Whereupon crossing the *Bormia*, he retook *Melazeno* without Blood-shed; and advancing towards *Ponzone*, when the Fort of *Cartosa*, garrisoned by our Troops, stood in his way; which if he did not take, he was likely to encounter great and insuperable Difficulties in the Siege of *Ponzone*; he first attacks That, and upon the Garrisons refusing to surrender, plants his Artillery: And This he did rather at too great a distance; because, if he had placed the Cannon in the Valley beneath, where it seemed possible to do it with more convenience; it was to be apprehended, that Our Troops coming to the Relief of the Place, might by the Advantage of the higher Ground give considerable Trouble to the Assailants. Thus, an Opening being at length made in the Wall, *Cartosa* surrendered, and many other weak Places were retaken with the same Pains. There remained the Town of *Ponzone*, which when he had invested, he perceived that he had undertaken a more difficult Task than he expected; especially since the Season declined towards Winter, and the Snows lay very deep in those places, which are generally mountainous. Therefore having deliberated the Matter with *Lodron* and *Sanseverino*, he returns to *Figueroa* at *Casal*. *Maggi* had often advertised *Figueroa* to be careful in time of *Casal*; for that he had observed a very loose and thin Watch to be kept there by Night; whereas there wanted a stronger Guard, in the neighbourhood of the Garrisons of *Verrue* and *Monte Cestino*, which were held by those vigilant Captains the *Biragues*. But on the contrary, *Figueroa* pretended the Orders of the Emperor, that no heavy burden should be laid upon a City, which had been committed to his particular Care. *Maggi* cautioned also the Count *da Valenza*, the Commander of the Garrison; who own'd the Danger, but excused himself by the small number of his Soldiers, a Cohort of *Italians* having been lately even taken from him. His Advice making no impression, with *Figueroa*'s leave he returned to his own peculiar Charge in company with *John de Guevara*; taking a view in his Journey of *Ivree*, commanded by *Morales*; whom, foreseeing as it were the danger, he admonished to be upon his guard. This City stands in the Streights of the *Alpes*, called *Le Petit S. Bernard* and *La Colonne Fou* on the one side, and those called *Le Grand S. Bernard* and *Le Mont-Fou* on the other; a little below the Town of *Aosta*, from which all that Tract goes at this time by the name of the Valley of *Aosta*; and is situated near the *Doria*, amongst horrid and inaccessible mountains. *Morales* haughtily neglected *Maggi*'s counsels; saying, that he was so far from being under any apprehensions for *Ivree*, that he was even ready to march out against the Enemy: But after the Departure of *Maggi* and *Guevara* he repented of his Pride;

A. D. Pride; for not long after, about the beginning of *December*, *Brissac* 1554. comes that way with his Army, and disposes the Cannon on the opposite bank of the *Doria*, towards that side, which faces the river.

A Reinforcement was then sent to him, first under Captain *Andrew da Correggio*, and afterwards another by *Maggi* under the Count *di Carpegna* and Captain *Pagano*; the former of whom fell into the Enemy's hands, and the latter with the greatest part of the Troops penetrated into the City. When a great Breach had been made in the Wall, which on that side was exceeding weak; and *Morales* perceived the *Doria* to be fordable, which he had never believed possible, especially in the middle of Winter; forgetting his former boasting, he fell very much from his arrogance; and, before Our Men had made an Assault, abandoned the City on the 14th Day of *December*; and, five Days after he had retired into the Castle, accepted the Terms offered by *Brissac*, to the great Dishonour of himself and the *Spanish* Nation. This proved of considerable Advantage to our Affairs, as a short and convenient passage was thereby made for the *Swiss* Auxiliaries on that Side, and a door open'd for ravaging without controul in the *Milanese* and the Territory of *Pavia*. Upon the taking of *Ivree*; *La Biella*, a Town not far from the River *Sarno*, presently submitted; and all the Inhabitants of that part of the Country took an Oath of Obedience to the King: To whom, in order to gain their affections, the usual Tribute, which they paid to the Imperialists, was also abated; so that instead of twenty thousand Ducats, they should annually pay only ten thousand to the King. The strong Castle of *Maximo* was likewise surrendered, after it had been violently battered with Cannon for two days. As Our Men were hence encouraged to make greater attempts; when the Truce had been broken by the Soldiers of *Vulpian*; and the Count *della Trinità*, who endeavoured to carry Provisions into the Place, had

A. D. been repulsed with Loss; *Brissac*, about the beginning of the next Year, 1555. seizes *San-Giacomo*, a Town standing in a proper place to hinder the excursions of the Garrisons of *Vulpian*, *Vercelli*, and *Crescentino*. In the fortification thereof, it was resolved, that (the form of the Place being four-square) Bastions should be raised at each of the Angles; and the care of erecting them was committed to the like number of Officers; who, hastening the Works, and setting their own hands to it, advanced them to such an height, as was sufficient to defend the Place against any attacks whatsoever; as appeared soon after by a signal experiment. Two of these Bastions enclosed the middle gate, which looks towards *Ivree*: Two other, in like manner, encompassed the other gate on the opposite side, which faces *San-Germano*: And because the void Space reached more in length than in breadth, a Ditch was drawn within, and on each side of the Ditch inner Bastions were erected, and Batteries thrown up, which, regarding the outward Bastions at a commodious and every way equal distance, prevented their being easily assaulted. The bounds of the *French* Power being hereby extended, *Crepacuore* likewise; a strong Castle in the District of *Pavia*, fell into the King's hands: And not long after *Casal S. Vaso* on the

the *Po* (for so that City, the present Metropolis of the Principality of *A. D. Montferrat*, is called) a Place eminent for Wealth, and full of Gentry; 1555. the chief of which are the Families of the Counts *di San-Martino* and *di Biandrata*; was surprized by Our Troops, through the fortunate and equally adventurous Stratagem of *James Salvaisson*. This Person, descended from a Noble House in *Le Perigord*, but in low Circumstances, had for a long time exercised the Art of Fencing in *Tholouse*, amongst the Students of the Civil Law in that famous University; and being obliged to fly from thence into *Italy* upon account of some unworthy action committed by him, betook himself to *Piedmont*, that flourishing Mart of Military Science; where he rose to such a degree of Valour and Experience, that he not only wiped off the scandal of his former Life, but even merited the highest Honours under Our Governours; and was especially employed by *Brissac*, for his diligence and extraordinary sagacity in the business of sending out and examining Spies. When therefore he had been appointed Governour of *Verrue*, a Place not far distant from *Casal*; having by the means of an Emissary of his, *Fontarolle* by name, who used often to go thither under pretence of selling herbs, and who (as this sort of Men are indifferent to Parties, and generally ready to betray both Sides) had insinuated himself into the Familiarity of the *Spaniards*; gained a perfect knowledge of the State and Fortifications of the City, the Order of the Watch, and the Temper of *Figueroa* and the other Officers; and having observed a Place, where the Walls might be easily scaled; he opens the matter to *Brissac*, and appoints the execution of the Design to be on the 10th of *March*, when the Wedding of one of the principal Men in the City was to be solemnized: For thus he judged; that, when even at other times all things were carelessly administered, they would certainly be much worse attended on That day, which would probably be spent in Wine and Jollity; so that the Business would be done with less hazard and without the least suspicion: And in order to remove all manner of Jealousy, pretending himself to be sick, he had taken care to send for some Physicians with *Figueroa's* permission from *Casal*; upon whose arrival in the evening at *Verrue*, he order'd them, as if he had been gone to bed, to be honourably conducted to their Inn, in expectation of being called for the next morning; and immediately, with a Party of about eight hundred chosen Men sent him by *Brissac* (who happen'd then to be busy in fortifying *San-Giacomo*) and which was to be followed by the Marshal himself with the rest of the Troops, he marched to *Casal*; where finding the Sentry buried in Wine and Sleep, about three o' clock in the morning he mounted the Walls by the help of Ladders without obstruction; and putting the first Guards to the sword, got clear into the City with his Men, before the Alarm was taken by the Garrison; who being heavy with the last Night's Surfeit could hardly raise themselves from their Beds. Thus the Streets and the Market-place being seized, he ordered the Trumpets, of which he had brought a good number, to be sounded; and by re-ecchoing the Name of *France*, as if the *French Army* had already

A. D. entered the City by the Gates, struck such a Terror, that with hardly 1555. so much as a Blow *Figueroa* and *Guevara* retired into the Castle. The Germans, quitting the City, had drawn themselves close together into a Tower, which still remained untaken. *Salvaïson*, having made himself master of the City, upon the arrival of *Brissac* pursues his advantage, and advanced to the Assault of the Tower: Where, as Our Soldiers rushed on in an heedless manner, and the *Germans* at first defended themselves stoutly, we lost near two hundred Men. At length the Tower being taken by Storm, and the Defendants together with the German General *John-Baptist Lodron* put to the sword, they invested the Citadel, which was almost destitute of Provisions: For during the time of the Governour, whom *Frederick* Duke of *Mantua* had placed there; the *Spaniards*, who held the City, suffered the Castle to be very sparingly supplied with Corn, and That generally no otherwise than from day to day. *Figueroa* therefore, who saw there could be no dependance placed in the *Germans*, which he had with him, and that there remained a stock of Provisions but for a few days, began to capitulate; and having articted for safety of Lives and Effects, engaged to depart out of the Castle, if he were not relieved within twenty four hours. *Gonzaga* says, it was owing to the treachery or rather security of *Diego de Arbrizzo*, *Figueroa*'s Secretary, that *Figueroa* knew nothing of Our Design; for that *Maggi* had sent a trusty Messenger with advice of it. This Person, I suppose, was *Peter Piantanida*, a Person particularly skilful in Fortifications, and who had repaired to *Maggi*, in order to communicate to him a secret Scheme for the taking of *Turin*, as *Luke Contile* writes in the *Life of Caesar Maggi*. *Casal* being taken, soon after *San-Salvatore* also, and *Valenza* fell under Our Power: Which Fortresses *Brissac*, that he might not be obliged to keep his Forces dispersed in so many different Places, commanded to be dismantled.

The Marquess of *Marignan* in the mean time, at the Siege of *Siena*, when Stratagem had failed; being pressed by *John Mamriquez* in the name of the Emperor and *Philip* King of *England*, and also bribed by *Cosmo* with large Promises; resolved to try the way of open force. Twenty eight Pieces of Cannon, besides those already in the Camp, were furnished for the purpose by *Cosmo*, and the care of them committed to *Gabriel Serbellon* and *Giulio Alfani*, Men of extraordinary skill: The Marquess himself, after he had surveyed the City on all sides with *Chiappino Vitelli*, thought fit to plant the Artillery, against That part, which lies under *San-Francesco*, towards the *Sheep-Gate*. Upon the first spreading of this Report, that the Enemies were preparing for an Assault with their whole Force, and that a great number of the largest Cannon had been conveyed with such a view from *Florence*, the City fell into a violent consternation; and a Council being called, the Citizens came ready to deliberate, whether it were not for the Publick Advantage, to send Deputies to treat with *Marignan*, rather than abide the Extremities of War; and it began to be visible, that the greater part of the Votes inclined to that Advice: When *Montluc*, apprized of the thing by *Hierom Spannocci* and *Bartholomew Cavalcanti*, taking counsel

counsel with *Cornelio Bentivoglio*, calls together all the *French, Italian, A. D.* and *German* Officers; and, whereas he had hitherto been obliged by his 1555. Distemper to keep himself within doors, with his Head commonly wrapt up in a Night-cap, and a Furr-gown upon his Back; he now put on a finer suit of clothes than ordinary, and gave himself the air of a spruce young Gentleman; hiding as much as possible the paleness of his Face, and putting some Colour into it by a moderate Draught of *Greek Wine*: In this manner he came abroad, and added new Life to the Citizens by his presence; and then addressing them in the publick Hall, where they were sitting, he dissuaded them by a grave and vehement Speech from a Counsel equally base and destructive; taking a fresh Oath from *Recrod* and the other Officers, that they would faithfully fight to their very last Breath for the King, and for the Commonwealth, which his Majesty had undertaken to protect. This passed before the Chief Officer of the People, the twelve Counsellors, and the eight Commissaries of War, who constitute the Magistracy; and was afterwards related by *Ambrosio Nuti* to the rest of the Nobility, and received with universal joy. The Minds of the Citizens being thus confirmed, it remained to make provision for the safety of the City. And first, for the better carrying on the Fortifications, the City was distributed into eight Precincts, and committed to the eight Commissaries, one to each of them; and These were by the like number of trusty Persons to take a List of all the Inhabitants as well Women as Men; who should be obliged to work by the day in the strengthening of the City; the Men from twelve to sixty years of age, and the Women to fifty; and the Business appointed them, was to bring together Spades, Mattocks, Baskets, and other Necessaries for digging and carrying of Earth. As to the Military Regulations in the City, *Montluc* had ordered, that all such as were able to bear Arms, being distributed into twenty five Batalions, should be placed under four Colonels of the City, who were to be subject to the eight Commissaries of War; and that, when occasion might require, *Montluc* should give orders to the respective Commissaries, and They to their Lieutenants: These therefore, upon any occasion of repairing a Breach or other service, gave notice of it to the Director of the Precinct or the City-Colonel; who summoned the Workmen and the Commander of the Batalion: Thus in the space of an hour, without distraction, the Pioneers and Labourers in great numbers, and the Troops, as many as were wanted, assembled together at *Montluc's* Command; and, to cut off all opportunities of plotting from within, the Signal was changed every six hours. *Montluc*, who saw little or no hopes of Relief, the King's Forces being distracted so many different ways, proposed to admit the Enemy within the Walls, and there to combat them with all their Force; because it could not be done without the City but under great Disadvantages. In pursuance of this design, he had ordered a Ditch to be dug of about eighty paces in length within the Wall; and to be defended with Cannon charged with Chains, Nails, and pieces of Iron; and also with the larger sized Musquets and the whole multitude of the City-Musqueteers: That

at

A. D. at the end of the Ditch there should be erected Redoubts; out of which, 1555. after that violent discharge of the Artillery, he himself with the Officers, carrying a Pike, Halbert, and other Weapons of that kind, meant to rush obliquely upon the Enemy on both sides, whilst they should be disordered by the canonading, and maintain a close fight with them. It was as yet uncertain, on which side the City might expect to be battered; which to know with some certainty, *Montluc* in the Evening sent out a number of Peasants, with some Captain in their company: ordering the Peasants to advance, and if they heard any noise of People talking to one another, to bring back word to the Captain: Who immediately creeping upon the Ground, went with the Country-Fellow to the Place; and, if he heard three or more Persons discoursing, gave notice of it to *Montluc*: The General from thence conjecturing, that the Engineers were taking a view of the Town, and consequently that the Batteries were designed against that part, called together the Commissaries; who by their Lieutenants ordered the Captains of the Pioneers to be summoned, in order to set themselves presently to the Work. From these tokens *Montluc* guessing at the Side, which was designed (as we have said) to be attacked; although he had all things abundantly in readiness, yet was sadly disturbed, because he saw it necessary to destroy the Farm-houses and Gardens of the Citizens, which covered all that Quarter. For at the *Sheep-Gate* there runs out a spacious Corner, which was empty, and requisite to be filled up; and this piece of work was undertaken by the Count *di Vico*: But Earth for that purpose could not be fetched from any other place, than from the neighbouring Gardens; through the midst of which a Ditch was to be dug, and Trenches to be thrown up on each side: However, he was delivered from this anxiety by the unanimous resolution of the Citizens; who, being more solicitous for their Liberty than Estates, as soon as they knew of the Enemy's Design, immediately met together by Order; and with wonderful Alacrity destroyed their Gardens and Farms, without the least Sigh or Complaint to be heard in so great a multitude: Nay they even brought such a number of Torches, as turned the night into day. *Marignan* could hardly plant twelve pieces of Cannon that night, because it required a great number of hands to drag them up the Hill. These began to play upon the Bottom of the wall, but with little Success; because That, being of Brick, received the Balls without the least Shock: Next the Guns were directed against the Middle of the wall; which they opened indeed, but did not demolish; and Then the Fortifications, erected within, appeared: Against which, the Marquess, tho' he saw a necessity of a larger number of Cannon, the Carriage of which would take up the whole Day; and that in the mean while the Citizens would have time to raise the Works still higher; yet he set his Troops as it were in order for an Attack. As he himself took Post behind the Artillery in a low Hut, shut up in a Chaise (for he happened at that time to have a fit of the Gout); *Montluc* with some difficulty at length observed, that the hindmost of the Cannon were to be seen from the old Citadel; from whence a
con-

contrary Battery might play upon them in flank. A piece of Ordnance *A. D.* was accordingly forthwith directed that way by a skilful *Sieneſe* Engineer, 1555. and diſcharged two or three times; by which a Company of *Germans*, which ſtood near, was put into diſorder, and ſome *Spaniards* alſo in a ſhort time killed: And a Ball falling by chance into the Hur, the Marqueſs, who was within, talking with one of King *Philip's* Lords of the Bed-chamber, who had been ſent to him, was well-nigh buried in the ruins of it; and ſeized with ſuch a fear, as, for that time, by a ſort of Revulſion, removed the Pains of the Gout. Thus the Enemy's Cannon receiving conſiderable damage, it fell under Debate in the Camp, whether the Battering ſhould be continued, or not; and at length it pleaſed the majority, that the way of force ſhould be dropped; and they ſhould expect, 'till the City, which proved invincible by Arms, might be overcome with Hunger. The Artillery accordingly was drawn off, and thoſe pieces, which had been brought from *Florence*, were, by the direction of *Manriquez* himſelf, who had been ſo preſſing for the aſſault, ſent back thither.

A prodigious ſcarcity began now to be felt in the City; and it was made capital for any one to convey Proviſions into it: The Penalty being rigorouſly executed by *Vitelli*; who immediately, without mercy, hanged up all that were caught in the attempt, upon the next Tree or Beam. When *Montluc* therefore ſaw himſelf more in danger from Famine than Arms; in order to lengthen out the Siege for ſome Months, he began to think of ſending away the *Germans*, who made frequent murmurings, out of the City: To do this with the better grace, and without the danger of a mutiny, he thought it beſt, that *Strozzi* ſhould ſend for them as it were without His privity; and diſpatching his Confident *Flaminio*, he opens his project to *Strozzi*: Who approving it, by a Letter directed to *Recrod*, beſeeches him to repair to him with the *Germans* as ſoon as poſſible; for that he had reſolved to muſter an Army, and fall upon the Enemy's Camp, which he could not attempt to do without the *Germans*; and at the bottom of the Letter declares, that the univerſal Ruin of the *French* Intereſt in *Tuſcany* would be chargeable upon him and his Friends, if they did not comply. The Letter being brought without the knowledge of the Senate, and read before *Montluc*, he pretended to wonder and even to be diſturbed at it: Afterwards, ſeeing the *Germans* beginning to ſtagger, and inclined, by the fear of a dearth (which leſſened all other apprehenſions), to ſubmit to the orders; he then began himſelf to propoſe the method of their departure; which happened to be executed with the better Succeſs, becauſe, *Strozzi's* Letters being intercepted, the Enemies had got an hint of *Montluc's* deſign, but did not know the Day; for which reaſon the Stations were ſtrengthened and the Watch doubled. In order to elude this Precaution, *Montluc*, on the day appointed, gave ſecret orders for the Gates to be ſhut, and at midnight ſends out two Cohorts of choſen *Frenchmen*, and one of *Italians*; the firſt of which was led by *De Charry*, the ſecond by *De Blacons*, and the third by the Count *Di Cajazzo*; who were to fall upon the Stations, whiſt the *Germans* in the mean time ſhould

A. D. pass the Ditch. They performed their parts very bravely; and as for 1555. *Charry*, he broke through two Parties of *Spaniards*, which stood in his way, commanded by *Hierom Torres*; against a third indeed we met with more trouble, forty of our best Soldiers being killed upon the occasion: However, during the heat of the Skirmish, the *Germans* slip'd away; tho' they were hotly pursued as far as *Arbia* by *Francis Arosio*, and by *Ferdinand de Sylva* Brother of *Roderick Gomez*, who commanded the *Spanish* Infantry in the absence of *L' Adelantado*: But after they had performed a tedious journey in the darkness of the night, and growing weary were marching in a careless manner without observing their Ranks, they fell in, near *Lacignanello*, with *Chiappino Vitelli* and the neighbouring Garrisons, and were almost entirely cut to pieces; there being left no more than two hundred, who, having saved the Colours, carried them back at last to *Mont-alcino*. The Citizens were extreamly disturbed at first with their departure; but being soon satisfied by *Montluc*, that it tended very much to their advantage, and could not have been safely done with their privacy, they remitted nothing upon that account of their former Fidelity and Vigour: But when the Dearth increased every day, and there was occasion for greater severity, than could be expected from Citizens towards one another, in order to the publick security, they created *Montluc* himself Dictator; abrogating the authority of the other Magistrates, and transferring it wholly upon Him for one Month. He immediately, adjusting the Turns of serving upon Guard between the Townsmen and the Soldiers, in such a manner, that the Oppidans should rest two Nights, and the Soldiers one; made a Decree, that the allowance of the Citizens should be restrained to ten ounces of Bread by the day, and that of the Foreign Soldiers to fourteen, and that a list should be taken of the useles Hands: Which being drawn up, near four thousand four hundred Men and Women were driven out of the City, and exposed to the insults and cruelty of the Enemy; A miserable spectacle truly, and bordering upon inhumanity, if it were not made excusable by the present exigency of Affairs, and the liberty of the State, to which all other things ought to yield! Thus the Siege was prolonged for near three Months; during which time *Marignan* himself laboured under prodigious difficulties; Provisions, which were fetched from afar, generally failing, and the Cavalry for want of Provender always obliged to lie at a distance from the Camp: As an addition to the rest, almost all the Officers, except *Vitelli* alone, hating the Rapaciousness, Pride, and affrontive Moroseness of the Marquess, had their Quarters as far removed from him as possible; and he himself, being disabled by the Gout, had retired for change of Air from *Montecchio* to *Belcaro*. Thereupon all things went on very slowly: Notwithstanding which, he was not altogether unactive; but, in order to raise a Sedition in the mean time within the City, made use of this Device. He suborns one *Peter*, who, by Letters dispersed amongst the Houses of the chief Gentry, exhorted them to look to themselves; that the expectation of *French* Auxiliaries had hitherto been vain; and that they ought not to wait, 'till they were driven to the utmost

utmost necessity by their obstinacy; for that they must not hope for *A. D.* the same Terms from the Conqueror, which were then offered; that 1555. accordingly they should provide for their safety betimes, and join Counsels with those, who had grown wiser by experience, and whose Houses they would see marked with the sign of a white Cross. These Letters were no sooner thrown into the houses of the Citizens, than they were carried to the Magistrates, who presently ordered the Houses so marked to be searched. This being done twice or thrice in different places, and the People beginning to murmur, and to demand the immediate execution of the Suspected Persons; *Montluc* obtained, that three of the Order of Nobles, whose houses he had found to be distinguished, should be imprisoned; conjecturing the matter as it was, that *Marignan* had designed by this artifice to create a Quarrel between the Nobility and the Populace; the consequence of which would be, that the Nobles, being inferiour in number to the Others, when they should see themselves unjustly oppressed by the Commonalty, would seize upon part of the City for their defence; and, to save their Lives, would be driven even to join in measures with the Enemy: For he could not be induced to believe, that the Principal Men, who had always given such Proofs of Fidelity, could have entered into such a secret correspondence. He therefore earnestly advised the Magistrates and the People to abstain from violence, and not to stain their hitherto innocent Hands with the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens; but that they would leave the thing to Time, which would soon let them into the truth of the case: He then ordered solemn Prayers to be put up, that the minds of the enraged multitude might be calmed by Devotion. In the mean time, *Montluc* having commanded a strict search to be made after all Persons, who were straggling about in the night; a suspicion fell upon *Peter*, *Marignan's* Emiffary; who, being apprehended and put to the torture, confessed to *Montluc* the whole Truth. Thus those eminent Citizens were delivered both from Calumny, and the danger of Death: And afterwards by *Montluc's* advice and intreaty they were prevailed upon, tho' somewhat unwillingly, to return thanks to the Magistrates, that they had not rashly given credit to that invidious Accusation, nor gratified the Fury of the People: Then with abundance of Tears shed on both sides, the Citizens were reconciled to one another, and the general consternation ceased. It still remained, that the Emiffary should be put to death; but *Montluc*, notwithstanding the heinousness of the Offence, obtained his pardon of the Magistrates. When the Corn grew scantier every day, the Allowances were again shortened by *Montluc's* Command; and only twelve ounces of Bread were distributed by the day to the Officers and Foreign Soldiers, and nine to the Citizens and the Troops of the City. *Montluc* himself, with *Bentivoglio* and *Cajazzo*, eat Meat only once in a day: And this Regulation continued from the latter end of February to the very conclusion of the Siege. And now all the Flesh-meat, even of Horses and Mules, was consumed; the number of the Soldiers and Townsmen decreased continually, and many were seen to drop down suddenly in the Streets out of meer weakness: This Accident was attri-

A. D. attributed, by the Physicians enquiring into the Cause, to the eating of
 1555. Mallows; which they declared to be extreamly laxative, and to hinder
 digestion; and which occasioned those, who fed upon them, to grow
 insensibly faint, and at length to die away without Pain. In the mean time
 Messengers were often sent by the Senate to *Rome*; to see, whether there
 were any hopes of the promised Succours; first *Americo Amerighi*, then
 the Bishop of *Pienza*, and *Charles Massaimi*; at length also *P. Anthony
 Pecci*: Which last, having sounded the Cardinals and the rest of the King's
 Ministers at *Rome*, exhorted the Senate by Letters, to provide for their
 Security; for that there remained no hopes but in themselves, and in
 the Conditions proposed by the Emperor and *Cosmo*; who were not
 irritated so far, but that they might be pacified, provided the City
 took care of itself in good time; that many things were accounted
 pardonable in the just Defence of Liberty, which for other Causes
 would never have been forgiven. Lastly, they dispatched *Ambrose
 Nuti*, a Person entirely devoted to Our Interest, to discover, what
 hopes were remaining; and, if a Capitulation should appear necessary,
 to take care, that the Liberty of the Republick and the Citizens might
 be secured; for that the *Sieneſe* had merited so much at the King's
 hands by their Fidelity. A Difference arose about that time at *Rome*
 between the Cardinal of *Ferrara* and *Strozzi*; because the latter, who
 out of hatred to *Cosmo* desired to have no Peace in *Tuscany*, declared
 against all sorts of Conditions; and the former on the contrary, who
 was afraid, lest the City of *Siena* should fall into the hands of the
 Emperor or *Cosmo*, declared for accepting any Terms whatsoever; and
 laboured with all his might, that, saving the Liberty of the Citizens
 and the King's Authority, the matter might be agreed upon: To
 which purpose he pressed the Pope to interpose as Mediator; but
 the Latter, having lost the Prospect which he once entertained of
 gaining the Sovereignty of the Place, and given himself a loose to
 pleasures, carried himself with Indifference in that affair. The next
 thought was, that the City should be committed to the keeping of some
Italian Prince, the Duke of *Ferrara* for example, or any other, upon
 whom it might be agreed. But when these Terms came to be pro-
 posed, *Cosmo*, who desired to remove the invidiousness of the War
 from himself, refer'd the whole matter to the Emperor; whom he
 knew to be resolutely bent upon the Reduction of *Siena*, as a City,
 which he pretended to be a Fief of the Empire: For that it was found
 written in the Imperial Records, that the *Sieneſe* formerly paid obedience
 to the Emperor *Charles IV.* and regulated That Form of the Common-
 wealth, which they had hitherto used, under His Influence: That
 accordingly, when they revolted from the Emperor, by turning out
 the *Spanish* Garrison and demolishing the Citadel, they seemed to have
 incurred the Crime of Rebellion; upon which account, immediately
 after the Defection, they had been outlawed by the Sentence of the Im-
 perial Chamber: And that, the Right to the City being as it were
 devolved to the Emperor, he had consigned it by a secret Instru-
 ment to his Son *Philip* King of *England*: They therefore, who had a
 mind

mind to meddle in this Affair, must treat with the Emperor. This *A. D.* was said by *Cosmo* on purpose to spin out the time; hoping, that if 1555. the City should make an unconditional submission to the Emperor, he might either by advancing a considerable sum of Money obtain it in mortgage; or, if the Emperor were desirous of parting with it, it might be thought proper to make it over rather to Him than to Another. With this view, by deputing *Hierom Vecchiano* (who had formerly been present at the Assembly of *Chioggia*, and had a principal hand in the Revolt of the *Sieneſe*, as we have related; and who afterwards, upon some Disgust against Us arising from a personal Injury, had deserted to *Cosmo*), he had sounded the minds of the Emperor and his Son *Philip*.

Whilst the Cardinal of *Ferrara* labours in vain, and *Strozzi* too finds himself unable to perform his promise of Succours; the Dearth increasing continually in the City; nevertheless the Success at *Casal*, which happened at this time, put new spirits into the Besieged; who from thence conceived hopes, that *Brissac* being delivered from every other Care, would come speedily to their relief with his victorious Army. But when this Expectation too failed them, there fell out something else, upon which these brave Men, who were ready to do or endure any thing for their Liberty, built fresh assurances of Aids.

For about this time died *Julius*, worn out rather by intemperance of living than by old age; who, after the death of *John-Baptist*, his Brother *Baldwin's* Son, being less sollicitated by *Fabian*, *Baptist's* younger Brother, had devoted himself wholly to Pleasures; having for the purposes of Luxury erected that noble place of Retirement, so wonderful for its Structure and pieces of antient Workmanship; wherein, being at leisure from Business, with some Friends of his own stamp, he joined Nights to Days, amidst Sports, Dice, Comedies, and other concomitant Diversions unworthy of his high Station in the Church; and at length died there on the 23d day of *March*; leaving the Inheritance of his Name to that *Innocent di Monte*, who merited a most vile Reputation by his Wickedness and Obscenity, and a long time after proved a Disgrace to the sacred College. How far *Julius* was averse from Business, is sufficiently evident, from the account given of his Death by *Onofrio Panvini*; namely, that his Brother *Baldwin*, longing for the possession of *Camerino*, had at last, after frequent Importunities in behalf of himself and his Son *Fabian* (whom we have mentioned as contracted to *Cosmo's* Daughter), brought the sluggish old Man to promise, that he would lay it before the Consistory by the first opportunity: But that the Pope, when he saw the Cardinals universally determined against the Proposal, put the matter off from time to time; and, that he might not be teased by his Brother to call a Consistory, pretended Sicknes: That, to give the greater credit to his pretence, he abstained from his usual Food, or took it in smaller quantities than before; and, thus, by changing his way of living, in support of a ridiculous Imposture, he contracted a Distemper in good earnest, which falling upon him in the 68th Year of his age, dispatched him in a very short time.

A. D. 1555. The *Sieneſe* hoping, that in this Man's place a new Pope might be elected, who would be more vigorous in the defence of their juſt Cauſe, took freſh courage. But the Affair meeting with extraordinary delay, and being therefore deferred longer than they had expected; and their own Affairs being reduced to that paſs, that a total want of Bread enſued in the City; they began to think ſeriouſly of capitulating; for which purpoſe they had the good leave of *Montluc*; who, for his own part however, would not treat of ſurrendering in the King's Name. The Beſieged in the mean time were no leſs encouraged by *Strozzi*; who, having raiſed Recruits every where, gave out, that he had ſix thouſand Foot in the Field; by the help of which he did not in the leaſt doubt, but that he ſhould ſoon both raiſe the Siege, and alſo ſupport the Cardinals of the *French* Intereſt in the choice of a Pope. It happened too at the ſame time, that a ſupply of Proviſion, ſent as far as from *Normandy*, enter'd the Haven of *Porto Ercole*; and that fifteen hundred Foot, which had embarked at *Marseilles* on board of twenty eight Gallies, had juſt landed happily in *Corſica*; with This additional good luck, that *Pienza* one of the moſt conſiderable Towns in *Val di Chiana*, under the Government of *Leonida Malateſta*, had lately at the inſtigation of *Enea Piccolomini* rebelled and made *John-Baptiſt di Arezzo* with ſixty of the Garrifon Priſoners; from whence frequent Skirmiſhes followed between the neighbouring Garrifons on the Sea Coaſt. *Sigifmond Count di Roſſi*, the Governour of *Buonconvento*, having after ſending for *Bacciotto Monaldi* attacked Our Troops with an hundred Light-Horſe at *San-Chirico* near *Mont-alcino*, retired for fear of an Ambuſcade, with the loſs of *Monaldi* and *John-Baptiſt Scazzini*: Theſe Gentlemen, ſcorning to fly, were after a ſharp Encounter carried Priſoners with many others to *Mont-alcino*; where, becauſe the Marqueſs of *Marignan* animadverted with too much ſeverity upon the *Florentine* Rebels (ſo he called the Out-lawed Perſons), and would not be induced by any Terms to ſpare the Life of *Carletto*, *Strozzi's* faithful Servant and Emiſſary; they were afterwards hanged by the expreſs Command of *Strozzi*, who thus reſented the ſlight put upon his Interceſſion. In the miſt of theſe Actions, the Heart of the Beſieged was broken by the loſs of *Scarlino*; which being committed to *Camillo Sceſi* with eighty Soldiers, happened to be ſurprized by *Luke-Anthony Cuppano* the Governour of *Piombino*. Tho' *Strozzi* continued, notwithstanding all theſe Miſchances, to give hopes of Succours; by ſending his Confident *Hermes Pallavicini*, to hinder the Conſultations of the *Sieneſe* concerning a Surrender, and to put them in mind of their antient Honour and Liberty; nevertheless the Citizens at length decreed a Deputation to be ſent to *Cosmo*, conſiſting of *Hierom Gino Bandimelli*, *Alexander Guglielmi*, *Scipio Ghigi*, and *Hierom Malavolti*. But before they ſet forwards, Meſſengers were ſent to *Strozzi* at *Mont-alcino*, to acquaint him with the whole Affair. By His Direction the Senate diſpatched *Nicodemus Forteguerra* at the ſame time to *Briffac*, and *Strozzi* ſent alſo *P. Mari Amerighi* in his Own name; to preſs for Auxiliaries, and to carry back word to the Citizens, what they

they might depend upon, before any thing was transacted with *Cosmo*. A. D. The Citizens of *Lucca* too, by *Strozzi's* Instigation, interposed; and 1555. by promising a large Supply of Provisions, for the use of the Auxiliaries which should arrive, encouraged the *Sieneſe*, who were fluctuating between the Fear of imminent Destruction, and the Fondneſs of retaining their Liberty (from which the moſt manifeſt Dangers could not deter them), to make another ſtand for ſome time. In this interval it happened alſo, that *Valiano* fell into the hands of *Adrian Baglioni* Governour of *Chiufi*; who, having ordered *Beto da Perugia* with twelve hundred Men to paſs the *Chiana* ſecretly at the Bridge della *Quercia*, eaſily made himſelf maſter of the Caſtle, which was unprovided of a Garriſon: But he had not the like fortune to gain the Bridge and the Forts erected round about by *Cosmo*; into which, upon the taking of *Valiano*, *Malateſta* immediately poured a freſh Reinforcement from *Cortona*, *Montepulciano*, and *Arezzo*. But when *Strozzi* had ſuddenly flown thither with a Body of Troops, and judged the Caſtle not to be ſafely tenable, the Enemy lying ſo near, he abandoned the Place; and ordering the two Enſigns of *French* and the eighteen of *Italians*, which he had brought with him, to march back to *Pienza*, put them under the command of *Aurelio Fregoſe*: Againſt this General, *Cosmo* had oppoſed Count *Rados* of *Dalmatia* with an hundred *Epirot* Horſe, in the neighbourhood of *Montepulciano*; and frequent Skirmiſhes enſuing almoſt every day between theſe Parties, *De Serillac* a Captain of a Troop of *French* Horſe was killed upon that occaſion.

In the mean time, the ſtock of Corn continually failing in the City, after many warm Debates, a draught of Articles was made: That the Emperor ſhould receive the City and Republick of *Siena* into his protection and the protection of the Empire, with a ſaving to its Liberty and the antient Authority of the Magiſtrates: That the paſt conduct of the Citizens ſhould be forgotten, and they ſhould be reſtored to their Eſtates and Honour: That however ſuch as pleaſed, ſhould be allowed, either ſingly, or with their whole Family, to depart from thence to any other place at their diſcretion: That the Maintenance and Conſervation of the City ſhould be yielded to the Emperor, who might place therein what Garriſon, and of what national Troops he thought fit, to be maintained at his own expence; yet ſo, that he ſhould not, without the conſent of the Citizens, either build a new Citadel, or repair the demolished one: That the Forts raiſed about the City during the Siege, or before it, ſhould immediately after the ſurrender of the City, and the admittance of the Garriſon, be raiſed to the ground: That the Emperor ſhould be impowered to order the Conſtitution of the State at his own pleaſure, according to the hitherto received Regulation of the Mounts and the ſeveral Wards; ſaving ſtill the Authority, Immunities, and Privileges of the Civil Governour, the Senate, and the Magiſtrates within and without the City: That the *French* Officers and Soldiers and their Auxiliaries ſhould be permitted to march out with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, and all their Ammunition and Baggage; excepting from the benefit of this allowance all ſuch as the Emperor and

Cosmo

A. D. *Cosmo* called Exiles and Rebels; in which number were included the 1555. *Neapolitans*, the Subjects of the *Milanese* Government, and the *Florentines*: By an additional Clause it was provided, that These Articles should not be looked upon as ratified, 'till after eight days from the time of their Approbation by the Senate. This Capitulation was executed at *Florence* on the 2d day of *April*, in the presence of *John Manriquez* and *Francis* of *Toledo*. As soon as it was brought to *Siena*, *Montluc* demanded a Conference by a Trumpeter, and sent out *Bentivoglio* and *Charry*, to whom the Marquess of *Marignan* made This Speech.

" It is comprehended in the Conditions, that *Montluc* and the other
 " *French* and *Italians* in the King's service may depart with their Arms,
 " Colours flying, Drums bearing, and with all their Effects; and
 " tho' I don't question, but *Montluc*, an old and experienced Com-
 " mander, must plainly see the consequence of This; yet, for the
 " love which I heartily bear to you, I desire you to put him in mind,
 " that, since he fights under the King's Banner, and not in the service
 " of the *Sieneſe*, the latter could not poſſibly make a bargain for the
 " *French*, or take a ſufficient Caution for them. If therefore he deſires
 " to be ſecured in his Perſon and his Troops, let him treat with Me in
 " the King's Name for himſelf and his Men; and let him not doubt
 " of obtaining from me ſuch Conditions as ſhall be ſuitable to the King's
 " Honour and his own Merit." This being reported by *Bentivoglio*
 and *Charry*, *Montluc* preſently answered, that he knew what was allowed
 by the Laws of War; but that He and his Men were ſo brave, that
 tho' they ſhould be reduced to the laſt Diſtreſs, they would do nothing
 unworthy of his Maſteſty's Honour, and the Name of *France*: It was
 enough therefore for them, that the *Sieneſe* had covenanted for them-
 ſelves; which Covenants if any one ſhould dare to violate, he was ready
 to defend them with Arms and the hazard of his Life; and would not
 permit, that his Name ſhould ever be ſubſcribed to the Articles of
 Capitulation of any City whatſoever. *Marignan*, aſtoniſhed with this
 ingenuous and bold Answer, at length acquieſced; and promiſed to
 take care, that, as the *Sieneſe* had provided, *Montluc* himſelf with his
 Troops ſhould march honourably out of the City without danger.
 Out of That Head, wherein ſecurity had been taken for the *French*, an
 exception had been made of the Exiles and Rebels, out-lawed by the
 Emperor, *Philip* King of *England*, and *Cosmo*. *Montluc*, taking this
 matter extremely to heart; and not bearing with any patience, that
 Men eminent for their Birth and Virtues, and who had deſerved ſo well
 of the King and himſelf, ſhould be brought into the certain peril of
 their Lives; at the inſtance chiefly of *Bartholomew Carvalcanti*, calls
 the *Sieneſe* in a hurry to the Council: There he ſhews them, that the
 Articles were captiouſly drawn, and would exclude themſelves, who
 were the covenanting Parties, from the benefit of the Covenant: For
 he knew for a certainty, that, immediately after the Ejection of the
Spaniſh Garrifon and the demolition of the Citadel, the *Sieneſe*, at the
 Emperor's Inſtigati- on, had been proſcribed by the Imperial Chamber;
 and that the Emperor, in virtue of the Right devolved to him by the
 Sen-

Sentence, had made the City over to his Son *Philip*: Thus they might *A. D.* see, how insincerely they had been dealt with; and how much better 1555. it would be, that with Arms in their hands, they should try the utmost extremities, and at last meet a generous Death, than by basely laying down their Arms yield themselves, and their Friends together, to be butchered by the hands of an Executioner. Tho' *Montluc* was not ignorant, that the *Sieneſe*, who were expreſſly ſecured by another Article, could come into no danger from hence, yet he had a mind to throw in a Scruple; that, taking the alarm from their own danger, they might reſolve not to deſert their Friends and Allies: And his Authority prevailed upon this occaſion; for there enſued preſently an unanimous cry to Arms all over the City: Which *Marignan* obſerving, ſends an Expreſs immediately to *Cosmo* at *Florence*; who fearing, leſt the *Sieneſe*, driven on by deſperation, might join with the *French* in making a final effort, and might either rout the few Soldiers then remaining in the Trenches and about the Marqueſs, or oblige them to retire and quit the Siege; ſoon ſends back *Concini*, whoſe Diligence and Sagacity he had made good uſe of in this whole Affair; and, blotting out the Exception, grants an indefinite liberty of departing to every-body.

The Day of executing the Articles was appointed to be the 21ſt of *April*; on which, after *Camillo* Count d' *Elci*, *Nicolas* *Sergardi*, *Auguſtin* *Bardi*, and *Lelio* *Pecci*, with the eight Commiſſaries of War, had returned from *Florence*; *Montluc*, delivering the Gate of *Camollia* with the old Citadel to the Townſmen, marched forth with his Troops in This order: *Bentivoglio* and *Cajazzo*, with four Cohorts of *Italian* Foot, commanded by *Bartholomew* *Giordano da Peſaro*, *Rinaldo de' Vecchi da Ferrara*, *Turchetto da Breſcia*, and *Flaminio da Perugia*, to whom *Mario* *Bandini* Captain of the Commonalty joined himſelf, and *De St. Auban*, and *De Luſſan* with the *French* led the Van; *De Charry*, and *De Blacons* brought up the Rear; which was cloſed by *Montluc* on Horſeback with *Hierom* *Spanocchi*, for whom the General was more in pain than for any of the reſt: Between the *Italians* and *French*, walked about eight hundred Men and Women of *Siena* with their Children; who to preſerve, tho' with the loſs of all their Fortunes, That Liberty, for which they had fought ſo bravely, abandoned their native Country: A ſight, which drew pity even from the Enemies themſelves! The piteouſneſs of which was increaſed by the Embraces and Tears, which at taking leave paſſed between them and their Friends and Relations, who ſtaid behind in the City; when they conſidered, that the very Perſons, with whom they had lived in ſuch ſtrict Friendſhip, either already were, or would ſoon become, their Enemies. Our Soldiers for certain could hardly forbear weeping; and as they had endured a Famine during the Siege with great conſtancy and without murmuring, ſo they ſeemed unwilling to depart and deſert the wretched Citizens. Many upon that day fell down dead in the march, not having taſted a morſel of Bread for four Days. For the Carriage of the old Men, big-bellied Women, and younger Children, the Marqueſs at *Montluc's* Requeſt furniſhed

A. D. fifty Mules with extraordinary humanity. He himself, having ranged 1555. the *Germans* and *Spaniards* in order of Battle, advanced with *Chiappino Vitelli* as far as *San-Lazaro* to meet *Montluc*; and closing his sides, they bore him company in this manner for a considerable time. When after friendly Discourses and Embraces they had at last taken leave, Our People proceeded to *Arbia-rotta* a Town situated upon the *Arbia*; where they found eighteen Asses laden with Bread, which had been kindly sent thither by the Marquess for the Refreshment of the Soldiers. From thence the Company advanced to *Buonconvento* under the direction of *Gabriel Serbellon*, who had been intrusted with that Care after the departure of his Unkle *Marignan*; and who, as soon as he saw *Peter Strozzi* coming up with the Cavalry, after embracing *Montluc*, *Bentivoglio*, *Cajazzo*, and the other General Officers, left them: And Our Men travelled the same day with *Strozzi* to *Mont-alcino*: There the Citizens who had followed *Montluc*, since they had left their Country, which was now no longer their Country, set themselves to regulate afresh their Commonwealth under the King's protection; instituting a Senate, creating Magistrates, and sending out Governours to do justice in the Towns yet remaining to them; that they might enjoy some appearance of their antient Liberty, and receive a kind of comfort for the loss of their native City. Two days before the surrender, *Montluc* had obtained a Certificate from the Senate, under the Seal of the Republick; testifying, that he had done the King and the State excellent service in the defence of the City: That they on their parts had omitted nothing, to preserve their Word given to the King, and the Liberty delivered down by their Fore-fathers; but that, when they had proved invincible by Arms and Valour, they were obliged to yield to necessity, that is, to Famine: That *Montluc* however could never be induced to treat of surrendering in the King's Name; but that they had covenanted for Him and the Royal Officers and Soldiers. When *Montluc* had staid some days with *Strozzi*, he obtained of him a Galley for the Transportation of himself and his Retinue to *France*; and whilst it was fitting out at *Civita-vecchia*, after sending forwards *De Luffan*, *De Blacons* and *De Saintauban*, he himself in the mean while takes a Tour to *Rome*; partly to make a visit to the King's Ministers; and partly for the pleasure of hearing his own Glory, which had spread throughout all *Italy* on the account of that memorable Siege, celebrated in a crowded Theatre.

By this time *Marcellus Cervino*, born at *Fano* in the *Marca d'Ancona*, and descended from Ancestors seated at *Monte-pulciano* a Castle of *Tuscany*, had been elected Pope, on the 9th day of *April*, eighteen days after the decease of *Julius*: This he owed principally to the favour of *Ranuccio Farnese*, brother of the absent Cardinal *Alexander*; under whose Grandfather he had been advanced, for his extraordinary Learning, Gravity, and probity of Manners, to great Honours in the Judiciary Court of *Rome*; and at last, through the Recommendation of *Alexander* himself, had been chosen into the College of Cardinals. This Person, because his Father *Richard* an eminent Astrologer, from the conjunction of

of the Stars, had foretold his Elevation to the highest Dignity in the *A. D.* Church; when he was persuaded by his Mother *Cassandra Bencia* to 1555. marry, had obstinately refused to enter into that State; frequently saying, that he would not exchange that far more noble fortune, which the Stars portended to him in a single condition, for the Bonds of Wedlock. This is certain, that *Luke Gaurico*, whose Reputation in that Science is very well known, has related the same thing in his Book of Genitures; and that Book (which is a very wonderful thing) was published at *Venice* by *Curtio Trojano* three Years before *Cervino* came to the Papacy; so that it is manifest, that this Prediction was not altogether vain; and that the Author did not pronounce (as is generally the case) only of matters already passed. Immediately upon his advancement to the Chair, that he might give a proof of his Gratitude, he declared his design, to let the *Farnesi* know, that through their good offices *Paul III.* was revived in Him: But whereas he enjoyed but an indifferent state of health, and hurt himself very much by holding frequent Councils; on the twelfth day after, he was obliged to keep his bed, by a Phlegmatick Indisposition, attended with no slight Fever; upon the Remission of which, his Strength began by slow degrees to fall off; and, at length being seized with an Apoplexy, on the last day of *April*, in the fifty fifth year (wanting six days) of his Age, and twenty second day of his Pontificate, he departed this Life, and was interred near the Sepulcher of *St. Nicolas V.* A Man, who might be compared with the Antients for his rare Erudition, Prudence, and Sanctity of life! and under whom there might have appeared good hopes of a Reformation in the Church; unless the height of the Papal Eminence, which had sunk most of his Predecessors (and of which he had long before frankly owned his Apprehensions), might perhaps have corrupted him: For once, whilst his Amanuensis at dinner-time was reading, according to custom, a Portion of Scripture, or some Writings of the Primitive Fathers; the Pope, happening after a long silence to mention *Adrian* the IVth's Words, wherein he deplored the miserable condition of the *Roman* Pontiffs, added, (striking his Hand upon the Table) that he did not see, how it was possible for Those, who were in possession of that high Dignity, to take care of their Salvation. Before his death, *Montluc* was admitted to salute him; from whence going soon after to *Civita Vecchia*, that General embarked with his Retinue on board the Galley, which had been prepared; and having a favourable Wind, steered his course between *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, till he arrived in the Port of *Bonifacio*; where meeting with *Joseph Bonifacio de la Mole*, he learned from him, that *Andrew Doria* with about fifty Gallies was lying at *San-Stephano* near *Orbitello*. *Thermes* with *Paul Giordano* was then besieging *Calvi*; but, perceiving *Doria* to approach, he raised the Siege with the utmost haste, sinking three pieces of Cannon (which Our Men fished up again the same Year) in the Sea, that they might not fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*. Not far from hence, *Anthony Iscalin Adhemar de Paulin* Baron de la Garde had retired with his twenty eight Gallies into a neighbouring Station; and hearing of *Doria's* Arrival, he

A. D. he put out to sea, and sailed away for *Marseilles*. *Doria* making less sail, 1555. pursued him to no purpose; which happened luckily for *De Thermes*, who, in the mean time, packed up his Baggage, and drew off from *Calvi* without loss; whereas he could have hardly escaped the Enemy's hands, if *Doria*, letting *Paulin* alone, had bent his course directly that way. But *Montluc*, who had put *De Thermes* in mind of his danger, fell unawares into the very same. For in his Voyage to *France*, he lighted, through the haziness of the weather, upon the Fleet of *Doria*, who was then returning from his vain pursuit of *Paulin*: However, being preserved by the diligence of the Captain, who by changing his steerage, got clear of the Enemy; he arrived safe in some time after at *Marseilles*; contrary to the opinion of all Men; who thought that he had either perished at *Siena*, or, if not, that he must undoubtedly have been intercepted at Sea by *Doria*. From thence, by relays of Horses, he reached the Court, where, for his eminent Services, he was rewarded by the King with the Collar of St. *Michael*; which Honour, at that time the highest of all, whilst it used to be bestowed upon worthy Persons alone, fell afterwards into disesteem; when without regard to merit, it began to be conferred promiscuously upon all people whatever. The King at that juncture lay under a kind of suspense, occasioned by a Treaty of Peace proposed by the *English*; of which, before I proceed to speak, it seems necessary in a few words to recapitulate what passed before in *France* and the *Low Countries*.

At the latter end of the former Year, when, after the Commencement of the Fortifications of *Mesnil* over against *Hedin*, the Duke of *Savoy* drawing out his Army about the beginning of *November*, had made a vain attempt upon *S. Esprit*; *James* of *Savoy*, Duke of *Nemours*, by the order of *Anthony de Bourbon*, Governour of the Province, made Head against him with the Light-Horse; and gave an extraordinary Proof of his Courage and Diligence, by attacking and fatiguing the Enemy with frequent Incursions; and at last retired to *Abbe-Ville* without loss: In which Actions, the greatest share of Reputation fell to Monsieur *De Pelous*. From thence the Duke of *Savoy*, that he might not be thought to have done nothing, went to *Picquigny*, where he was again harrassed by *De Nemours*; but whilst the latter out of eagerness of fighting, rode too furiously against the Enemy, he narrowly escaped being made a Prisoner. The Duke of *Vendôme* had now come to *Amiens*; towards which Place the Duke of *Savoy* immediately descended from *Picquigny*; and when he had halted there in order of Battle for some time, proceeded to *Corbie*; where, a report ran, that he resolved to ford the *Somme*. *Vendôme* for that reason constantly attended his motions on the opposite Bank of the River, in order to fall upon him in the Passage: But the Rains coming on, and the Season beginning to change, the Duke found himself obliged to retire; and having placed at *Mesnil* twenty Ensigns of *Germans* and *Spaniards* under the *Sieur Dais*, who had been lately made Governour of *Arras*, he repaired to the Emperor at *Brussels*. The King, after having taken *Dinant*, had detached the *Sieur de Bourdillon* towards the Frontier of *Champagne*, to put a stop to the Ravages of the Peasants.

That

That General retook *Fument*, which in the King's absence had been taken *A. D.* and half demolished by the Enemy; and by reducing some other Castles, 1555. made that part of the Country secure to our Troops; and moreover by his presence, prevented any hindrance that might be given to the Fortifications carried on at *Mariembourg*, *Rocroy*, and *Maubert*. *Vaulusseau* too, a Captain of a Cohort, drawing out from the Garrison of *Ivoy*, after he had fortified the Castle, some wooden Pieces, which resembled Brass Cannon, forced the Castle of *Villemont* to a surrender; which, however, was afterwards recovered by the Enemy, the Party, left there by *Vaulusseau*, being put to the Sword. About the same time also, *Francis De Sepeaux* *Sieur de Vieilleville*, Governour of *Metz*, undertook an unfortunate Expedition. Between the *Moselle* and the *Meuse*, the Enemies had raised a Fort in the Road, which leads to *Metz* from *Thionville*, in order to check the Incurfions of our Parties: From the figure of the Work and its situation betwixt the two Rivulets, it carried the Name of *La Mauvaise S.* Thither *Vieilleville* had sent forwards a numerous Body of Foot, with some Horse and Ordnance; but the Enemies gaining Intelligence of our design, not only sustained the Efforts of our Men, but repelled them with exceeding loss; many of our Soldiers being killed, and the Artillery with difficulty escaping. Nor did better Fortune attend *Mazeres*, a Lieutenant in one of *Vendôme's* Cohorts, who with two other Captains of Foot, and a Party of one hundred and fifteen Men, having made an Excursion as far as *Renty*, and returning slowly homeward, under the burthen of a large Booty, fell in with the Garrison of *Mesnil*, and was killed with his two Companions. A discovery happened likewise at this juncture to be made of a Conspiracy entred into by the *Franciscan-Fryars* of *Metz*, bribed by the Imperialists, for the betraying the City. A Chapter of that Order had been summoned to meet at *Metz*, which required the attendance of many People from all Parts of the World. Under this colour, they had agreed to introduce Soldiers in the habit of Monks; and pretending to import a Quantity of Wine for the use of that extraordinary multitude, they had resolved to convey hogsheds full of Arms into the City: Upon which, the Soldiers in Garrison at *Thionville*, after having laid proper Ambuscades near *Metz*, were to appear before the City; and as without all doubt our Men would have sallied upon them in great numbers, and would by that eruption have left the place bare of Troops, the Soldiers admitted by the *Franciscans* were to cry out, To Arms; and, seizing the Gates, be ready to receive those who lay in Ambush; with whom being joined, they might easily subdue what remained of our Forces in the City. But because it had been observed, that a certain *Franciscan* of the Conspiracy went frequently to the Enemies at *Thionville*, a suspicion arising from hence, it was resolved that the Man should be apprehended; who, being brought to the Rack, discovered the whole truth: And by that example it appeared, that the most subtle intrigues, and the vilest monsters are often concealed under the cloak of Religion. This Fellow and his Accomplices suffered afterwards, as they deserved. At the same time also, *Anvoelle*, the Lieutenant-Governour of the Castle of *Abbeville*, received

A. D. 1555. the due reward of his Perfidy and Treason ; who, to revenge a private injury, had given assurances to the *Sieur Dais*, Governour of *Mesnil*, that he would give up the Castle, provided his Enemy were delivered into his hands ; which happened to be discovered by the messenger.

In the *Netherlands*, at the opening of the Spring, when a report ran, that the Imperialists were assembling on all hands in great numbers near *Chasteau en Cambresis* ; that mustering an Army thereabouts, they might attempt the recovery of *Mariembourg*, which had been lost in the former years : The King, who was then at *Fontainebleau*, taken up with celebrating the nuptials of *Nicolas* of *Lorraine*, Count de *Vaudemont*, with *Joan* of *Savoy*, Sister to the Duke of *Nemours* ; sends *Saint André*, in the absence of the Duke of *Vendôme*, Governour of the Province, into *Picardy*, with the Duke of *Nemours*, the Vidame of *Chartres*, the Rhingrave, and a numerous Nobility, in order to enter the County of *S. Paul*, and ravage the Country ; because, from thence, and no other Quarter, *Mesnil* could be apparently supplied with provision. From thence the Marshal, having marched through *Artois*, and laid every thing waste, feigned a retreat ; and knowing that a Party of *Spaniards*, and some new Recruits of the natives were quartered at *Chasselet*, he presently, when night came on, faces about and advances thither ; and proceeding with the utmost silence, by the help of Scaling-Ladders, attacks and takes them prisoners unawares : The *Spaniards* were treated with humanity, the Natives more hardly ; because the resentments between the Borderers had been every day inflamed by fresh injuries on both sides. The Town was granted as a prey to the Soldiery, and the Territory round about ravaged, that it might not be of use to the Enemies, who were reported to be coming thither from all parts. At the same time *Bourdillon*, the Duke of *Nevers's* Lieutenant, was detached to the Frontiers of *Champagne* ; and with him *René* of *Lorraine*, the Marquis d'*Elboeuf*, followed by *Melchior des Prez*, *Sieur de Monpesat*, *Anthony de Crussol*, *Francis de la Baume de Suze*, *De Pelous*, and others of the principal Gentry ; who immediately summoning all the neighbouring Garrisons, although the snows were then very deep, with great diligence introduced provisions and other necessaries into *Mariembourg*. Whilst part busied themselves with getting Wood for fuel, another part advancing further, marched to *Chimay*, which the Enemies used as a Fastness, from whence they made their Excursions ; and finding it destitute of a Garrison, set it on fire, together with the adjacent Villages. They, who held *Saultour*, knowing that our Men had not brought any large sized Cannon along with them, nothing terrified with the approach of the *French*, refused to surrender ; and thus our Troops returned to the main Body.

These things being done, when the time for the Conference proposed by the *English* drew nigh ; the Soldiers were drawn off from either border, and a Cessation of Arms commenced on both sides, to be continued till the issue should be known. For *Pool*, a Man eminent for the splendour of his birth, but much more illustrious for his learning and rare

rare piety at that time of day ; who in the preceeding Year had laboured *A. D.* with all his might to incline the Minds of the Princes to Peace ; never 1555. ceased from that time to intreat the Queen, that she would forward a Matter so honourable and so salutary and necessary to both Parties and the general Interest of Christendom. At the request therefore of the Queen the Emperor appointed for Plenipotentiaries, *John de la Cerda* Duke of *Medina-celi*, *Charles* Count *De Lallain*, *Anthony Perrenot* Bishop of *Arras*, to whom, after the Death of his Father *Nicolas*, the Custody of the Imperial Seal had been committed, *H. Viglius* Sieur de *Zwickenhem* President of his Privy-Council, and *N. Braven* President of the Grand Royal Council of *Mechlin* ; who were ordered to meet at *Graveling*, a Town belonging to the Dominions of *Burgundy*. By the King were deputed the Constable *Anne Montmorency*, *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorraine*, *Charles de Marillac* and *John de Morvilliers* Bishops of *Vannes* and *Orleans*, and *Claude de l' Aubespine* Private Secretary to the King ; who were in like manner to meet at *Ardres* a Town under the Jurisdiction of *France*. *Pool* too, the Mediator, came himself ; and with him *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* ; whom the Queen of *England* had lately discharged from that Confinement, into which he had been cast by her Brother *Edward*, and had created Chancellor of the Realm ; together with the Earl of *Arundel*, and *William* Lord *Paget*, Men of high distinction. The Queen at a Village, called *Mary*, in the District of *Calais* (which was then in the hands of the *English*) between *Graveling* and *Ardres*, had pitched upon a spot of Ground, four square, of an hundred Paces every way ; which she had taken care to fortify with a Mote and a Palisade ; and at each of the Corners had built boarded Houses, which being covered on the outside with Stuffs, and finely adorned with Tapestry within, afforded a convenient place of Entertainment in the day-time to the Plenipotentiaries ; for, towards the evening, they all retired to the respective Towns, from whence they had come. In the middle, a large and magnificent Tent was erected, to which there lay a passage cross-wise from each of the Apartments, through Porticoes covered in like manner with Skreens of Stuff. The Imperialists chose the northern Quarter, which faces *Graveling* ; Our Countrymen the Southern, nearer *Ardres* ; *Pool* the Eastern ; and the *English* the western part towards *Calais*. The Embassadors first met together on the 23d of *May*, which Day was spent in mutual Salutations and Embraces. The next day, each Party treated separately with *Pool* and the *English* Ministers, who acted as Mediators. At length, on the 26th day of *May*, when the *English* understood, that the King demanded satisfaction for the Sovereignty of *Milan*, and the Territory of *Asti*, as part of his antient Patrimony ; and that the Emperor would not bear the mention of it, as a matter which he pretended to have been already determined ; in the capacity of Arbitrators they threw in this Proposal by way of Compromise : That the Most Christian King should bestow *Elizabeth* in marriage upon *Charles* the Son of *Philip* and Grandson of *Charles* the Emperor, and should give up his Right to the *Milanesse* and the Country of *Asti*, in the name of a Portion ; which Lordships should be charged with a large and sufficient Dowry,

A. D. Dowry, such as should be agreed between the Parties. To This Our
 1555. Ministers answered; That they did not refuse the proposition of a
 ~~~~~ Match, for the better strengthening of Concord; and that the King  
 was ready to assign an honourable and handsome Portion to his Daughter;  
 but that they could not admit of what was said concerning the Principa-  
 lities of *Milan* and *Asti*, which were hereditary Male-Fiefs: But that,  
 if the Daughter of *Maximilian* King of *Bohemia*, and Granddaughter of  
*Ferdinand*, might be engaged to the Duke of *Orleans* the King's second  
 Son; they did not doubt, but that a Peace might be settled between  
 the Sovereigns, and a Marriage contracted between *Charles* and *Elizabeth*.  
 Two days after, the *Spaniards* answered, that they had nothing in their  
 Instructions relating to the Match of *Charles* and *Elizabeth* upon the  
 Terms proposed by the *English*; but, if the *French* thought fit, they  
 would write about it to the Emperor: But that in relation to the  
 Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans* with the King of *Bohemia's* Daughter,  
 and the Restitution of *Milan*, it would be in vain to consult the Em-  
 peror, who had already made a Grant of that Dutchy to King *Philip*:  
 That in the mean time the *French* ought to restore the Places taken  
 from the Duke of *Savoy*, and Those belonging to the Emperor, which  
 had been seized in this War. When the Bishop of *Arras* declared,  
 that, unless Restitution were made of all those Territories, he did not  
 see, how they could come to an Agreement; *Montmorency* answer'd, that  
 an equitable Agreement might be made upon These Terms; if both  
 Parties would restore what they respectively detained; and that the  
 King, to shew his earnest desire of Peace and Tranquillity, was ready  
 to close with this Article. Here *Pool*, who was eager to bring the  
 Business to a conclusion, said, he thought it would be well, that a  
 Peace might be established by the means of Marriages to be settled and  
 contracted at that present juncture for the common Good of Christen-  
 dom; and that the remaining Controversies, concerning the Restitution  
 of Places taken in War, since neither side was willing to part with any  
 thing, might be referred to Arbitrators, such as the Parties should agree  
 upon. The *French* consented to the Proposal: But the *Spaniards* op-  
 posed it; saying, that it would take up a long time, before Arbitrators  
 could be settled; and that it did not yet appear, what each Party would  
 re-demand of the Other; for that hitherto mention had only been made  
 of *Milan* and the *Netherlands*; but what required the first place in their  
 Thoughts, was the Restitution of all things, which had been taken from  
 the Duke of *Savoy* in *Piedmont*, from the *Genoese* in *Corfica*, and from  
 the Duke of *Mantua* in the Marquisate of *Montferrat*; as also of *Metz*,  
*Verdun*, and *Toul*, to the Empire: To this the Cardinal of *Lorraine*  
 replied; that for what concerned the Places taken from the Duke of  
*Savoy*, the King had a right to seize them, as belonging to him by  
 virtue of the succession to his Grandmother: As to the *Genoese*, when  
 They should pay that Obedience, which they owed by antient League  
 to the Kings of *France*, his Majesty would readily give them satisfaction  
 in relation to the Seizures in *Corfica*: That the Duke of *Mantua* had no  
 reason to complain, if, for the defence of the neighbouring Countries,  
 the



the King had taken from him those Towns, which were held by the *A. D.* Enemies, with a saving to the Duke's Right: Which Answer would serve also with regard to the Imperial Cities. Thus, after various Discourses between the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and the Bishop of *Arras*, they parted. At length, on the 1st day of *June*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, who had taken time to consider the best measures for a Peace, when they were all met together, declared his opinion, that a Marriage should be contracted upon fair and honourable Conditions betwixt *Charles* and *Elizabeth*; and that the Dispute about *Milan*, the *Netherlands*, and *Savoy*, should be left to the decision of the Council: That in the mean while each Party should continue in the possession of the controverted Places: That as to the Duke of *Savoy*, upon the conclusion of a Marriage between Him and the King's Sister *Margaret*, he should be allowed by the King the Ufu-fructuary enjoyment of his own Estates; but the King, for the sake of preserving his Title, might keep a Garrison in the Castles and fortified Towns. When the *French* had engaged for their Master's consent to this Project, upon condition, that the Council might be allowed to determine indefinitely upon all the Differences of the respective Parties; the *Spaniards*, who expressed their liking of the Treaty for the Marriage, urged This in the mean time; that the Places seized in the last War, should be restored in the first place; that they did not decline to submit all Controversies to the Council; tho' they could not tell, whether the Emperor would come to any Compromise with respect to *Milan*; for that he had always hitherto refused to hear any thing upon that Head. The *French* replied, that the King would no otherwise consent to the Restitution proposed, than upon condition, that what had been taken from *Henry* King of *Navarre*, *Ottavio Farnese*, and the other Confederates of the Crown, should in like manner be restored. Hopes indeed were given by the Imperialists of leaving in the King's hands the Town of *Mesnil*, which had been begun to be fortified in the former Year over against *Hesdin*; also *Mariembourg*, and the three Imperial Cities in *Lorraine*. But These were nothing to the King's Demands. Therefore when *Pool* and the *English* Ministers had laboured the Point to no purpose; and Our Embassadors saw, that the Imperialists only meant to draw on the King by the hopes of a Peace; that so, when they themselves had in the mean time made all the necessary Preparations for a War, they might fall upon him before he was ready to receive them; after having given thanks in the King's name to *Poole* and the *English* Embassadors, they returned without coming to a conclusion every one to his Principal.

On the same day, that this Conference was opened; at *Rome*, after no very long, but exceeding sharp Contentions in the Conclave; where the Fathers of the Imperial Faction made a stout opposition, but were over-powered by That of the *Farnesi*; *John-Peter Caraffa*, the Favourite of the latter, was chosen Pope. His Father was *John-Anthony* Count of *Montorio* in *Abruzzo*, Son of *Diomedes* Count of *Matalone*, descended from a noble Family in the Kingdom of *Naples*: But *John-Peter*, seeming



A. D. from his youth to be fond of a quiet Life, had dedicated himself  
 1555. wholly to Letters, and gained a considerable skill in three Languages,  
 and in Divinity, by which he formed his Life and Manners. Accordingly,  
 when he had spent some time at Rome, in the Retinue of Cardinal  
*Oliver Caraffa* his Kinsman, he was created by *Julius II.* Bishop of  
*Theatea* or *Chieti* in *Abruzzo*; from whence came the Name of the  
*Theatine* Fathers, who followed the very same Rule, that was afterwards  
 taken up by the Jesuits; a new Order of Men, which assumed (as  
 most People think) too lofty an Appellation, and of whom there will be  
 occasion hereafter of speaking more at large. When this Person therefore,  
 after having discharged many Legations at *Naples*, in *England*, and *Spain*,  
 was presented by *Charles V.* to the Bishoprick of *Brindisi*, he not only at  
 first refused it; but, when he had been prevailed with to take it, gave  
 it up again afterwards, and retired to *Monte Pincio*; and there, in very  
 indifferent Lodgings and an unpleasant place, he for several years led a  
 recluse Life, remote from all worldly Cares; and instituted a Fraternity  
 of Priests, who professing Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, like other  
 Orders, and having bound themselves by Vows before the Vatican Altar,  
 with the approbation of *Clement VII.* joined themselves to him. These  
 were at first *Cajetan* Count of *Tiene* a Native of *Vicenza*, *Boniface* a Colleague  
 of *Alessandria*, and *Paul Consiglieri* of *Rome*. At length being summoned  
 by Pope *Paul*, who was then prosecuting the Celebration of an Oecumenical  
 Council, in the 36th Year of this Century, he was elected  
 into the College of Cardinals: His Conduct upon this account met  
 with various Censures; whilst some Men commended him highly, that  
 such a Holy Person would suffer himself to be called out of the Haven  
 of a quiet Life, to be tossed in a Sea of publick Business; and others  
 again condemned the Action as full of Levity and Ambition. In this  
 Post, when by the gravity of his Manners, the excellency of his  
 Learning, his Eloquence, and Freedom in giving his opinion, he had  
 attained a great Authority; he first advised the Pope to set up the Tri-  
 bunal of the Inquisition, as a proper, and, according to his Judgment, a  
 necessary Remedy against the naughty Opinions in Religion, which  
 began to bud and spring up at that time. At last he obtained the  
 Papacy, and in memory of his bountiful Patron and Predecessor, gave  
 himself the name of *Paul IV.* Being asked immediately upon his Pro-  
 motion, in what manner He and his Brother *Alfonso's* Sons would live,  
 "Magnificently (said he), and as it becomes the first of Princes."  
 Accordingly he received the Crown from *John du Bellay* Bishop of  
*Ostia* with extravagant Pomp and Splendor; and thus, That Severity,  
 from which Some hoped, and More feared, a Reformation in the Dis-  
 cipline of the Church, turned all of a sudden into Pride. During the  
 Vacancy there had been great and licentious Tumults in the City; for  
 in the House of *Maffei*, which is reckoned amongst the Noble Families,  
 one Brother barbarously murdered another with his Wife and Children  
 on the 11th day of May; and *Guid' Ubald' Duke of Urbino*, who  
 happened to be upon the Spot, had much ado, by placing Guards in  
 the Streets, to restrain the Insolence of the Rabble. There had also  
 come



come thither, a little before the Death of *Marcellus*, *Hercules* Duke of *A. D. Ferrara*, that he might be at hand to support the Cardinal his Brother's 1555. Interest.

In the mean time, *Siena* being taken, and seven Ensigns of chosen *Germans* and six of *Spaniards* having entered the Place, with a large supply of Provisions; when the Marquess of *Marignan* had repaired to *Belcaro*; *Cosmo*, in order to regulate the Commonwealth, since *Francis de Toledo* refused to do it without the Emperor's express command, sent thither *Angelo Nicolini*, a Person well acquainted with the State of Affairs in that City. Through His care, twenty Persons, according to the Wards of the City, were chosen from amongst the bitterest Enemies to the *French*; and to These the Government of all Affairs was committed, excepting the Military, which remained in the hands of the Imperialists: And this Constitution was decreed to take place, 'till the Emperor should make some other provision. Then the Citizens received orders to lay down all their Arms, and to carry them into *San-Domenico*, which served instead of a Citadel; *Cosmo* entertaining a suspicion of their Fidelity, because of the nearness of *Mont-alcino*; whither *Mario Bandini*, *Hierom Spannocchi*, *Giulio Vieri*, *Ambrose Nuti*, with the *Zuccantini* and the *Landucci*, had retired: Which Conduct towards the Citizens afflicted them beyond all other things, every one complaining secretly, that their Liberty was gone with their Arms. Besides which, three Ensigns more of *Germans*, and two Troops of Light-horse, were ordered into the City. *Santa-fiore* commanded the regular Forces, and with gentle treatment pacifying, as well as he could, the Minds of those who had staid behind, endeavoured to gain their Affections by all sorts of good offices: For he took care, in favour of the Commonalty, that the Castles of the Springs should be repaired, and the subterraneous Aqueducts restored, which had been cut off by the *Florentines* during the Siege. But his Labour was for the most part in vain, all the Inhabitants being equally averse to the Emperor's and to *Cosmo's* Yoke; such as had courage to bear Arms repairing to *Mont-alcino*; and they, who desired a Life of more tranquillity, withdrawing every day to *Orvieto* and *Rome*.

This being done, a Consultation was held concerning the Attack of *Porto Ercole*, and the expulsion of Our Men from thence; that so *Tuscany* might be perfectly secured from the *French*. For *Cosmo* judged after this manner; that, so long as the *French* enjoyed that Station, they would be able to supply the Towns and Castles, which they held in *Tuscany*, with Soldiers and Provisions, and thereby defend them with ease against all Attempts whatsoever: For, since they had already seized the principal Places in *Corfica*, it would be neither hard nor hazardous for them to pass from *Provence* by the way of *Corfica* into *Tuscany*, at any time, and even with a small Fleet. However, the Marquess of *Marignan* dissented, and declared it to be an Enterprize full of danger and difficulty; whether it was, that he desired rather to prolong than to finish the War, or, that fearing the Event, he was unwilling to lose the Glory, which he had gained by the Conquest of *Siena*, in the Siege of



A. D. of a less important Town. At length *Cosmo's* Opinion prevailed ; and, 1555. a sufficient Garrison being left in the City, *Chiappino Vitelli* with about five thousand *Germans* and *Spaniards*, and the remaining Cavalry, de-camped, and moved towards *Pienza*, which was held by Our Men. *Cosmo* had sent forwards *John Pazzaglia da Pistoia*, a skilful Engineer, and *Alfani*, an eminent Bombardeer ; who, having set out from *Orbitello*, and narrowly viewed *Porto Ercole*, and the Works raised by Our People above and about the Place, brought back word, that the Town might easily be taken ; for which reason *Cosmo* set about the Work with the greater vigour. The Artillery being planted, *Pienza* was immediately surrendered, and *James Pucci* took possession of it with a Garrison : Next *San-Chirico* likewise capitulated, and some other neighbouring Castles. From thence *Vitelli*, having ordered the Soldiers to take with them Provisions for four days, ravages the Country towards *Mont-alcino* ; and at length turning aside towards *Grosseto*, marches directly to *Porto Ercole* ; having first reduced *Campiglia*, which was held by *Metello da Orvieto* with an hundred Foot. The Camp was then formed upon the Hill which overlooks the Town, and the Great Guns set forth, which had been sent by *Cosmo*, and which *Andrew Doria*, who after his Successes in *Corfica* had put in at *San-Stephano*, had brought with him. *Marignan* came thither afterwards from *Florence*, about the end of *May*, at the persuation of *Cosmo*. *Strozzi* was in the Castle, having a little before fallen down to the Sea-coast, out of an apprehension for that Place and *Grosseto* : He, as soon as he knew by some *Spanish* Prisoners of the Enemy's Consultation, and that the Town and Out-works had been surveyed by some of their ablest Engineers ; conjecturing from their Information what was really designed, attempted to raise a new Work before the Bastions already erected. On the other side, *Cosmo*, that the Soldiers might not want Victuals in a depopulated Country, had taken care, that plenty of Corn should be conveyed one way from *Leghorn* to *Orbitello*, and another way from *Monte-pulciano*, *Lucignano*, and *Arezzo*, into the Camp ; besides which, he had commanded a vast number of Pioneers to be assembled. The Castle stands upon an Hill, which looks over the Harbour ; the Roots of which Hill rise up in continual and unequal Hillocks as far as Mount *Argentaro*, which reaches to the *Tuscan* Sea, and hangs over both the Castle and the Haven. Along these Hillocks Our Men had built Redoubts, for the defence of the Castle and the Port beneath ; and amongst the rest there was a considerable Fort, which they themselves called *Vulturio*, exposed to the West : Another faced the North, which they named *Asturino* : They had lately added a third, to which they gave the name of *San-Hippolyto*, and which covered both the others. Besides this, up and down in the Hills, at proper Intervals, they had disposed Parties of Soldiers, to hinder the Enemy's approach : But herein they acted with little Prudence ; because by dispersing the Soldiery in different Places, they had divided their Forces, which should have been kept together to sustain the Enemy's Assaults. These were part *French* and *Italians*, and part *Swiss*, to the number of a thousand. At the Neck of the Haven, upon



upon a Shelf, which stands out of the Sea, they had raised a Redoubt *A. D.* to keep off the Enemy's Gallies, and had strengthened it with a competent number of Hands. The first Onset was directed by the Mar-<sup>1555.</sup>ques against the Fort of *San-Hippolyto*; which being taken, it was an easy Task, from the Ridge of the Hillock, to batter *Vulturino* and *Asturino*; and from thence they might look down into the Castle of the Harbour; which again *Strozzi* had strengthened with a new Bastion instead of a Redoubt. *Vitelli*, marching thither with fifteen hundred partly *Germans* and partly *Spaniards*, in perfect silence about the beginning of the night, had encamped within the distance of two Miles: And from thence, a little before day-break, the Place not being sufficiently fortified, he easily beat Our Men out of it by storm. This being taken, the Carriage of the Artillery was extreamly facilitated, so that the Guns were brought nearer to the other Wall, and to the Castle itself. Two days after, Our Troops were driven by *Vitelli* out of the Island of *Ercole*, which blocked up the Entrance of the Port; so that *Doria's* Fleet had an opportunity to come up, and hinder the Passage of Our People, that they could not sail either to *Corfica* or *Civitá-vecchia*, as before. When *Bentivoglio*, marching from *Mont-alcino* with the Garrisons of *Chiusi* and the adjacent Places, was laying waste the Country round *Foiano* and the Territory of *Monte-pulciano*, in order to draw off the Enemy from the Siege; *Cosmo* on the other side, being secure from behind, sends out the Garrisons of *Siena*, *Pienza*, *Cortona*, and *Arezzo*; to ravage the Territory of *Chiusi*, where the Corn was now ripe, and by that means to give a diversion to Our Men. These were commanded by *Lewis Martmengo*, who fought at that time in the service of *Cosmo*. The Guns being brought to bear upon *Porto Ercole*, the Battery play'd upon *Asturino*, which was higher than the rest of the Fortifications. After the cannonading, a brisk assault was given by the *Italians* and *Spaniards*; in which Action *Vitelli* distinguished himself in an eminent degree; forgetting almost, through the eagerness of fighting, the office of a Commander, and performing on that day the part of a stout Soldier: However, the Enemies were repulsed at first, with the slaughter of many of their Men; but not without a very great loss on Our side; *Alexander da Terni* (who had been taken prisoner the last year at *Montecatino*) being wounded by a Cannon-Shot, and left half-dead upon the place. When this Disaster had damped the Courage of Our Troops; *Strozzi*, who began to be apprehensive of the Event, and did not find the Effects of his Presence answerable to his Expectations, in the night following privately quitted the Town with *Montalto* and *Flaminio Orsini*; and leaving the Command to *Christopher Orsino Capella*, by the help of a favourable Wind reached *Civitá-Vecchia*; and from thence immediately, not thinking himself very safe within a Town of the Pope's jurisdiction, retired to *Montalto* a Castle belonging to the *Farnesi*. Which *Marignan* understanding, pressed the Siege with so much the more diligence; because he saw the Garrison to be dispirited by the departure of *Strozzi*; and thought it necessary to be beforehand with the *Turkish* Fleet, which was said to be already arrived within sight of *Calabria*: He renewed



A. D. therefore the cannonading upon *Asturino* with greater fury; and Our  
 1555. Men, having sustained the Fire at first, soon fell into disorder, and re-  
 linquished the Place with the loss of many killed, and more taken  
 Prisoners. Which done, without the least delay the Marquess attacks  
*Vulturino*; and planting his Cannon on one side, and fixing Scaling-  
 Ladders on another, put Our Troops in like manner to Flight,  
 and easily made himself Master of the Fort. And, whereas this Re-  
 doubt joined close to a very weak part of the Town-wall, he presently,  
 removing his Batteries forwards, play'd upon That; and part of the  
 Wall being broken down, the Soldiers with the same alacrity leaped  
 into the Breach; and after a great slaughter (near four hundred Oppi-  
 dants, Men, Women, and Children being put to the sword upon the  
 spot), the Garrison was driven into the Castle; and soon after (not-  
 withstanding all the Efforts of *Capella*, and the Appeals made by the  
*Florentine* Exiles to their Honour and Engagements) surrendered them-  
 selves to the Marquess at Discretion. The Prisoners taken were, *Lewis*  
*de Nobili*, *Strozzi's* intimate Friend and a brave Officer, *Peter-Paul*  
*Tosinghi*, *Goro da Fucecchio*, *Camillo Martinengo*, and *Alexander Salviati*,  
*Peter's* Son; which last, being conveyed to *Florence*, was after-  
 wards beheaded by *Cosmo's* command. *Ottobuono Fieschi*, *Lewis's* Brother,  
 who had born a share in the Conspiracy at *Genoa*, fell likewise  
 into their hands; and was delivered up to *Andrew Doria*, to be punished  
 by him at pleasure, in revenge of the death of his Kinsman *Janetin*:  
 The Admiral caused the poor Youth to be sewed up in a Sack, like a  
 Parricide, and to be drowned: Which Fact, as unworthy a Man of  
 his Virtue and Age, has been prudently passed over in silence by the  
 Writers of his Life; who to be sure looked upon This as the only blame-  
 worthy Action in that Commander so famous for Moderation, and  
 one whose Praises they had undertaken to celebrate to all Posterity.  
 The dead body of *Leo Strozzi*, slain some time ago at *Scarlimo*, which  
 happened to be found there, suffered a greater and more inexcusable  
 Outrage; being taken up, and in like manner thrown into the Sea.  
 This happened on the 24th day of *June*.

*Doria* departing from that Expedition, in order to sustain the Efforts of  
 the *Turkish* Fleet; counselled the *Genoese* to dismantle the Town of *San-*  
*Fiorenzo*; that the Commonwealth might not be burthened with the  
 excessive, and not very necessary, expence of repairing and keeping it.  
 The State pursued his Advice, and caused it to be put in execution  
 afterwards by *John Andrew*.

*Porto Ercole* being taken, and Our Communication by sea with  
*Tuscany* cut off, the *French* Affairs began to decline apace in that Province;  
 but received some support however from the Marshal *De Brissac's*  
 Valour and Diligence in *Provence*. He, that he might not, during the  
 Negotiations for a Peace, be fallen upon by the Enemy, had made a  
 careful provision of all the Necessaries for a War; and on the 10th day  
 of *June* had drawn his Army out of *Casal*. It consisted of seventeen  
 Ensigns of *French* Infantry, commanded by *Francis de Gouffier* Seigneur  
*de Bonrivet*; eight Ensigns of *Germans*, six of *Swiss*, twelve Troops of  
 Horse; and also three Troops of Light-horse, under *Henry Montmorency*  
 de



*de Danville*; viz. *Danville's* own Troop, another of *Francis Bernardin, A. D.* and a third of *John Gontauld de Biron*, with part of *De la Motte Gondrin's* 1555. Troop. Then followed four Battering-pieces, and two large Culverins with their Carriages and Utensils; and on the same day a Camp was formed about five hundred paces from the Castle of *Pomaro*. *Danville*, with *De la Motte Gondrin*, *Bernardin*, *Briquemault*, and *De Gordes* had advanced within sight of *Valenza*; whither the Enemies also, upon the news of our approach, were arrived with three Field-pieces; and in a neighbouring Wood had laid an Ambuscade in expectation of our coming. But the Foot being tired with the journey, and it seeming hazardous to venture any further through incumbered Roads, each Party retired. The next day the Cannon played upon *Pomaro*; which, after about an hundred Discharges, was surrendered by the Garrison, consisting of 130 Men: From hence the Camp was removed forward to *Valenza*, *Danville* being sent before with the Light-Armour. Because the Road lay through narrow Lanes and Vineyards, the *Sieurs de Terride*, and *de Grimore* were ordered to follow him with part of the Cavalry; and afterwards *Bonniwet*, with all the Infantry. *Brissac* brought up the Rear with the *Germans* and *Swiss*, who took charge of the Artillery. Our approach being known, the Garrison, as well such as were in the Town, as such as lay quartered without upon a Bank of the *Po*, drew out into the Field, with four Field-pieces. The Artillery at first played on both sides; but because the Enemy dispersing themselves here and there into small Parties, maintained a skirmishing sort of a fight, it fell out, that they received no damage at all from the Cannon. *Danville* therefore was ordered to make an Impression, Sword in hand, with about thirty Troopers; and as the Enemy could not stand this without drawing close together, they formed a compacted Body to receive him; and upon the coming up of *Terride* and *Grimore*, a sharp Battle ensued. At length the Enemies were repulsed as far as the Ditch, after having wounded *James d'Angennes de Rambouillet*, and the *Sieur de Salles*: The Lieutenants of *Biron* and *Boutieres*, who had fallen into the Enemy's hand, were rescued in the Pursuit. But Then, when all the Enemy's Troops stood collected together, the Cannonading began to take Effect; so that the Foot were forced to return into the Town, and the Horse to post themselves between the Town, and a Monastery below it. As our Men were following them, a great Dust appeared at a distance, as if it were raised by an approaching Body of Horse: *Danville* with his Troops made up to the place; and They, at first, seemed ready to enter into an Engagement: But when they drew nearer to *Valenza*, some *Spanish* Musqueteers came out to meet them; by whose interposition they changed their Front, and deceiving our Men, marched directly into the Town. Nothing being to be seen on either side for the dust, there was no opportunity of continuing the fight; however, our Troops gained the Post; which, lying between the Town and the *Po*, and affording no conveniency for an Encampment, they again quitted, and retired out of the reach of the Artillery. But since the number of the Garrison within was greater than that of the Besiegers without; *Brissac* led his Men



A. D. to *San-Salvatore*, a Castle situated in the Confines of the Marquisate of *Montferrat*, five Miles distant from *Alessandria*; which, after about three hundred Discharges, capitulated; and the Garrison thereof, leaving their Colours behind, were dismissed in safety with their Swords. *Brisfac* had made himself Master of several neighbouring Castles, which, when the hopes of a Truce failed, he caused to be dismantled, that they might not be of any further service to the Enemy. *Vulpian* too, which laboured under a Dearth of Provision, was at that time pressed with a Blockade; and even Trenches were opened by our Troops on the side, which faces the *Doria*. There are two Rivers of this name, descending from the *Alps* into the Plain beneath; and inclosing the Country commonly called *Il-Canavese* on both sides, towards the East and West: One of these, which goes by the name of *Doria Baltica*, empties itself into the *Po*, not far from *Crescentino*; the other, called *Doria Riparia*, taking its rise near the Source of the *Durenza* (which, by a contrary Course, runs Westward into the *Rhine*) and passing through *Susa*, falls at length in like manner into the *Po*, a little below *Turin*. The Enemy's Auxiliaries therefore found their approaches very difficult, over so many intermediate Rivers.

*Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, being sent by *Philip* King of *England*, had, by relays of Horses, arrived at *Milan* on the 12th of *June*, in order to take upon him the chief Military Command in *Italy*, on the entire removal of *Ferdinand Gonzaga* from the administration: Which was believed by most people to be brought about by *Roderick Gomez de Sylva*, first Lord of the Bed-chamber, who was then in the highest favour with his King: For he, being afraid of the Duke of *Alva's* proud and ambitious Spirit, thought it more conducive to the publick Interest and his own, that the Duke should be sent away; and that *Gonzaga*, whose temper he hoped to find more tractable, should remain about the King's Person. This however, *Gonzaga*, who was then at the Emperor's Court, and urged his return into *Italy*, could never digest; notwithstanding *Philip's* smooth Letters, and *Sylva's* Exhortations to patience, and to a confidence in the King's favour. For He, who paid more regard to his own Honour, than to Their prudent Admonitions, demanded in the first place, that his Cause should be heard, and his Reputation brought to the Test. After the hearing, when the Emperor had declared him innocent of the Crimes laid to his charge; and pronounced all that had been said and done against him to be injurious and frivolous; and had determined to punish his accusers in an exemplary manner: He further decreed, that all the Debts, contracted by *Gonzaga* for carrying on the Wars in *Piedmont* and *Parma*, should be discharged; and besides, that thirty thousand Ducats should be paid down to him: Moreover, that in testimony of his faithful Conduct in Peace and in War, there should be assigned to him the Valley of *San-Severino* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, with a yearly Revenue of six thousand Ducats, and a Pension of ten thousand; and that the Commandery of the Order of *Alcantara*, worth three thousand Ducats by the year, should be conferred upon his Son *Andrew*: And lastly, as a  
mark



Mark of Honour, that to the Dignity of Counsellor in the sacred A. D. Consistory, the title of President should be added in his favour. 1555. All this was done on the 10th day of June at Brussels, under the Emperor's own hand, and corroborated with the Imperial Seal. But when it was brought to *Gonzaga* by *Francis Erassen*, one of the Secretaries and chief Ministers; although *Gomez de Sylva*, who was present, took a great deal of pains to persuade him to acquiesce in the Emperor's Judgment, and to look upon this as sufficient satisfaction for the present; *Gonzaga* on the contrary, insisted upon being restored to his former Dignity, or at least upon having the chief Command in the *Netherlands*. After frequent Expresses backwards and forwards between *England* and the *Netherlands*, when neither the Emperor nor *Phillip* could be induced to change any thing in the Sentence; *Gonzaga*, full of indignation, took a Licence from each of the Princes, and departed in a private station into *Italy*.

As soon as the Duke of *Alva* arrived in *Italy*, having drawn together a most powerful and flourishing Army in the *Milanese*, at *Riva-rota*, he began to enter into a consultation with the General Officers, about raising the Siege of *Vulpian*. Amongst his Troops were thirty thousand *German*, *Italian* and *Spanish* Foot; near six thousand Horse, with twenty five Pieces of Ordnance of all sorts. When great difficulties at first occurred, they were removed by the prudent advice of *Cesar Maggi*; who told them, that the Intrenchments, cast up by our Men on the Bank of the *Doria*, might be easily destroyed with the help of two Pieces of Cannon, and that afterwards the Army might pass without hazard; that competent Victuals for four days should be taken with them, and some Pontons for the passage of the Troops and Carriages over both those Rivers. Marching therefore to *Saluggia*, they dispatched the Marquess of *Pescara*, with *Garcias de Toledo*, to put the scheme in execution. But our people, of whom there was but a small number in the Trenches, without waiting their arrival, broke up the Siege by *Brissac's* Command, on the 23d day of July, and left an open entrance to the Enemy into the Town; into which, for two days together, at the end of the month, a large quantity of corn was conveyed. At the same time the Count *della Trinità*, going out of *Valsenera* with four hundred Horse, and five hundred Foot, in order to lay waste the Country thereabouts, which was possessed by our Troops; fell unluckily into the midst of our Cavalry; by whom he was defeated and put to flight, with the slaughter of many of his Men: For our Soldiers had been extremely provoked with a severe Action of the Duke of *Alva's*; who lately, when he was expected to attack *Casal*, having taken *Frassinetto del Po* by assault, had hanged the commanding Officer, put all the *Italians* to the Sword, and condemned the *French* to the Gallies. *Vulpian* being well furnished with Provisions and Soldiers, the Duke, by the help of Pontons and Hurdles, crosses the *Doria Baltica* with his Army, and taking the Rout of *Livorno* encamps before *San-Giacomo*, lately begun to be fortified by *Brissac*; into which place *Bonivet* and *Birague* had shut themselves, with two thousand *French*; two Ensigns of *German* Foot, com-



A. D. 1555. manded by Count *Rockendorff*; two Ensigns of *Italians*, and an hundred *Epirot* Troopers, under *Theodore Bedeigne*. The Duke had flatter'd himself, that Our Men, as soon as they should know of his Approach, would immediately draw off their Cannon and abandon the Place: But *Maggi* on the other hand denied it to be at all likely, that *Bonivet* a Colonel of the *French* Infantry, and *Lewis Biraghe* a valiant and understanding Officer were come thither in a fit of rashness, only to go away again basely upon the first noise; that accordingly it were safer to attack *Massino*, or *Ivree* itself, which might be taken with much less trouble. When the Duke nevertheless persisted in his Resolution; at his first arrival, the Garrison sallying out fell upon his Men with such vigour, that *Raimond de Cardona*, Colonel of the Artillery, could hardly sustain their Attacks, or even save the Cannon from falling into their hands. He received a dangerous wound upon the occasion, as did *Alexander Count di Carpegna*. The Batteries were then directed against the Wall, which joins the Bastions of *Bonivet* and *Darville*; for, being distributed amongst the several Commanders, they were called after Their Names: But that cannonading produced very little effect, occasioned by a continual Quarrel between *Maggi* and *Cardona*. For fifteen days together the firing continued to no purpose, eight and twenty hundred discharges having been made in the time (for the number of them was taken); nor yet could the Enemy all that while make themselves masters of the Dyke-mound opposite to the Wall. *Bonivet* himself, out of his eagerness to fight, leaped down, with an Helmet upon his Head, into the Bastion of his own name, and there for a long time surveyed the Enemy's Countenances; and, after he had stood a continual shower of small Shot, was drawn back by the Garrison with much difficulty within the Walls. A report being spread of the Siege, which there was no prospect of raising without a Battle; the King ordered Auxiliaries to march to the relief of the Town: Of whose approach the Duke of *Alva* being informed, after the loss of many Men and the dissipation of most part of his Army, found himself obliged to abandon the Siege, and retire to *Vercelli*. In his march he took the Castles of *Gabiano* and *San-Martino*, which he ordered to be fortified with the utmost expedition. Not far from *Casal*, (which on the 27th day of *August* was in vain attempted by a Stratagem of the Enemy) the Duke had already conveyed some *Spaniards* secretly into a Widow-woman's House, who were to be ready in the night, by killing the Centry, to support a party of their Comrades, as they should force their way into the Town. But this Device came to nothing, the Letters, wherein the Day was fixed, and the Signal given, being found upon a Woman who was carrying them in a basket of Herbs. Our People too had a design on the very same day to surprise *Asti* by an Escalade; but the Ladders proving too short, this Attempt failed likewise of success.

These Misfortunes, as they exposed the Rodomontades of the Duke of *Alva*, who had engaged to reduce all *Piedmont* in the space of twenty days, so they gave Our Men courage to venture upon greater Enterprises. A Resolution was accordingly taken to invest *Vulpian*, which incommoded



Us exceedingly, as standing in the very heart of the King's Territories; *A. D.* so that without all doubt upon the taking of the Place a great accession would be made to Our Conquests. It confirmed the Design, that *Brissac* had been informed by a certain Physician, that near four hundred of the Garrison were at that time so ill as to keep their beds: Its whole number consisted of five full Companies composed of *Italians*, *Germans*, and the Townsmen themselves; near four hundred Horse; with a Troop of Light-horse belonging to *Cesar Maggi*, who commanded the Place; and who, happening then to be with the Duke, was pressing for Succours. He shewed the Feasibleness of sending Relief, if the Duke would advance to *Gasseno*, where, a ford being once found, he might easily raise the Siege. At the latter end of *August* all Our Troops rendezvouzed at *San-Balengo*, under *Claude* of *Lorraine* Duke d' *Aumale*; consisting of two and twenty Ensigns of *French* Foot, eight Companies of *Germans*, seven of *Swiss*, fifteen Troops of *Cuirassiers*, and nine of *Light-horse*; amounting, as *Montluc* writes, to five thousand Foot, one thousand *Cuirassiers*, and twelve hundred *Light-horse*. There were present also at the Siege, besides d' *Aumale* and *Brissac*, the two Brothers of *Bourbon* and Knights of *St. Michael*, the Duke of *Enghien*, and the Prince of *Condé*, *James* of *Savoy* Duke of *Nemours*, *Francis Gouffier de Bonivet*, *Francis de Vendôme* Vidame of *Chartres*, *John Grognet de Vassé*, *Arthur de Cossé* Seigneur de *Gommor*, *Brissac's* Brother, *Lewis Birague*, and *Blaise de Montluc*, who came after the rest; besides a great number of the chief Gentry, which at the report of a grand Battle had voluntarily flown out of *France* into *Italy*. The Infantry was so disposed, that it encompassed the Town and Castle on three sides: The *Swiss* took post on that side, which looks towards the *Po*; the *Germans* between *Vulpian* and *Lini*; and the *French* before the principal Bastion of the Castle. D' *Aumale*, with the Princes of *Bourbon*, *Nemours*, and the Nobles, had taken up his Quarters at *San-Balengo*; a thousand Paces from the Town: *Darville* Captain of *Light-horse* had withdrawn farther to *Montanaro*, two thousand Paces from the Town; being detached that way, with his own Troop, two hundred *Cuirassiers*, and four Companies of *Italians*, to hinder the Enemy from passing the *Doria* from *Trimo* and *Crescentino*. *Roque de Chasteigner* Seigneur de la *Rochepezay* was also sent to guard the Fords of the *Brandici*; and happening to intercept *Emanuel de Luna*, who had been detached by the Duke of *Alva* with six hundred *Spanish* and *Italian* Musqueteers, and was arrived at *Pontestura* with a view of conveying Succours into the Town, he fell upon them, after they had silently passed the *Po* by Night, and made so terrible a slaughter of them, that out of the whole number scarce eighty with *de Luna* at the head of them escaped into the Town. Our Men in the pursuit mixing themselves with the flying Enemy, attacked a Redoubt raised before the Castle, and secured by a Ditch dug between the Castle and the Bastion, and made themselves masters of the Ditch itself. The Batteries were then planted in three places; against the grand Bastion of the Castle five Battering-pieces were directed; four more by the advice of *Montluc* (who with d' *Aumale* himself and *Feuquiers* had



A. D. had surveyed the Place at the hazard of his Life) an opening being  
 1555. made in the Trenches opposite to the Wall, were disposed against That  
 part, which lies between the Town and Castle; lastly, four others to-  
 wards That side, where the *Swiss* were posted. Two days, before the  
 Trenches were carried up to the Grand Bastion, which covered the  
 Castle; the Baron *de Chipy*, an Aid de Camp, had ordered some chosen  
 Men to put Shirts over their Cloaths; and had leaped with them in the  
 night-time into the Town-ditch; and beating out the Guard, had made  
 himself master of the Works erected in the bottom for the defence of  
 the Trenches at both ends. During the fire, three Mines were carried  
 on against the Great Bastion. The battering having been continued for  
 nineteen days and nights, and the Mines being just ready to be sprung, all  
 the Soldiers appeared at an instant before the Breach, ready for the Storm;  
 and amongst the rest stood the Princes of *Bourbon* themselves, *Nemours*  
 with *Bonivet*, *Lewis de la Trimouille*, *Gilbert de Levy Duke de Ventadour*,  
*D'Urfé*, *Guy de Daillon Count du Lude*, *De Caumont de Lausun*, *Claude de*  
*la Chastre*, *John de Chourfes de Malicorne*, and *Vivonne de la Chastigneray*.  
 Fire being set to the Mines, and the lower Arch of the Bastion thereby  
 blown up, many of the Enemies perished in the Ruins; and immediately  
 Our Men leaped to the Assault and gained the Post; killing many in  
 the pursuit, because the Garrison shut the Gates against them, for fear  
 Our Soldiers might enter mixed with the flying Enemy. In this Conflict,  
 wherein the Princes of *Bourbon*, *Nemours*, and the other Lords, careless  
 of all danger, distinguished their Valour; there fell *Cesar de Toledo* the  
 Duke of *Alva's* Brother's Son, and *Garcilasso de Vega* a Commander of  
 high renown; *Sigismond Gonzaga*, and *Lazaro* Colonel of the Duke's  
 Guards were made Prisoners. Our Soldiers, who assaulted the Breach  
 in another part at the same instant, did not succeed so well; for being  
 obliged first to descend by Ladders into the Ditch, and from  
 thence to climb the Wall; what with the lightning of artificial Fire-  
 works, a shower of Stones, and the force of Pikes and Musquet-  
 shot; they were at length after a sharp dispute repulsed with loss; and  
*De Touthville Count de Creance* received a wound in his head by a Stone,  
 of which he died soon after. Tho' this Disaster abated something of  
 the Joy conceived for the taking of the Bastion; nevertheless the Duke  
*d'Aumale*, full of sanguine hopes, presently by the advice of *Montlus*  
 ordered two pieces of Cannon to be dragged up into the Bastion, from  
 whence they might play upon the Castle. Which being observed,  
 the Garrison, who had tried their Strength, and saw their inability  
 to sustain the Attacks of Our Troops, on the next day, which was the  
 20th of *September*, came down to parley; and that the Surrender might  
 be made with the greater honour, obtained, that fifty Volleys should be  
 discharged upon the Castle. Thus their Baggage and Arms being  
 secured to them, they were suffered to march out with flying Colours  
 and beat of Drum; and were safely conducted by *Danville* as far as  
*Trimo*. The Town being thus taken, which by continual Excursions  
 and Depredations for twenty years together had grown to great opulence,  
 it was resolved to dismantle it immediately; which *Brissac* executed with  
 the



the help of the Peasants, who with wonderful alacrity ran thither from *A. D.* all parts, to revenge the Injuries so long sustained by them. In the *1555* mean while the Duke of *Alva* hastened the raising of the Fort begun by him at *Pontestura*. In this Town there is a Castle, seated on a Rock, into which *Ludovico Sforza*, being betrayed by his own Men, had formerly been cast as a Prisoner by *Lewis XII.* The Place was of great importance, because by its being fortified the water-passage was considerably obstructed from *Casal* to *Turin*. The conquering Army therefore advanced thither, and having passed the *Doria* by Bridges of Boats, encamped near *Crescentino*, where they had considerable and frequent Skirmishes with the Enemy. In the second March, *D'Aumale* reached *Livorno*, and the next day *Villa-nuova* not far from *Casal*; because on the same day *Danville* and *Rochepozay* with the Light-armour, having fallen unawares amongst some *Spaniards*, who were conveying Provisions and two Culverins to *Pontestura*; and engaging with them at a disadvantage in the narrow Vallies; had their Men shot down one by one and way-laid on every side, and after the loss of many killed and made Prisoners, saved themselves with extream difficulty: *Pelous's* Lieutenant was killed upon the occasion, and *Rochepozay* himself grievously wounded. Whilst the Army was passing the *Po* at *Casal*, it was debated amongst the Generals, whether they should attempt *Pontestura* or *Moncalvo*: And when it was determined for *Moncalvo*, the Cavalry held the Enemy in play at *Pontestura*, to favour the Infantry's passage: Ladders being fixed upon the Walls by night, the Town, being exceeding weak, was taken by *Salvaïson* Governour of *Casal* without blood-shed. The Castle afforded a prospect of more difficulty; and when the Batteries had play'd upon the Bastion on the Right side of the Gate, Our Troops, making an assault, were at first repulsed. In the bottom of the Ditch there were some Works, from whence the Enemies firing in flank were able to drive Our Men out of the Ditch, as fast as they entered: Three Pieces were therefore planted by *Caillac* against the Bridge, which they hoped thereby to demolish by breaking the Chains, and withal to be able to burst open the very Gate of the Castle. A Mine was carried on besides under the Bastion. *De Thermes* had come thither by the King's command, to take upon him the Chief Command: But when he found that so many Princes and Lords, as were present, would hardly take orders from Him; he, according to his wonted Prudence and Moderation, declined using the Powers granted to him. The Batteries ceasing, the Governour of the Castle, when he saw himself reduced to such streights, growing fearful rather too soon for the Event, without expecting an Assault, capitulated on the 7th day of *October*, upon These Terms: That, their Effects and Arms being allowed them, the Garrison should march out with Colours flying, and Drums beating; taking also with them, as a farther mark of Honour, one single piece of Ordnance out of the Castle; which however the Governour could not carry off, because the Pole and Wheels of the Carriage happened to break. After such an honourable Capitulation, thinking himself safe, he went directly to *Pontestura*, to excuse the matter to *Alvaro de Sandi* the Governour of that



A. D. Town: But the latter, looking upon this Conduct as unworthy  
 1555. of the *Spanish* Name, ordered him, without a Hearing, to be immediately hanged. This Success was very important; both because the Town was taken in the very sight of the Duke of *Alva*, whose arrival in *Italy* had caused such Apprehensions; and because by the taking of it, the Excursions of the Garrison at *Pontestura* were bridled, and the Commerce and Navigation between *Casal* and *Turin* rendered more secure. The Army staying there more than forty days (a time sufficient for the refreshment of the Soldiers); as the minds of Our Men grew wanton with ease and good-fortune, the Duke of *Nemours* sent the Enemy a challenge, if any were willing to make tryal of their Courage, and break a lance. Indeed before This, soon after the Fight at *Valenza*, *Danville* had sent a Trumpeter to make the same demand of the Marquess of *Pescara*: And He truly had accepted the Proposal; but being hindered by a fit of sickness, had obtained the liberty of staying, 'till he should be recovered. At this time the promise was renewed; and *De Thermes* with five hundred Horse and two hundred Musqueteers marched out, to support the Combatants, if the Enemy should attempt any thing contrary to the Rules of Honour. First *Nemours* engaged with *Pescara*; twice without effect; the third time the Launces were broken on both sides, but neither Party wounded: Next *De Classé*, eldest Son of the *Sieur de Vasse*, being coupled with the Marquess *di Malaspini*, came off very unfortunately; for receiving a Wound through his Neck with the Lance, he was dismounted, and died soon after of the Wound. Nor had *Gaspar de Bolliers* *Sieur de Manes* any better fortune; for running against *D'Alava* a *Spaniard*, and receiving likewise a Wound in the Neck, He also died within four days. But Our Disasters were somewhat revenged or comforted by *Moncha* Cornet in *De Pivars's* Troop; who, joining Launces with *Francis Caraffa*, a Relation of the Pope, run him through the Body, and laid him dead upon the ground. Then, after Thanks returned with great humanity, and mutual Embraces, according to custom, they departed on both sides. The *Italians* relate the matter a little otherwise: For they say, that the Duke of *Nemours* received a slight Wound in the Arm from the Marquess of *Pescara*; and that *Pescara's* Horse was wounded by *Nemours* contrary to the Rules laid down for the Combat: Besides, that with *Nemours* there came, not the *Sieur de Manes*, but *de Noailles*, a Person eminent for high Birth and Valour, of whom we have had occasion to speak in the Siege of *Metz*: They write too, that *George Manriquez*, not the Marquess *di Malaspini*, tilted with *De Classé*; and they call *Noailles's* Antagonist *Cesar Millort* a *Scots* Gentleman: As to the rest their Account agrees with Ours.

*Brissac*, having furnished *Monte-calvo* with a Garrison, and placed therein *A. Dailly de Pecquigny* Vidame of *Amiens* with a sufficient Garrison, departed; and, because the Autumn began to draw to an end, he sent away the Troops into Winter-Quarters. Whilst the Officers were every one repairing to the Garrisons assigned to them by *Brissac*; Monsieur *Clermont*, setting out towards *Casal*, happened to be intercepted by the Marquess



Marquês di Pescara, who with about five hundred Light-horse and three A. D. hundred Musqueteers lay in ambush between *Monte-calvo* and *Casal*; and 1555. after the loss of all his Baggage and thirty of his Men, he with much difficulty escaped with the Standard to *Casal*. But this Mischance was afterwards revenged by *Salvaïson*; who, upon information that two Troops of Italian Horse were lodged near *Alessandria*, setting out thither by night, on the 8th day of *December*, with five hundred Musqueteers, and about thirty Horse of the remains of *Clermont's* Party; and falling upon them, whilst they were taking victuals, killed more than sixty of them, and carried off some very valuable Horses.

In the mean time, the report being spread of the approach of the Turkish Fleet, which after traversing the Coast of *La-Puglia* and *Calabria* had sailed through the *Faro di Messina*; *Cosmo* bestirred himself to provide the Coast of *Piombino*, against which he expected the *Turks* would bend their force, with Soldiers and all things necessary for a stout defence. The Camp accordingly was advanced towards *Piombino*; and, *Caparbio* and the Tower of *Telamone* being taken in the way, and *Grosseto*, which seemed to require a longer Siege, being left on one side; he with the help of the Artillery took *Castiglione della Pescaia*. The Isle of *Giglio* also, not far from *Porto Ercole*, and the Castles of the Island were reduced by *Mark Centurione* Commander of the Gallies. Our Officers, not to sit idle in the mean while, drawing together about five hundred Foot and fifty Horse from *Chiusi* and the neighbouring places, and putting Shirts over their Armour, set upon *Monte-pulciano*, but without success. On the other side, the Enemy detached four Troops of *Neapolitan* Horse with some Companies of Foot to *Chianciano*, in order to ravage the Country about *Mont-alcino*; the management of which was committed to *Hierom delli Albizi*. Pioneers were also sent in great numbers, to raise some new Bastions for the better strengthening of *Poggio del Cassero*, not far from *Piombino*; the proper Tools with necessary Carriages and Ammunition being furnished for the purpose from *Leghorn*, *Porto Ercole*, and *Porto Ferrato*: The Conduct of the whole was committed to *Luke-Anthony Cuppano*, supported by *Peter dal Monte* with two hundred Foot, and by *Simeon Rossellini*, and *Alfonso dell'Ante*, both of *Pisa*, with each an Ensign of Foot: *Dominick Rinuccini* was sent for also from *Volterra*, and placed in Garrison at *Piombino* with two hundred Foot. *Vitelli* commanded the Land-Army; to whom were also joined *John-Baptist Martini* and *Vincenzio Lignago* with an hundred Light-horse. And now the Turkish Fleet, which consisted of eighty Gallies, leaving the Isles of *Ponza* over against *Terracina*, had come with a favourable Wind to *San-Stephano*, soon after *Cuppano* had passed with his Men into the Isle of *Elba*: And from thence, on the 12th day of *July*, it arrived within sight of *Piombino*; which Town *Chiappino Vitelli*, with two Ensigns of *German* Foot, (besides the Garrison of *Italians*, which was there already) fearing the event of the Siege, had entered. Whilst the Fleet lay at anchor off of *Piombino*; twenty Vessels, which had come from *Algiers*, turned aside to *Porto Baratto*, formerly a populous City under the name of *Populonia*, but now almost deserted. The Townsmen, upon the news of the arrival of



A. D. of the *Turks*, abandoning their scattered Houses, and \*immediately re-  
1555. tiring into the Castle, left the Town to the pillage of the Enemy.

Whilst These were besieging the Castle, the remainder of the Fleet had born down to *Porto Farese* near *Piombino*, and had landed three thousand Janizaries and other *Turks*: Which being observed by *Leo Santi*, he advances with the Cavalry, to carry Succours to the Castle of *Porto Baratto*: Nor did his Attempt fail of Success; for the *Turks*, being frightened with the approach of the Horse, quitted the Siege, and with the Loss of some of their Men ran hastily to their Ships. A sharp Battle then ensued between *Piombino* and *Farese*, which are not above a thousand Paces distant: And *Vitelli* sallying out with the *Germans*, (having sent the Count *di Sala*, *Madrucchio's* Lieutenant, before) fell pell-mell amongst the *Turks* with the whole Army; and, by the assistance chiefly of the Halberdeers, put the Enemy into disorder: Upon whose dispersion, when the *Germans* urged the pursuit, their Vigour was somewhat blunted by several Discharges of Great Guns from the Fleet. Nevertheless the *Germans*, being inflamed with their Success, and pushing forwards with fresh Courage, never left fighting, 'till they had driven the retiring *Turks* into their Ships; with the slaughter of near four hundred Men, and amongst the rest, of the Commander of the Janizaries, and with a very small loss on their own part. When, after this Action, the *Turkish* Fleet had stood at anchor for two whole hours in sight of the Christians, it tacked about towards *Elba*, and sailed to *Porto Longone*; and having laid waste the Country, and carried off (according to their usual custom) some Booty and a number of Captives; without any other material Action; they proceeded after a few slight Skirmishes towards *Corfica*, in order to join Our Fleet. A French Squadron of twenty eight Gallies had already arrived there from *Marseilles* under *Paulin Baron de la Garde*, having on board fifteen hundred Recruits, with a vast quantity of Provisions and Ammunition. It was then resolved to form anew the Siege of *Calvi*; which being taken, they hoped to dispossess the *Genoese* of the whole Island: This Town had been in vain attempted some time before by *Paul Giordano*, who, after *Doria* had introduced Succours into the Place, had kept himself close within the fortified Towns, in expectation of the *Turks*. These after ravaging the Coast from *Cape Corso*, sent ashore near three thousand of their Men; who were joined by as many of Ours: And having disembarked eleven Pieces of Cannon, planted them before the Gate of the Town; and at the same time drew out three more for the battery of the Castle: Six Pieces were disposed on that part, which faces the Sea; and two Culverins employed to annoy the Besieged in flank. On the 10th Day of *August*, a great Breach being made in the Wall, Ladders were fixed, and an Assault given by Our *Gascons*; and the Attack being thrice renewed, Our Men were as often repulsed; to the great indignation of *Orfino*, who on that day omitted no part of the Duty either of a gallant Officer or a stout Soldier. Near three hundred of Our Men were missing, and three Colours lost. The next day the *Turks*, who had sat by as Spectators, made a shew of coming on to an  
Assault



Assault; but, contenting themselves with deafening the ears of the Garrison with their confused shoutings, and rending the Sky with frequent Volleys of Musquet-shot, they declined fighting: No hopes remaining of Success, the Artillery was forthwith drawn off, and embarked with the Soldiers on board the Ships. Our Troops advancing farther, encamped before *La Bastia*, which had before been excellently fortified by *Doria*; and when *Orsino* had ordered the Cannon to be planted, the *Turks* refusing to join Forces, and no possibility appearing of his doing any thing by himself, the Design miscarried. Thus about the end of *August*, the *Turkish* Fleet, after sailing along the Coast of *Sardinia*, bore off to the East, and returned home; and Ours soon after withdrew to *Marseilles*, from whence it had come.

*Cosmo*, who, for fear that Our Troops, assisted by the *Turks*, might make a fresh attempt upon the Coast of *Tuscany*, was hurrying on the Fortifications of *Piombino*; and had taken care to strengthen it with a fresh Garrison under *Leonida Malatesta*; now grown securer by the departure of that Navy, returned to his former design of laying the Country waste about *Mont-alcino*. But the Endeavours of the *Sieneſe*, who had settled a Commonwealth at *Mont-alcino*, and of Our Troops in *Tuscany*, interrupted the execution of this Project: For by Letters sent backwards and forwards between those, who had staid behind at *Siena*, and those, who preferring Liberty to their Fortunes and Estates, had assembled together at *Mont-alcino*, they mutually confirmed one another: And tho' the Senate, instituted in the City by *Cosmo* according to the directions of *Angelo Nicolini*, by their publick Letters invited the *Sieneſe* Refugees to return into the City, yet it appeared to be done upon force and not voluntarily. The Imperialists therefore, in order to consult their own safety, had deprived the Townsmen of all their Arms, Defensive as well as Offensive, and besides of their annulate Coats of Mail, which are commonly and promiscuously suffered to be worn in *Italy*. It increased the Suspicion, that, *Cosmo's* Troops being employed on the Sea-coast, *Cornelius Bentivoglio* had made an Inroad with a Party of Horse and Foot as far as *Buonconvento*, and had surprized *San-Chirico*, which happened to be but indifferently provided with a Garrison: He had also taken *Crevoli* by Capitulation, through the cowardice of the Governour. *Clermont* in like manner had recovered *Castiglion della Pescaia* upon the maritime Coast, which had been lately taken by *Vitelli*; and had the Castle also surrendered to him; and every day new Troops were drawing together from *Petigliano* to *Grosseto*. *Cosmo* therefore, who was in pain for *Siena*, thought proper for the time to suspend the March of three *Spanish* Ensigns, which he had designed to draw out of the City; and sending forwards *Hierom da Pisa* to take charge of the *Italians*, who were shortly to be dispatched thither, he had summoned *Santa-fiore* to the Army. He had moreover commanded new Levies to be made in the Country of *Arezzo* and throughout *La Romagna*. Seven hundred Men were picked out to serve under *Chiappino Monte-vecchiano*, *Anthony Mari da Perugia*, and *Thomas Theodoli da Furlì*. *John-Baptist Bongiammi d'Arezzo* was appointed by him



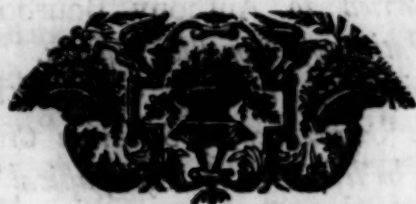
A. D. Governour of *Monte-pulciano*, and *Thomas Count di Gattaia of Casoli*, 1555. each with a single Company; and lastly, *Sigismond Rossi*, of the Noble Family of the Counts *di Sansecolo*, made Governour of *Pienza*, for which place he was most apprehensive. Whilst these things were in agitation, and *Chiappino Vitelli* was employed in making himself master of the Mills on the Sea-coast about *Campiglia*; Our Troops, marching again into the Field, on the last day of *July*, attempted by Scaling-Ladders, to surprize *Lucignano*, which was held by *Concetto*; but the Soldiers in Garrison defending themselves stoutly, and the Townsmen, for fear of becoming a Prey to the Conqueror, assisting them, the Enterprize failed. At the report of it, *Santa-fiore* by *Cosmo's* orders had marched out of *Siena* with part of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, and encamped at *Lucignanello* not far from *Buonconvento*. Our Men, that they might not return entirely without Success, turned aside to *Pienza*; and before *Santa-fiore* could come to its Relief, obliged *Sigismund Rossi* the Governour to surrender upon honourable Conditions: Namely, That having their Lives and Effects secured, the Garrison should march out with flying Colours; but under this restriction, That they should not bear Arms within six Months against the King, or the *Sieneſe* assembled at *Mont-alcino*.

*Cosmo* perceiving that the Inhabitants, not of *Siena* only, but of the whole Country, were disaffected; and resenting the frequent voluntary Surrenders of Towns, which necessarily followed upon that Discontent; had secretly resolved to demolish the Castles and dismantle the walled Towns; such only excepted, which were requisite for the defence of the Borders against Our Troops; and he had brought the Imperialists to approve his Resolution: But what hindered the execution of it, was the earnest opposition of the Senate at *Siena*, which under the Emperor's Name still maintained some appearance of Liberty and a Commonwealth; and in the next place the want of Money: For the Subsidies, promised by the Emperor and his Son *Philip* out of the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, were unpaid; whilst the *Spaniards* murmured, and the *Germans* after their example demanded, in Terms very insolent and bordering upon Mutiny, two months Pay, and a third besides for the good service done at *Piombino*: By means of which Disturbances, the City of *Siena*, never as yet well settled, seemed to be in imminent danger. Therefore at *Cosmo's* intreaty, *Francis de Toledo* had been sent thither by the Emperor to take upon him the Chief Command of the City. He, finding the Citizens already disarmed to his hand, and looking upon the Thing as well begun at least, if not altogether finished, resolved to push Matters farther; and contrary to the Articles and Engagements, not only instituted a new Form of Government, but quite took away all appearances of Liberty. For being at first received with great applause, when the Civil Governour of the Commonalty approached to salute him, and after deploring in many words the late condition of the City, made a tender of their Zeal for the service of the Emperor and his Son *Philip*; *Toledo*, commending their good disposition, subjoined, that he did not see how those



those great Calamities could possibly be ended otherwise, than by their *A. D.* submitting themselves and all their Concerns to the absolute discretion 1555. and disposal of those excellent Princes: This Opinion, inculcated with a mixture of Force and kind Persuasions, the Populace consented to, and soon after the Senate: And although the Emperor, not to give *Cosmo* disgust, had ratified the Articles concluded by him, and afterwards inconsiderately approved by *Toledo*; he now ordered a new Instrument to be drawn; wherein, rescinding those Articles, he lays claim to the Territory of the *Siense*, as devolved to him in right of the Imperial Crown, and transferred upon him, with the supream and absolute Dominion thereof, by the voluntary Act of the Citizens; and in this Condition, he makes a grant of it to his Son *Philip*; with the power of building Citadels, and ordering every thing else as he should please, even without the consent of the Senate and People: *De Toledo* also was in an especial manner made a Citizen; and impowered to go, whenever he pleased, into the Senate-house, and there propose what he thought fit, and to bear the Authority of the *Prior*, as he is commonly called, in all Debates. This was no difficult thing for the Emperor to bring about, whilst the City was under the bridle of a Garrison: Nor were there wanting some amongst the Citizens, Friends to Liberty, who declared, that it was impossible for them to shake off the Yoke, which they so much feared and abhorred, of the *Florentines* and *Cosmo*; and to recover their Towns then possessed by *Cosmo*, by any other way; than, if the Republick, which was unable to defend itself by its own strength, should make a frank and voluntary surrender of its whole Interests to *Philip*, a most potent Prince; who might demand back from *Cosmo* the Places which he had usurped, and might some time or other, when his Affairs in *Italy* should be settled, graciously re-invest them in the possession of their antient Liberty. *Cosmo*, tho' he saw the ill-consequence and intention of these Counsels with regard to himself, yet prudently dissembled his Apprehension, in hopes of a convenient opportunity of gaining his purpose; and to the utmost of his power promoted the Interest of the Emperor and his Son *Philip*, whose Party he had espoused, with his Aid, Advice, and Forces.

The End of the Fifteenth BOOK.



BOOK





## BOOK XVI.

### ARGUMENT.

Troubles raised by the new Pope, and Schemes set on foot by his Relations, of which Cosmo at first takes no notice. John-Francis Guido Count da Bagni dispossessed of his antient Patrimony and cited to Rome. The Enmity of the Caraffaes towards the Emperor and Those of his Party. The Sforzas, Counts of Santa-fiore, molested upon that account. Proposals drawn up at Rome by D'Avanson the King's Ambassador, and Cardinal George d' Armagnac, and sent into France by the hands of Hannibal Rucellai; according to which, an unfortunate League was concluded with Us. Its fatal Consequences foreseen by that most prudent Man the Cardinal de Tournon. The taking of Crevoli in Tuscany by the Imperialists. Cornelius Bentivoglio's Success. Sarteano lost. The Death of the Marquess di Marignan, Governour of the Milanes, at Milan: His Cunning, Cruelty, and various Manners: Cardinal Christopher Madruccio succeeds him. The Duke of Alva comes to Genoa, and sails from thence to Naples, in order to carry on the War as chief General against the Pope. The honourable Characters of John Gropper and Claude d' Espence. The War renewed between the Emperor and the King by means of the Caraffaes. Our Successes in the Netherlands. A Battle at Germigny not far from Port de Givais, and again at Givais itself. Some Flemish Ships also, in their return from India, ruined by the French either by Fire or Pillage, with great damage on both sides, and the loss of Spineville of Harfleur the chief Commander of Our Fleet. Henry King of Navarre dies at Pau in the Principality of Bearn, leaving the Inheritance of the Kingdom to his Daughter Joan, who had been married to Anthony Bourbon Duke de Vendôme. Next follows a Relation of Domestick Affairs. Lieutenants Criminal of the Short Robe appointed. The King, who had before reserved to himself and his Judges the Cognizance of Sectarian Crimes, this Year made an Ordinance, wherein he left it to the Ecclesiastical Judges; and commanded his Governours, to punish all such as They and the Inquisitors of Faith should condemn as convicted of bad Opinions, according to the greatness of the Offence, without delay or regarding any Appeal: The Parliament inter-



*interpose with exceeding weight against the Ordinance. A Bargain concluded with John de Brosles Duke d'Estampes for the Principality of Bretagne. Troubles at Geneva and Lucern. The Death of famous Persons; Wolfgang Lazius, Conrad Pellican, George Agricola, Gemma de Friefz, Edward Wootton, Isidore Clario, Olympia Fulvia Morata, Mark-Anthony Majoraggio, Oronce Finé, Peter Gilles. The Expedition of Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon to America, Andrew Thevet's silly Deceits. The Diet of Augsbourgh, and the ensuing Convention at Nawmbourgh, wherein a League is concluded amongst the Protestants. The Dispute between Philip Landgrave of Hesse and William Count of Nassaw Prince of Orange, concerning the Territory of Catzenellbogen, discussed without Effect. At length, on the 25th day of September, after sharp Contentions, Peace is given to Religion, for fear of a War from the Turks on one hand, and the French on the other. The Allies of the Confession of Augsbourgh permitted the free profession of it, so that no violence be offered to any one in Life or Estate upon that account. The Controversy revived amongst the Protestants concerning the Lord's Supper. Joan, Mother to the Emperor and Ferdinand, dies. The Emperor thinks of abdicating all worldly Concerns, after the example of other Princes; and, holding a solemn Assembly at Brussels, after creating his Son Chief of the Order of the Golden Fleece, transfers upon him all his Kingdoms and Dominions; resigning also the Imperial Dignity in favour of his Brother Ferdinand then King of the Romans.*



**C**OSMO, as he struggled with great Difficulties in *Tuscany*, and with regard to the Emperor, so he was distressed with much greater at *Rome*: For *Paul IV.* immediately after his Inauguration, began to act the part, not of a pacifick universal Father, but of an Unkle most indulgent to his own Relations; and gave the Emperor and those of his Party a strong suspicion of intended innovations: Accordingly he in an haughty manner demands of *Cosmo* the Enlargement of *Matthew Stendardo*, who was Sister's Son of *Charles Caraffa*, and had been a long time, with Others of *Florence*, detained a Prisoner, as a *Neapolitan* Refugee: And, when he had obtained him without much difficulty of *Cosmo*, and of *De Toledo*, who at that time took care of the Emperor's Affairs in *Tuscany*; he went farther, and immediately advanced to the Cardinal's Cap *Charles Caraffa* himself, a Friend of Our Party, who had long served in the Army under *Strozzi*, and had lately defended *Porto Ercole*; a Man of a proud and turbulent Spirit, and trained up in the arts rather of War than Peace: He had also brought into play *Alfonso Caraffa* Count of *Montorio*, Brother of *Charles*; one indeed of a milder disposition than the Other, but equally intent upon raising his Family by unjust Methods; whom in a short time after, upon the Removal of the Duke of *Urbino* from the Government of the Church, he made chief Administrator of all Affairs; delivering to him the Ensigns and Staff of office with great Solemnity. Then, the Principality of *Camerino*, which *Julius III.* had given to his Brother *Baldwin*, and to *Baldwin's*



A. D. Son *Fabian*, *Cosmo's* intended Son-in-Law, was taken from him, and 1555. restored to the Patrimony of the Church, upon a promise of Possessions of equal Value: It happened too at that time, that the Pontiff's mind was cruelly exasperated upon this occasion; that *John-Francis Giugni*, a *Florentine* Refugee, had been basely assassinated at *Rome*, by some hired *Ruffians*: Into which murder when inquiry was made, the fault, or the suspicion of it, fell upon *Averard Serristori*, *Cosmo's* Embassador to the Pope; who, it is probable, had taken care, that a Citizen of so noble and generous a spirit, and who upon that account might be dangerous to his Master *Cosmo*, should be removed out of the way: Therefore, when *Cosmo* had treated with the Pope, that the Possessions of *Rodolph Baglioni*, in the Territory of *Perugia*, which in the vacancy of the See had been occupied by his Brother *Hadrian*, might be restored to *Rodolph's* Sons, whose Guardianship He had undertaken; he had indeed procured the Pope's consent to his request; yet notwithstanding, upon Cardinal *Caraffa's* opposing it afterwards, he could not bring the matter to effect. Nor was the Cardinal content with having denied the Grant, which had been obtained from his Uncle; but took upon him to admonish *Cosmo*, to see that the Revenues of the Archbishoprick of *Florence*, which, for the offence of *Anthony Altoviti* the exiled Archbishop, had been applied to the use of the Poor's Hospital, should be restored to *Altoviti* Himself. There was also a suit commenced against *John-Francis Count Da Bagni*, of the noble Family of the *Guidi*, who had always served in the Wars under *Cosmo*, for some Money taken from the *French* in the County of *Cesena*, within the Pope's Territories: For which reason, he was cited to appear in Person at *Rome*; and, not taking any notice of the Summons, nor appearing at the day prefixt, he was even proscribed: In consequence of which, orders were afterwards given to *Ascanio della Corgna*, (who being formerly taken prisoner at *Chiusi*, had lately been exchanged with *Lansac*, a prisoner at *Florence*) that with ten Ensigns of Foot he should seize upon the out-lawed Count's Castles. *Antony Caraffa* too, the Pope's kinsman, who had the grant of that Estate, was sent with him; who marching through *La Marca d'Ancona*, had taken care to have the Artillery transported by Sea from *Ancona* to *Rimini*. It was suspected, that *Cosmo* gave secret assistance to the Count; from his putting a fresh Garrison into *Castro-caro*, which lies on the Borders of their respective Countries: Which as *Cosmo* denied, so, when several of the Count's Places were taken without any trouble, it appeared, that *Cosmo* thro' fear of the Pope carried himself as a Neuter in that War. At last the Town, and some time after the Castle, of *Monte-bello* were, upon the flight of the Garrison, taken by the Pope's Soldiers: And in this manner the Count was deprived of all his Possessions; whilst *Cosmo* all the while dissembled his Resentment, through the apprehension of bringing upon himself an unseasonable War. And when the Pope had under very severe penalties forbidden, that any person belonging to his Dominions should serve under a Foreign Prince without his leave; *Leonida Malatesta*, and *James* his Son, and very many others, for fear of



of a Proscription, had left the service of the Emperor and *Cosmo*; only *A. D. Mark Anthony Da Rieti*, who commanded in *Castro-carò* with an Ensign 1555. of choice Troops, despised the Pope's Edicts, and continued with great constancy in his Fealty to *Cosmo*.

As these Beginnings, in appearance of small moment, gave the Emperor and *Cosmo* a jealousy of the ambition of the *Caraffaes*; so some new Commotions, which suddenly arose in the City, put all things into a flame. Their original was this; Count *Santa-fiore*, the Head of the *Sforza*-Family, (who in Conjunction with the two Brothers Cardinal *Guy Ascanio*, and *Alexander* Clerk of the Chamber to the Pope, had always followed the Emperor's Service) had earnestly solicited *Charles* the Commander of the *Maltese* Troops in *Lombardy*, and *Mario* lately taken Prisoner, two other Brothers, to desert the King, and venture their Fortunes in a better bottom. This he had easily brought them into, ever since, upon the taking of *Siena*, the greatest part of the possessions of their House had necessarily fallen into the Emperor's hands. But *Charles*, who then served in *Henry's* Pay, and had three Gallies, excellently well fitted out at *Marseilles*, under his Command; was principally desirous, that, before he left the King's service, he might draw off two at least of these Ships into some Port of the Emperor's; that he might not seem to come over to him naked, and without force: In order to effect this with the less suspicion, he had sent for them to *Civita Vecchia*, a Town in the Territories of the Pope; whither, by the permission of *Henry*, they shortly arrived under the Conduct of *Nicolas Alman*, to whose care the King had committed them: And immediately *Alexander*, Brother to *Charles*, upon pretence that he had bought them of his Brother, made himself Master of them, turning out the *French*, and depriving *Alman* of his Command: But yet he was unable to sail away with them, by reason that, a tumult being raised, *Peter da Capua* the Governour of the Castle, upon *Alman's* Complaint to him of the Injury, shut up the Haven, and obstructed their departure: However, in the mean time, the Cardinal his Brother, being apprized of what had passed, took care, before the Pope could come to the knowledge of it, by the means of *John-Francis Lottini* his Secretary, a trusty and diligent Man, to procure an order from the Count *di Montorio* to the Governour of the Castle of *Civita Vecchia*; by which he was commanded to permit *Alexander* freely to sail away with those Ships; and the latter, upon the Receipt of the Governour's Licence, carried them in all haste, first to *Gayeta*, and then to *Bernardin Mendoza* at *Naples*. When the King's Embassador had made the Pope acquainted with this affair, it was strange to what degree it provoked the imperious old Gentleman; who, in order to act agreeably to the Honour of his illustrious Family (which he thought affronted,) to his natural Greatness of Soul, and to the Dignity and Authority intrusted to him by Jesus Christ; commanded Cardinal *Santa-fiore* immediately under severe threatnings, to look to the speedy Return of the Ships, and the restitution of them to *Alman*; and cited *Alexander* to appear, and give an account of that bold Action. With this Trumpet, as it were, which  
the



A. D. the Pope seemed to sound for the War, the Exiles of *Naples* and *Florence*, 1555. and of other parts of *Italy*, flocked in an instant to *Rome* in great numbers; upon the invitation of Cardinal *Caraffa*, a Man of a most turbulent temper, and who besides had an inveterate hatred to the *Spaniards*: For during his service under the Emperor in the *German War*, being injured by a *Spaniard*, in a dispute concerning a Prisoner; and having expostulated the matter with the Duke of *Alva*, and demanded of him, that he might receive Satisfaction in the honourable way of a Duel; he was not only refused, but repulsed with ignominy: And when upon that account he quitted the Army, and retired towards *Italy*, he was detained at *Trent* by the Command of the Emperor; and not dismissed, till he had given security, that he would not challenge his Adversary, professing, that he had received a full satisfaction from him. From that time he had conceived an aversion to the Emperor's Party; and, contracting a most strict Friendship with *Peter Strozzi*, had used all his endeavours to fill the Mind of his Uncle, naturally rash and hasty of itself, with suspicions; and to set him against the *Spaniards*. To these were added, the private injuries, that the Pope himself had received from the Emperor; which were these: That, when he was Bishop of *Chieti*, and afterwards of *Brindisi*, and a Senator in the publick Council of the Kingdom, being sent by the Pontiff Legate into *England*, he had been ignominiously deprived by the Emperor of his senatorial Dignity, without any just cause: That, being artfully drawn into the College of Cardinals, he had discovered Poyson prepared for him by his Conclavist, who was a *Spaniard*: That having spoken his opinion freely in the Consistory, according to his custom, and reflected upon the Emperor, as conniving at the cause of the Protestants, and consequently a favourer of Hereticks; the Emperor had called it to mind; and to this it had been owing, that, when preferred to the Archbishoprick of *Naples*, he was kept for a long time by the Emperor's Ministers out of possession, and from the free exercise of his jurisdiction. Besides, the remembrance was fresh of the opposition made by the Imperial Party, who had left nothing unattempted to hinder his Election. These things the Pope recollecting, and not considering enough how unprovided he was with Money, Men, and other Necessaries; he very unreasonably, whilst he gave too much Ear to those about him, involved both Himself and Them in a War equally unjust and disadvantageous: And although *Mario Sforza* by the Orders of his Brother Cardinal, that he might at any rate pacify the provoked Pontiff, went to *Mendoza*; and fearing the danger his Brother was in, importuned him, that the Gallies which had been carried off by his Brother *Alexander*, might be sent back again to *Cività Vecchia*; which was also effected; Nevertheless, the Cardinal *Caraffa* to take away all possible means of a reconciliation, spread abroad a report of a Conspiracy carrying on against the Pontiff in the House of the Chamberlain; whom He summoned before him in the Pope's Name; and putting him into a Chariot, sent him in custody to the Castle of *St. Angelo*: At the same time he seized upon *Camillo Colonna*, under pretence that he held frequent and secret Conferences with the Marquess of *Sarria* the Emperor's



Emperor's Embassador, and with the Count *de Chinchon*, who was newly arrived in the City to pay the usual respects in the name of his Master *Philip*: Whilst the true reason was, that though he knew him to be ignorant of all those designs, which he gave out to be hatching against his Person; yet, being afraid lest a Man of his Bravery, the chief support of the *Colomian* Family, which had always been an Enemy to the Popes, should attempt something in the Emperors favour, He therefore wheedled him from *Zagarolo*; and when he had gotten him into his hands, committed him to close custody. *Julian Cesarini*, and *Ascanio della Corgna*, being no Friends to the Cardinal, were for the same suspicions obliged to give Sureties not to depart the City. The designs of the *Caraffaes* were opposed by *Joseph Cantelmo* Count *di Popoli*, a near Relation of the Pontiff's; who, whether from his own inclination, or from the concern which he had for that part of his Estate which lay in the Emperor's Territories, dissuaded them from the War; for which reason, being sharply reproved by the Cardinal, he got leave of the Pontiff to retire to his Estate in the Kingdom of *Naples*: Nor was it long after, that *Mucio Tuttavilla* Colonel of the Guards, and with him four Officers of the Chamber were removed from their Office, on a suspicion that they favoured the contrary Party. In the mean while, Recruits were raised throughout *La Romagna*, then abounding in very good Soldiers, and *La Marca d'Ancona*: And a Commission was sent to the Duke *di Urbino*, by the hands of *Laurence Guasconi*, on the 17th day of *August*, to levy in *La Romagna* six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse; which upon occasion he might bring with him to *Rome*. Cardinal *Hippolito Da Esse*, who managed the King's Affairs at *Rome*, was likewise commanded to depart the City; because, as the *Caraffaes* gave out, he lived there in too luxurious a manner; but in reality out of spite, because he had opposed the Pope in the obtaining the supreme Dignity: Yet there was another reason found out for this shameful dismissal by Cardinal *Caraffa*, when he excused the Action to *Hercules of Ferrara* the Cardinal's Brother, and to *Hippolito* himself: For Then he said, that by the Arts of his Adversaries, which for his own part he could not at that time detect or prevent, the Pope had been perswaded, that he was forming some schemes of dangerous consequence; which opinion the Pope was led into, as he conjectured, by the craft of Cardinal *Pio*, Count *da Carpi*, who bore an antient grudge to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and violently feared every increase of his Fortune; as might appear by the Letters of the Imperial Ministers: That *Carpi* himself had communicated the affair to Cardinal *John du Bellay*, an ambitious Man; who on the removal of the Cardinal *di Ferrara*, hoped he might compass one or both of these two Points, viz. that either he might draw the management of all the affairs of *France* into his own hands, or else some time or other might obtain the Papacy; of which *Carpi* had given him hopes. This *Du Bellay*, who had a great Zeal for the *French* interest, was vehemently hated by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*; at whose instigation, Cardinal *Caraffa*, because he lived in such a strict Friendship with *Carpi*, had traduced him.



A. D. him to the King; and at length rendered him suspected to such a degree, that the King's Agents made no further use of his assistance; but managed all their Master's Affairs at *Rome* without his cognizance. There was also seized at the same time, by the Vicar of *Bologna*, at the Command of the *Caraffaes*, the Abbot of *Bresigni*, a *Spaniard* in the service of *Philip*; as he was hastening by Post-Horses from *Milan* to *Naples*: And the Duke of *Alva's* Letters were injuriously opened; wherein the *Caraffaes* pretended to have found Proofs of a Conspiracy formed by the *Spaniards* against the Pontiff, in conjunction with the Partisans of the *Sforzaes*. *M. Anthony Colonna*, Son of *Ascanio*, was likewise sent for to *Rome*; but being forewarned by his Mother *Joan* of *Arragon* (who had sent two Expresses to him at *Marino* by different Routs) he took care not to appear, but applied himself to the fortifying of *Paliano*; which, however, some time after, (the Fortifications not being carried on to such an height as to make the place defensible) was, on the departure of *Colonna*, surrendered to the *Caraffaes* by the Inhabitants. *Nettuno*, another Town belonging to the *Colonnaes* near the Sea, was likewise soon after taken. Cardinal *Santa-fiore* Uncle and Guardian of *Paul Jordan Orsino*, was also dealt with in Prison to consign the Castle of *Bracciano* into the Pontiff's hands: And *Cosmo*, who about that time had given his second Daughter *Isabella* in marriage to *Orsino*, advised him to deliver up the Castle to the *Caraffaes*, upon their giving him security for the re-delivery of it; and by all means to keep himself in the Pope's favour. These were the beginnings of a War very detrimental not only to *Italy*, but in a more especial manner to our Interests: The *Caraffaes* having in vain invited the *Venetian* Senate into the Confederacy, after they had communicated the scheme, and struck up a bargain with *John d'Avanson* the King's Ambassador, and Cardinal *George D'Armagnac*, they sent *Hannibal Rucellai*, (whose Uncle *John Casa* was Secretary and Privy Counsellour to the Pope) into *France* to the King, to acquaint him with the posture of affairs, and to solicit an Alliance with the Pontiff. And now three thousand Foot were got together at *Rome*; and the King's Agents had agreed with the *Caraffaes*, that, till farther Orders should come from the King, they might in the mean time, for the present exigency of the War, make use of the *French* Cavalry, which lay at *Parma* and *Mirandula* under the Command of *Ottavio Farnese*. This perplexed the Counsels of *Cosmo* in *Tuscany*; who nevertheless was urgent with *Francis* of *Toledo*, that he should draw out the Army; and as soon as possible retake *Crevoli*, which our Troops had newly taken; and from whence they made daily Incursions and Depredations. The *Germans* could hardly be prevailed upon to leave *Siena*; at length being fully assured of a speedy payment of their Arrears, they marched thither, together with three Ensigns of *Spanish* Foot under the Command of *Santa-fiore*. When, after violent Cannonadings, the assault upon the Town had been briskly repulsed by Our Men, with the loss of more than fifty of the Enemies choicest Troops; the Garrison, seeing no hopes of being relieved, quitted the place by night, and left the empty Town to the Enemy; who soon after caused the



the Walls to be levelled with the Ground. After this, *Santa-fiore* laying A. D. it to heart, that the Cardinal his Brother was still detained in prison 1555. on account of the Gallies not being restored; and that *Mario*, by repairing to *Naples* in order to demand them back of *Mendoza*, had effected nothing; he took a journey himself, whilst Our Forces were besieging *Vulpiam*, to the Duke of *Alva*; who at that time was employed in the *Piedmontese* War, and lay at *Pontestura*, concerting the proper Measures with *John-Baptist Castaldo* and the Marquess *di Marignan*: From Him he demanded and obtained the Restitution of the Gallies: Which being carried back to *Civita Vecchia*, the Pope at the Intercession of the College of Cardinals, discharged the Chamberlain out of custody; after he had by a deposit of two thousand Ducats given sufficient caution to the *Caraffaes*. In the mean while *Cosmo*, in the absence of *Santa-fiore*, that he might drain the *Val di Chiana* of Our Troops, and open a safer passage to the City then labouring under a very great want of all things; had given it in command to *Chiappino Vitelli* to draw out an Army and attack *Chiusi*, and afterwards *Sarteano*. In the way, *Vitelli* seized upon *Pienza*; which having been so often taken and retaken, lest it might fall again into Our hands, he entirely dismantled. At that time a Letter, written by a Native of *Siena* residing at *Radicosani*, was intercepted by Count *Rados* of *Epirus*; which, whether real or contrived for the purpose, diverted the Designs of *Cosmo*: It contained an Intimation, that *Radicosani* was so ill fortified, that if the Enemy turned their Forces that way, they might easily make themselves masters of the Place. Credit was immediately given to this Letter; and, because the gaining of that Town seemed to be of as great importance, as either *Chiusi* or *Sarteano* (for, by the taking thereof, That mountainous Tract, which reaches to *Mont-alcino*, and the passage from *Castro di Petigliano* into *Tuscany* would be blocked up); *Vitelli*, by the direction of *Cosmo*, led his Army thither. After four Pieces of Cannon had with vast pains been brought from *Arezzo* through a rocky Country, and began to play against the Town; a Breach being made, the Assault was given by the *Italians* and *Spaniards*; but with so little vigour, that they were easily repulsed; tho' their Commanders put themselves at their head, and incited them to Bravery by their Example, Speeches, and lastly Threatenings. The Onset was repeated a second time: And when *Vitelli* was preparing to make a third Attack from another Quarter, upon the promise of assistance from the *Germans*; an Order came from *Cosmo* to draw off the Army, by reason of the Rains beginning to fall in the latter end of *October*.

At this time we lost a noble opportunity, which the Writers of the *Tuscan* Affairs mention as thrown in our way by the miserable distress of *Siena*; which, notwithstanding all the care of *Cosmo*, (who at a vast expence supplied the City every day with Corn, brought by sea to *Leghorn* from *La-Puglia* and *Sicily*) was hardly furnished with Provisions for fifteen days: So that no body doubted, but, if the Forces, which we might easily have drawn together from *Ottavio Farnese* and the neighbouring Garrisons in *Tuscany*, (joined with Those, which the Pope

was



A. D. was thought ready to have sent to us) had appeared before the City;  
 1555. *Siena* might have been re-gained with much greater ease, than it had  
 been taken. At this time *Bernardin Mendoza*, who, 'till the Duke of  
*Alva's* arrival, bore the chief Command in the Kingdom of *Naples*,  
 approached the Borders of the Ecclesiastical State, with eight thousand  
 Foot and fifteen hundred Horse; in order to strike a terror into the  
 Pontiff and the *Caraffaes*, before they could be ready to declare war  
 against *Philip*; and by that means divert them from those Counsels,  
 which they had taken, but not as yet avowed. At first indeed the  
 Pontiff seemed to repent him of his Projects, or at least to be dissatisfied  
 with them; and committed it to the care of a chosen number of  
 Cardinals, to make up the Breach between the two great Potentates:  
 And in the mean while, to give no umbrage to *Alva*, He had for-  
 bidden by a severe Edict any Levies to be raised within his Territories;  
 and commanded *Ottavio Farnese*, who was then in the service of the  
 French King, to disband forthwith the Troops, that he had at *Castro*  
 and *Petigliano*: Which *Ottavio* resenting, and being otherwise discon-  
 tented with the King, because he had not the chief Direction of the  
 War in *Tuscany*, retired to *Parma*; and afterwards, abandoning the  
 King, concluded a Bargain with the Emperor and *Philip*, by the  
 mediation of *Alva*. Whilst the Pontiff was in this doubtful state,  
 whether he should declare for War or Peace; Cardinal *Caraffa*, who  
 hated nothing so much as Quietness, encouraged Our Agents to try,  
 by reviving the memory of past Injuries (of which the Pope of himself  
 was apt to be very tenacious), and by laying before him the greatness  
 of his present danger, to determine his wavering mind to Action: Thus  
 without much difficulty the Pontiff was persuaded to warlike measures;  
 to which purpose *Caraffa* made use of a very fit Instrument, the Car-  
 dinal of *Lorraine*; with whom he was intimately acquainted, and whose  
 Inclinations he had sounded. Accordingly, when, upon the arrival of  
*Hamibal Rucellai* in *France*, the Matter came to be debated in the King's  
 Council; *Anne Montmorency* indeed, a Man of Years and Gravity, who  
 was an enemy to vain Projects, and had been used to such-like Intrigues,  
 declared his opinion, that the Project was unseasonable, and by no  
 means accommodated to the present Circumstances: That as there  
 was an immediate likelihood of a Peace, or a Truce at least, to be  
 concluded with the Emperor and his Son; it must be violated, or  
 interrupted by Us, in a very dishonourable manner; if presently after,  
 under colour of protecting the Pontiff, our Arms should be carried into  
*Italy*, where we shall have articed to observe a Peace with *Philip*: That  
 for these reasons nothing should be resolved, 'till it appeared, what issue  
 the Negotiation now on foot, for a Peace with the Emperor by the  
 mediation of the *English*, would have; that being a matter of much  
 greater consequence to the establishment of the French Affairs: But here  
 the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, a Man of a turbulent spirit and a lover of  
 mischief, and in every thing but Martial Courage very much resembling  
*Caraffa* himself; having for some time past, upon the Alliance of his  
 Family with the House of *Anjou*, conceived hopes of settling Matters  
 in



in *Naples* to the advancement of his own Relations; and knowing, *A. D.* 1555. that if a War was carried on in those parts, the chief Command would be given to his Brother the Duke of *Guise*; He in a very long Oration extolled the good disposition of the Pontiff, and recommended the pursuing of the favourable opportunity for propagating their Sovereignty in *Italy*; which as the *French* first acquired by the Friendship of the Popes, they would with very great ease be able to recover by the same assisting hand; especially, by the favour of That Pope; who, being descended of a great Family in that Kingdom, could easily, even by his own Authority, re-kindle the almost extinguished Factions of the *Angevins*: That what was objected, concerning the Peace to be made with the Emperor and his Son, was not of such Moment, that they ought to embrace an Uncertainty for a Certainty, unless they had a greater regard to the Opinions of Men, than to the Honour and Increase of the *French* Name. To these were added other flattering Arguments, which won upon the King's mind already puffed up with Successes, and entirely possessed by *De Guise* and his Favourers; and *Montmorency*, after a faint opposition, gave way to the Torrent: For, tho' the latter did not approve of the Scheme, yet not to come short of others in Court-like Flattery, which he very well understood, he would not contradict the King; especially as he enviously hoped, that the Odium of this Enterprize, which he prudently foresaw must prove unfortunate, would some time or other fall upon the *Guises* and their Party: Of which Counsel, rather crafty than honourable, he had afterwards reason to repent; when, upon the breaking of the Truce by this War, the better part of the *French* Troops being transported by *Guise* into *Italy*, he himself was unhappily defeated at *St. Quintin's*; and from thence laboured under a greater disgrace, than that with which he had desired to load his Rival; the People generally making their estimate of Actions from the Success, rather than from their true Springs and Motives. *Lorraine* therefore was dispatched to the Pope; and, taking up the Cardinal *de Tournon* at *Lyons*, in the month of *September* he set forward towards *Rome*; where he made use of *Tournon* rather as a joint Commissioner, than as a Promoter or a Manager of the Affair. This Prelate likewise foresaw the fatal effects of the War, as well as *Montmorency*: Yet did he not like Him dissemble his Apprehensions; but with showers of tears deplored even then the future Calamities of *France*; calling God to witness his Protestations, and throwing the blame upon the vanity or ambition of *Lorraine*; and he often excused the Fact afterwards to several considerable and worthy Persons. About that time the Pope had by a Bull ordained, that the Bishop of *Ostia* for the time being should be also Dean of the College; and on that account should have the precedency of the other Cardinals, even such as might be his Seniors: In consequence of This Regulation, *Tournon* thought he could not with safety to his honour appear at *Rome*; lest he should be obliged to sit below *Du Bellay*, then in possession of that Dignity, to whom he was otherwise superior in Rank: For this reason he had staid a long time at *Lyons*; 'till the King, by



A. D. the importunity of the *Caraffaes* was persuaded to send him a peremptory order to pursue his journey notwithstanding that Difficulty. At length 1555. a Treaty was concluded; but so secretly, that when *Lorraine* departed from *Rome*, he was thought to have left every thing unfinished: *Lewis de Saint Gelais* Sieur de *Lansac* was sent after him, to carry the Conditions of this Treaty to the King, and get them approved and ratified by a Decree. *Lorraine* took his journey through *Ferrara*, and gave a particular relation of what had been transacted at *Rome* to his Kinsman *Hercules*; whom by the same vain Arguments, with which he had before persuaded the King, he had inveigled in the decline of his years to bear a part in this fatal war: From thence he went to *Venice*; where suppressing all the while the actual conclusion of the League, he found at length in his treating of this Affair with the Senate, that he had to deal with Men; and such, as, contenting themselves with expressions of their good-will to his Majesty, for the rest shewed themselves averse from meddling in any manner with the War.

The Articles of this League, of which I have a compleat draught in my custody, were chiefly These: That the most Christian King shall oblige himself to protect *Paul IV.* and the sacred College, against all Aggressors, of what condition soever they may be, tho' it were the highest of all; and shall engage to make that his chief care in the beginning and carrying on of the War in *Italy*: That he shall receive the Cardinal *Caraffa*, *John* Count of *Montorio*, and *Anthony Caraffa* and their Heirs into his Patronage; and, in lieu of those Estates which may be taken from them on the occasion of this War, shall bestow upon them other convenient Possessions in *Italy* or *France*: That there shall be a perpetual Alliance between the King and the Pontiff and See of *Rome*, as well offensive as defensive, throughout *Italy*, excepting the Province of *Piedmont*, which is not meant to be comprehended in this Treaty: That five hundred thousand Crowns be deposited either at *Rome* or *Venice*; whereof three hundred and fifty thousand be furnished by the King, and an hundred and fifty thousand by the Pope, before the end of the ensuing *February*, for the Expences of the War; for the support of which, the King shall send over into *Italy*, in case they be wanted, ten or twelve thousand foreign Foot, with five hundred Cuirassiers and as many Light-horse; all which shall be commanded by a General of the first Rank at his Majesty's appointment; which words were understood to point out the Duke of *Guise* Brother to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*: That the Pontiff for his share shall furnish ten thousand Foot, or a greater number, in proportion to the Exigency of the War, and a thousand Horse, who are to be maintained out of the Money so deposited: That He shall afford Provisions and free passage to the Royal Troops, together with Cannon ready mounted, and all other warlike Necessaries, as many in number, and as often, as may be requisite and within his power to furnish: That the War be begun in the Kingdom of *Naples*, or in *Tuscany*, as shall be judged convenient; and if need be, removed into *Lombardy*: That *Cosmo* be attacked, to the end, that the Commonwealth of *Florence* may be restored to its  
pristine



pristine Liberty: That none of the Confederates make Peace either *A. D.* with the common Enemy or the Enemies of either Party without the 1555. knowledge and consent of the other: That the Senate of *Venice* be comprehended in this Alliance, and as many other Princes, as shall enter into it for the Liberty of *Italy*: It was also agreed, that when the Kingdom of *Naples* should be recovered, the Pontiff should bestow it entire upon one of the King's Sons, the Dauphin excepted, with a reservation only of *Benevento* and its Territory to himself: That the Limits of the Papal Dominions should be extended to *San-Germano* on the one side, and to the River *Garigliano* on the other, and beyond the *Appennine* as far as the River *Pescara*; so that all the Places which lye within those Bounds in *Abruzzo* and *Terra di Lavoro*, and amongst them the City of *Gaeta*, should be looked upon for the future as belonging to the Pope: That the yearly Tribute, usually paid to the Pontiff for these Kingdoms, be increased to twenty thousand Crowns: That the Person, who shall receive the Beneficiary Kingdom from the Pope, shall revoke all such Tributes, Burthens, Impositions, and the like, as have been laid upon it by the Imperialists or *Spaniards*, and reduce the payments to the antient standard: That he shall restore all such Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Others, as shall be deprived of their Privileges and Immunities for their adherence to the *French* Interest; shall claim no right in sacred things, except in such matters as shall be judged to belong to him as Patron; shall give no interruption to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by Edicts, Appeals, or by any other means; nor hinder the free Importation of Corn to *Rome*: That he shall be obedient, and keep his faith with the Pontiff, and maintain for the use of the War four hundred Cuirassiers on horseback, and two Gallies compleatly fitted for service: That he shall not entertain any Exiles from the Pope's Territories in the Beneficiary Kingdom; nor the Pope receive Exiles from the Dominions of the King in any part of his Country, except the City of *Rome*, the Common Foster-mother of all People: That Possessions of the yearly value of fifteen thousand Crowns in *Sicily* be settled upon the *Roman* See: That the Count of *Montorio* shall have assigned to him an Estate of twenty five thousand Crowns annual Revenue out of the Kingdom, which he shall possess by a plenary Right, and have liberty for himself and his Heirs to bequeath, alienate, and dispose of it as he pleases: That to *Antonio Caraffa* likewise be granted an Estate in the Kingdom, of the yearly value of five and twenty thousand Crowns: That by the first opportunity the most Christian King shall send his Son into the Kingdom to be educated; and that, till he shall arrive to Man's Estate, and be of age to look after his own Affairs, fit Persons shall be chosen by the King and the Pope, to administer the Government: The Beneficiary King and his Heirs and Successors shall be incapable of being elected Emperor, King of the *Romans*, Prince of *Lombardy* or *Tuscany*, or lastly King of *France*: In any of which cases, he is obliged immediately to renounce all such Kingdoms and Principalities; and, upon his refusal to make such Renunciations, shall forfeit his right to the Beneficiary Kingdoms, and be

*ipso*



*A. D. ipso facto* deprived of them; But if, by reason of the tenderness of his 1555. age, the young King cannot be sent so soon into the Kingdom; the publick Affairs may in the mean time be administered in his name by Persons to be nominated by his Majesty and the Pope; to whom they shall take an oath, that they shall sincerely and faithfully act in every thing according to their Directions: If for the same reason the young King be unable to take an oath to the Pontiff, the King his Father shall take it in his name in the same form, that it was lately taken to *Julius III.* which afterwards, when he comes to full age, the Beneficiary King shall ratify, and if occasion be, repeat in his own person: That the Pope may, to lower the price of Provisions, buy at his pleasure, to the amount of ten thousand measures of Corn in *Sicily*, and transport them to *Rome*, free of all Duty and Custom; and the King shall see, that no delay or hindrance be caused by the Governours of places or others, by which the same may fail to be dispatched without fraud at the first demand. This was the substance of the Treaty concluded at *Rome* between the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and the *Caraffaes* on the 16th day of *December*.

But with the Duke of *Ferrara* it had been agreed, on the 14th day of *November*; That, upon his entring into the League with the Pope, the Command of the Armies should be committed to him throughout all *Italy*, except in the Country of *Piedmont*; and that he should be obliged to hold the King's Friends and Enemies as his Own, without exception; but, if the King thought fit to send a Person of principal Dignity out of *France*, He should command the Armies in the absence of the Duke of *Ferrara*: That the Duke should afford free passage to the Royal Troops through his Dominions, and furnish them with Provisions; and on the other side, refuse passage and provision to the Enemy: That he should receive a Pension of two thousand Ducats monthly from the King: That his Majesty should take the Duke and all his present and future Possessions into His protection, and defend them as his own; and for that purpose, maintain, according to the usual custom of the Realm, an hundred Cuirassiers on horseback, to be under the command of the Duke, with two hundred Light-horse and two thousand Foot; and should besides deposite three hundred thousand Ducats; which, if they could not be supplied out of the King's Treasury, should be borrowed of the Bankers: That upon the Recovery of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Duke should be allowed a yearly Revenue of twenty thousand Ducats; upon the Conquest of *Tuscany*, fifteen thousand; and if the Principality of *Milan* should be recovered, fifty thousand; and that *Cremona* should be consigned over to him for his security: He, on his part, should be obliged to furnish Powder, Ball, and Cannon fit for service; and might be at liberty to bring over *Camillo Colonna* into the King's Interest, and make use of his assistance in the War; in which case, the King obliged himself to pay him a monthly Pension of three hundred Ducats.

While these things were transacting at *Ferrara* and *Rome*, *Cornelius Bentivoglio* marching suddenly from *Mont-alcino*, surprized *Ottieri* and  
Mon-



*Montaione*, two Castles of *Simolfo*, a *Sieneſe* Nobleman, who by the A. D. perſuaſions of *Francis de Toledo* had fallen from the King's Party. As a 1555. paſſage was opened thereby from the *Campagna di Roma* into *Tuſcany*, *Cosmo* had concluded, that there was ſomething more than Fiction in the Report, which was current among the *French* and at *Rome*, concerning the Siege of *Siena*; eſpecially conſidering, that the City was ſo reduced through Want and the Inſolence of the Garriſon, that it might probably be taken with very little trouble: He had thereupon deſired a Loan of an hundred thouſand Ducats from *Philip* King of *England* for the ſervice of this War: And *Toledo* dying about this time at *Siena*, the Government of the City was committed by *Philip* to *Francis Mendoza* Cardinal de *Burgos*; who in His name expended ſixty thouſand Ducats; whereof he beſtowed twenty thouſand on the relief of the poor Citizens, and the reſt for the uſes of the preſent War: By which means, and through the affection, which the Citizens bore to him for his Piety, he had an opportunity of treating with *Cosmo*, after a different manner from his Predeceſſor *Toledo*; who being related to the Duke, was manifeſtly favourable to his Interests: However, *Cosmo* overcame all the difficulties, which aroſe from thence, by his uſual Prudence and Diſſimulation.

After the taking of *Vulpian*, and the vain attempt of Our Troops upon *Ponteſtura*; the Duke of *Alva* had, on the breaking up of the *French* Army, diſtributed his Own into Garriſons; and *Bernardin Mendoza*, who was arrived (as we have already ſaid) upon the Borders of the Pope's Territories, had retired with his Troops; at the ſame time, that *Philip* had ſent *Garcilaſſo de Vega* to the Pontiff with Letters full of the kindeſt expreſſions; that he might cut off all occaſion from the ſuſpicious old Man of ſtirring freſh troubles: The Pontiff alſo, becauſe of the approach of Winter, had put his Troops into Quarters, and kept himſelf cloſe, and intent upon the Fortifications of *Paliano*, *Nettuno*, and *Anagni*: In the mean while, tho' it was an unſeaſonable time of the year; yet, upon the receipt of that money from *Philip*, which I have above mentioned; *Cosmo*, that he might not ſeem to lye idle, undertook to revenge the Injury, which he had ſuffered by the ſeizing of the Caſtles of *Simolfo*; and drew forth an Army under the command of *Santa-fiore*: Who, having re-taken *La Serre* in his march, proceeded towards *Chiuſi*; but firſt ſet down before *Sarteano*; which was defended by a *French* Officer, and *Fauſtino* of *Camerino*, a Man of great courage. The Surrender of the place being demanded and reſuſed, ſix Pieces of Cannon were brought againſt it; and made ſuch a breach, that, the Walls being thrown down, the Garriſon and part of the Townſmen fled into the Caſtle, and left the empty Town to the Enemy: Theſe, having plundered the Town, found the taking of the Caſtle a more difficult buſineſs, and yet ſo neceſſary to be done, that without it they ſeemed to have done nothing: What occaſioned the difficulty was, that the Caſtle could be cannonaded only from the ſide of the Town; the other Sides being ſecured by their ſituation: *Santa-fiore* therefore ordered ſome Houſes within, which faced the Caſtle,



A. D. to be filled with Earth, and then caused Cannon to be forthwith planted upon them, and to fire from thence upon the Castle: Our Men, on Their part, raised a Battery, with a Ditch, behind the Wall; by the help of which, when the Wall was laid open, they repulsed the Besiegers with loss: Yet the Siege was not for this given over; but fresh Recruits being raised, and the *Spaniards* sent for from *Orbitello* and *Porto Ercole*, and Great guns also brought down from *Monte-pulciano* and *Lucignano*, they began to carry on Mines underneath the greater Tower; by the special labour of *Frederick Montacuti*, who commanded the *Italians*. At length, when the Besieged had lost all hope of Relief, and their Provision began to fail, they capitulated; after they had first received intelligence, that *John Gagliardo*, who with a choice body of Men used to beat up the Enemy's Quarters, had been defeated with his troops, and himself taken prisoner: Security being taken therefore for their Lives and Effects (in which agreement however *Faustino* and many of his Men refused to be comprehended), it was concluded, that the rest of the Garrison should march out with safety, and *Faustino* and his Party be left behind in the Castle: There went out four hundred Men, compleatly armed. *Faustino* the night following, not being able by his constancy to persuade his Men to stay, broke a way through the Enemy's Camp, with the slaughter of one of the *German* Quarters, and escaped with his Troops to *Chiusi*. The Castle, thus abandoned, was delivered to the custody of *Bombaglini di Arrezzo*, who in the attack of it had narrowly escaped with his life. After this, *Cetona* and other neighbouring Castles were taken in. During the Siege of *Sarteano*, there was a Battle also fought between *Chianciano* and *Chiusi*; and *John-Baptist Martini* (whose Horse was killed under him), with two Captains, and *Philip Almanni* besides, were taken prisoners, and fell into Our hands: Some of Our side were also taken by the Enemy, but no Persons of Note. The Design upon *Chiusi* was now, at the latter end of *December*, laid aside; the Siege appearing too full of difficulty and danger, since the re-inforcement of the Garrison by the accession of Those, who marched out of *Sarteano*.

About this time *John-James Medichino* Marquess *di Marignan*, just returned from *Piedmont* to *Milan*, sunk under the weight of a distemper contracted by his continual watchings and labours, and died on the 8th day of *November*; and on the 21st of the same month was honourably and pompously buried; *Alva* himself and the chief Nobility of the Province attending the funeral. He was of an obscure birth, the Son of *Bernardin* a Farmer of the Duties at *Milan*; but by giving a false turn to his Name, he insinuated himself into the Family of *Medicis*; and, chiefly from these beginnings, became the Raiser of his own fortunes and those of his Brother *John-Angelo*, who was afterwards created Pope. As in his youth he had given proofs of a courage ready for any Enterprize; and on that account had obtained a considerable post in the family of *Hierom Morone*; *Francis Fforza* the last Duke of *Milan*, who had good reason to be suspicious of the Power and Favour that *Monsignorino Visconte* had with the People, by the advice of



*Morone*, made use of this Man and Captain *Ponzini*, to take *A. D.* off *Visconte*: Afterwards, to clear himself of all suspicion and to prevent discoveries, the Duke got *Ponzino* to be secretly assassinated; and would have done the same to *Medichino*, if he had not eluded it by a contrary contrivance: For when *Morone* had given him Letters to the Governour of *Musso*, a strong Castle on the Bank of *Lago di Coma*, over against *Switzerland*; under pretence of procuring him reception within the Castle, but with secret orders for putting him to death; He smelling out the design, suppressed those Letters, and artfully contrived others; which appearing to be written by *Sforza's* orders, carried with them a command to the Governour to deliver up the Castle to *Medichino*, and to repair immediately to *Milan*: By this Intrigue, having gotten possession of *Musso*, he put *Sforza* upon a necessity, for fear of a discovery of the fact, either of dissembling the matter, or of treating with him upon equitable Conditions: Afterwards, upon the conclusion of a private League, between the King, the *Venetians* and the Pope; he, in the 26th year of this Century, because of his convenient situation, undertook the business of inlisting six thousand *Swiss*, in the name of the Confederates; in which Affair *Francis Guicciardini* reports him to have behaved himself in a covetous manner: Two years after this, at the solicitations of *Anthony di Leyva*, He went over to the Emperor's Party; and having received the Town of *Marignan* (from whence he took the Title of Marquess) in compensation for the Castle of *Musso*, he was from that time employed in the highest military charges; viz. in the Command of the *Italian* Infantry in the *Hungarian* War; and afterwards in the Expedition of *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* against *Geneva*; and lastly, in the *German* War, the most important of any, he was appointed Great Master of the Artillery: In the Wars of *Parma* also and *Tuscany*, and in the taking of *Siena*, he obtained a great reputation; tho' by his slowness he caused a suspicion in the Emperor and *Cosmo*, who used frequently by letters and expresses to expostulate with him, that he lengthened out the war for his own advantage. He was a Man of a sharp wit, but deceitful; indefatigable in War, robust of Body, and patient of Labour and Watching; and, excepting the brutishness and cruel disposition of his nature, and his insatiable greediness, in other respects not inferior to the greatest Captains of his age: Yet, tho' he was unmeasurably rapacious, he made a good use of his Spoils, spending them in sumptuous Buildings, and noble House-keeping: The custom, which he used of playing at Dice for nights and days together, I should have marked with a severer Censure, were it not a Vice familiar to Military men. His Body was carried at first to *Marignan*; from whence, by the command of his Brother *Pius IV.* it was afterwards removed to *Milan*, and there honoured with a most magnificent Monument, adorned with Pillars of admirable workmanship, which were transported thither at a vast expence from Mount *Celio* at *Rome*. After his decease, upon the Duke of *Alva's* leaving the Province; *Philip*, by the advice of *John-Baptist Castaldo*, placed *Christopher Madruccio* Cardinal of *Trent* at the head of Affairs;



A. D. Affairs; a Man of a gentle and pleasant disposition; who, by the advantage of the Friendship which he maintained with the Electors and the other (even Protestant) Princes of the Empire, was ever of great service and weight in the Affairs of *Germany*; and in matters of the highest moment had given proofs of his fidelity to the Emperor: With him was joined the Marquess of *Pescara*, as Commander of the Army under him.

Things being in this manner settled in *Lombardy* and *Piedmont*, *Alva* went to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Leghorn*, where he had a meeting with *Cosmo* and the Cardinal *de Burgos*: Having conferred for some time with them, and gained fuller assurance of the Treaty made with Us, he sailed away for *Naples*: Some time before this, new Recruits had been raised in *Spain*; and five thousand of that number, which had been embarked, were sailing to *Italy*; when *Anthony-Isclm Adhemar de Paulin* Baron *de la Garde*, a Commodore of ten men of war, who had convoyed the Cardinals of *Lorraine* and *Tournon* to *Civita Vecchia*, was by a violent storm carried away to *San-Fiorenzo* in *Corfica*; where a little before, and not far from the very same place, the *Spanish* Fleet, charged with the Convoy of those Recruits to *Genoa*, being disabled by the same Storm from pursuing its voyage, had been obliged to put in: *Paulin* being informed of their arrival, after containing himself a while, in order to collect his whole Strength, made a sudden attack upon the Enemy; who being surprized, and taking the others for Corsairs of *Barbary*, were easily put to flight: Two Transports, which were too heavy to follow the rest, were sunk, with near a thousand *Spaniards* on board; who were partly drowned, and partly taken and laid in chains.

About the same time *Bona Sforza* the Parent of *Sigismund-Augustus* King of *Poland*, and of *Isabella* Mother to *John* King of *Transylvania*, growing uneasy with her Son, retired from *Poland* into *Italy*, and was honourably entertained by the *Venetians*: The Senate in a full Body and an hundred of the noblest Matrons went out to meet her in the *Bucentaur*: From the Shore she was conducted between the two Cardinals *Hippolyto* of *Ferrara*, and *Otho Truchses* of *Augsbourg*, with great Pomp, to the Palace of *Este*; from whence imbarcking on board a Galley that was prepared for her, she was conveyed to *Bari* in *La Puglia*, a City belonging to her by Dotal and Hereditary right on account of her relation to the House of *Arragon*. There she behaved in a very licentious manner, very different from her former way of living; contracting a scandalous familiarity with one *Pappacoda*; to whom, passing by her own Children, she bequeathed all her Estate: Not long after which, when she had lost her Reputation, and squandered away her Substance, she died in great want and infamy.

Soon after, *Francis Donato* Doge of *Venice*, when he had held that dignity a year and eleven months, in a weakly state of body, fell beneath the weight of a violent distemper: *Sleidan*, by a false account, reports him to have been removed from that Post, for some offence committed in the management of the Corn; wherein he had shewn less regard to the



the Publick than to his own private Interest: But this is a mistake, *A. D.* easily to be forgiven in that otherwise diligent Writer; in whose Sheets, 1555. drawn up not long before his death, and unpublished, this Mistake appears; which would no doubt have been corrected by him, if God had granted him a longer life: Nor indeed was it so very far from the truth; for by reason of his mismanagement of the Corn, (which is a breach of the chief of the three Articles contained in the Oath, that is usually taken by the Doges of *Venice*) we are assured by *Lewis Guicciardini*, that, tho he was not removed from his Office, yet he incurred a very great degree of popular Odium: His Body was buried in the Church *del Salvator*, and a magnificent monument erected over it by the Piety of his Brother *Peter*. *Lorenzo Priuli* succeeded him; a Person remarkable for his prudence and probity, and well versed in Letters.

Near the end of the year, at the usual time, the Pope created the following Cardinals; *John Saliceo* Archbishop of *Toledo*, *Bernard Scoto di Sabina*, *Diomede Carassa*, *Scipio Rebiba*, *John Seurve* a Native of *Roume* in *Gascony*, *John-Anthony Capizucchi*, and lastly *John Gropper* a German; which last, through a modesty and greatness of mind (rarely known to this age), refused the voluntary offer of a Dignity, whereof all other men are so passionately ambitious. From the like modesty, another German, formerly Bishop of *Eychstad*, whose name is not recorded either by *Onofrio Panvini* or *Alonzo Chacon*, being about ninety three years ago created Cardinal by *Pius II.* is reported to have excused himself from the same Honour. There were some attempts made likewise of admitting into the College of Cardinals *Claude d'Espence* a Divine of *Paris*, and *John de las Casas* the Pope's Secretary, both of them Persons recommended by the nobleness of their Families, and by their Learning, tho' in different ways: For the one was grown old in the study of Divinity, wherein he had been educated; The other, equal even to the Ancients in Eloquence and a facility of writing in the *Tuscan* and *Latin* Languages, managed the most important affairs under the Pope with great ability: But the Morals of Each were widely different; as the former was eminent for sanctity of life and chastity of manners: whereas the latter, according to the Licentiousness of the age and the Place of his abode, had lived in a free and almost dissolute manner: Accordingly each of them were accused to the Pontiff by their Rivals; *D'Espence*, for having uttered something in his Sermons disrespectfully of the Golden Legend, as it is vulgarly called; whereas he affirmed, that it ought to be called the Iron Legend; which Words (as *John Sleidan* also confirms) he was afterwards obliged publickly to recant: And *Casas*, for having in his younger days even composed a Poem in praise of a very abominable Practice: And thus for causes widely different they were both excluded from the Purple. These were the Transactions which passed in *Italy* this year.

In *France*, before the Conferences, which had been opened for a Peace, were dissolved; the King, after a view taken of his Army in the month of *April*, being fearful of the Event, had distributed all his



A. D. Forces along the borders of *Champagne* and *Picardy*; and ordered the  
 1555. Governours of the Provinces; by Spies and other ways of Information,  
 to learn the Designs of the Imperialists: When therefore notice came,  
 that the Enemy was in arms, and had got together at *Port de Givais* to  
 the number of eighteen thousand Foot (the greatest part Natives), and  
 three thousand Horse, (Fame magnifying every thing beyond the truth)  
 under the Command of *Rossem* Marshall *de Cleves*, with a design of  
 making an inroad upon our Frontiers; the Duke *de Nevers* on the other  
 side and *de Bourdillon* his Lieutenant General, took all possible care, to  
 be prepared for their reception; the latter of whom hasten'd, as much as  
 possible, the Fortifications begun at *Mezieres*. A report was spread in  
 the Enemy's Camp, that we had a design upon *Port de Givais*; which  
 put them in their turn upon fortifying that Place, that they might not  
 be taken unprepared: But This, most men think, was artfully propagated  
 amongst themselves, that the *Spaniards* might thereby be drawn out of  
*Namur*, which for many months they had held in a miserable state of  
 servitude, for want of their Pay; upon which account, according to  
 their custom, they had mutinied. Hence followed frequent Excursions  
 on both sides, the Enemy falling upon the *Retelois*, and the Garrison of  
*Mariembourg* often encountering Them. And now the month of *June* was  
 begun, and the Event of the Conferences still uncertain; when the King,  
 better informed of his Affairs, and foreseeing that the Proposals of his  
 Plenipotentiaries would not be accepted, charges the Duke *de Nevers* with  
 all possible diligence to provide *Mariembourg* with provisions and other  
 necessaries; for which purpose four hundred Horse-Cuirassiers and some  
 Companies of Foot had been assigned to him, besides those employed  
 in guarding the Frontiers. He, as soon as he came to *Chefne Populeuse*,  
 gave orders to the *Sieur de Borran* Intendant of the Corn on that side  
 of the country, to load as many waggons as he could with Bread and  
 Wine, in two or three days time; because, the Enemy being so near,  
 we might be in danger, if a longer delay were used, of receiving some  
 damage either in our March, through difficult passes with Carts and  
 other Luggage, or in our Return. *De Borran* executed his charge (for  
 which he had before made provision) with great diligence and silence;  
 and loaded about five hundred Waggons, which he had gotten together  
 in the *Retelois*, with the necessary Stores; and on the same day, the  
 14th of *June*, sent them away to *Maubert Fontaine*; whither twenty  
 Ensigns, composed partly of Veterans and partly of New recruits, were  
 already assembled. After a little refreshment, in about two hours  
 time, the Duke *De Nevers* followed the Waggons in the Evening, with  
 his Army drawn up in order of battle: *Sansac* led the Van with about  
 three hundred Carabineers, partly *French* and partly *English* and *Scots*;  
 and was followed by the Marquess *d'Elboeuf* at the head of the Light-  
 armour, consisting of about eight hundred Horse: Next to him  
 marched *De Bourdillon*, with two hundred Horse Cuirassiers, and was  
 followed by eight Ensigns of Foot, whereof the heavy-armed Pike-men  
 marched in Ranks of ten o' breast, and were covered on each side by  
 the Musqueteers: Two other Ensigns enclosed the Waggons, two  
 Pike-men



Pike-men and as many Musqueteers being assigned to each Waggon: *A. D.* To these were added, two full Companies of Infantry, part of those, 1555. which attended the Person of *De Nevers*, who led the main Body; together with three hundred Horse-Cuirassiers, and eight more Ensigns of Foot; which encompassed the Waggon, as they proceeded one by one in a very long train. The Rear was brought up by *Jean de la Mark* Seigneur de *Jamets*, that experienced and now aged Captain; behind whom thirty Horse were ordered to march, as a guard upon all occasions to the Suttler and Baggage. In this Order, after they had performed a journey of eight very long leagues through winding woods and rocky ways, in such a posture as to be secure on all sides from the attacks of the Enemy, they arrived at last at *Mariembourg*: After the Provision had been introduced, *De Nevers* himself entered to take a view of the Town; over which the *Sieur de Fumet*, who had with him the Troops of Light-horse belonging to *De la Roche du Maine's* Son and *La Fertè*, had been placed as Governour in the room of the *Seigneur de Gommor*. Then, in the same Order, but by different Routs, they returned back again, leaving the Enemy in admiration of Our Diligence. *De Nevers*, in his way, viewed *Rocroy*, which was commanded by Captain *La Lande*; and, after encouraging the Garrison, and dismissing *De Bourdillon* (who proceeded to *Mezieres*), came in the evening to *Maubert Fontaine*, and distributed his Soldiers into Quarters at *Retel*, *Château Porcian*, and the neighbouring Garrisons. At the same time, the Fortifications of *Château Buillon* were carrying on by *De la Lobe*, a Cornet under *De la Mark* Duke of *Buillon*; who with fifty chosen Horse made frequent inroads into the Enemy's Country; and a little before, on the 7th day of *April*, had entirely defeated more than three hundred of the Enemy, who had laid an ambuscade to intercept the Garrison of *Ivoy*, as they went out a foraging.

But, after the departure of the Plenipotentiaries, when it appeared, that the hopes of Peace were vain; then all manner of open Preparations were made for War; and eight hundred Horse Cuirassiers were detached to the Borders of the *Netherlands*, and as many towards *Champagne*: At the same time the Enemies were night and day employed in great numbers upon the fortification of *Port de Grvais*; a Town situated upon the *Meuse* above *Dinant*, and extended along both sides of the River: Upon the nether bank there rises a Mount, on which some years ago the Count *d'Agimont* had attempted to build a Citadel; but the Works being interrupted by the Emperor's orders, it had remained imperfect, 'till it was now at length rebuilt; and from thence frequent Inroads were usually made by the Enemy towards *Maubert Fontaine* and *Aubenton*: But, as it will happen in a confused multitude; the Enemy's Army, consisting of twenty thousand Men, made up of *Dutch*, *Brabanders*, *Tungrians*, *Leigians*, *Flemings*, and *Spaniards*, besides four thousand German Horse: In the first place the *Germans* began to mutiny; out of resentment that the *Spaniards* had received their Pay, and no regard was had of Them: To this succeeded a general murmuring for want of Bread, the Country not affording sufficient for them: And lastly,



A. D. 1555. a pestilential Distemper arising from that Want compleated their misery; so that many insensibly perished, and the greatest part left their Colours; especially, when *Rassem* himself was seized with the Contagion, of which (being carried to *Antwerp*) he afterwards died. That brave and diligent Captain had formerly served under *Francis I.* (as we have related in the first book); and in that memorable expedition undertaken with *De Longueval* in the 42d year of this Century, had shaken the whole *Low-Countries*, and almost surprized the City of *Antwerp* itself. After that, the Duke of *Cleves* having made his peace with the Emperor, He also, in regard to his military reputation, was received into the favour of his Imperial Majesty, and served him faithfully ever after as long as he lived. As soon as the news of his death, and the condition of the Enemies came to be known; the *French* began to frame a design of destroying them in their very Camp at *Port de Givais*: Which to effect with more conveniency and safety, a day was appointed, upon which all the Troops should draw together from the Frontiers of the *Netherlands* and *Champagne* to a certain place, and from thence bend their course towards the Enemy: *Saint André* accordingly moved out of *Picardy* with eight hundred Cuirassiers, as many Light-horse, and eight thousand Foot; and sending the Rhingrave with his Men before him, came to *Mont-Cornet*, and from thence to the Duke of *Nevers* at *Retel*, to concert measures with him: At length, on the 5th day of *July*, all the Forces met together at *Maubert Fontaine*, consisting of two thousand horse, thirty two Ensigns of *French* Infantry, and twenty full Companies of *German* Veterans under the Rhingrave: There flocked likewise to the Camp, of the prime Nobility (besides *Nemours* and *Elboeuf*), *Sansac*, *John Annebauld* Son of *Claude* the Admiral, *Francis* Count de la *Roche-foucault*, *Charles de Randan* his Brother, *De Marfilly* Sieur de *Cipierre*, *De Crussol*, *De Monpesat*, the Sieur de *Negrepellice*, *De Suse*, and others. On the day following the Army advanced to *Courvenne* an half-ruined Castle not far from *Mariembourg*, whither *De Bourdillon* also came with his Troop of Horse, and brought with him several Waggons loaden with Powder, Cannon-ball and other Necessaries. Thus the Army passed in view of *Mariembourg*, which they furnished with a moderate stock of provision. Here the Son of *De la Roche du Maine*, and *La Fertè*, joined the rest with their respective Troops of Light-horse, and with five full Companies of Foot, which were in the Town; and then at last the whole Army in one Body began to march in order of Battle. *Sansac* was sent before with some Light-horse, and the *English* and *Scots*, to explore the Roads, and get intelligence of the Enemy: He was followed by *Nemours* and *Elboeuf* with the Light-armour: *Saint André* led the Van-guard with the *French* Infantry and five hundred Horse-cuirassiers; *De Nevers*, who commanded the whole Army, led the main body with the same number of Horse and the *German* Infantry. Thus whilst they were advancing with great alacrity and an assurance of certain victory, and had proceeded as far as the Castle of *Faignoles*; *James* Sieur de *Boucart* overtook them with His Majesty's Commands to *De Nevers*, that he should close his Lines and march cautiously; nor rashly venture the chance of a Battle,



Battle, but be content barely to keep the Enemy in suspense: At this *A. D.* very juncture, *Elboeuf* had given notice to *Saint André*, that five hundred of the Enemy's Horse were discovered by *Sanfac*: Whereupon our Men, who were fatigued with the heat, and were resting themselves on the side of a Wood, took to their arms and began to march: When they were come to *Germigny* two miles distant from *Port de Givais*, they saw before them seventeen Companies of Foot, and about sixteen hundred Horse, who were come out of *Givais*; and who lay stretched along the side of a Hill under the cover of a Wood, in expectation of catching Our Men as it were in a Snare; whereupon a sharp Skirmish commenced: But, when the Enemies did not care to leave their shelter, and seemed satisfied to keep our Army from taking up their Quarters, where they had designed; *Elboeuf* sent to *De Nevers*, who was not far behind, to supply him with twelve hundred chosen Foot, and to support them with four hundred Horse: Upon whose advancing, with the assistance of *De Bourdillon*, who was ordered likewise to follow the same way with three Troops of Horse, the Fight began again with more sharpness: But, as the Light-armour, backed by the Musqueteers, made a great impression, the Enemy fearing to be quite surrounded, began to give way by degrees, and retire slowly up the Hill; still maintaining the Fight and preserving their Ranks: Our Musqueteers pursuing them, and the Horse having more room to press upon them, the Dispute was again renewed on both sides: But as the Enemies continued retiring in very good order, it appeared, that they had a design therein to draw Our Men on, by little and little, to some spot of ground, where they should be obliged to fight, weary as they were, to great disadvantage. This was the suspicion of *De Nevers* and *Saint André*, who accordingly made all the haste they could with the Infantry and Cavalry, and brought them up at length to the place with great alacrity; encouraging their Men in prospect of a Battle: But the Enemy, seeing from the Hill, that Our Army below in the Valley was hastening to an Engagement, began then to move backwards through the Wood; and retreating down to the Vale behind, eluded all Our pursuits; till, by constantly retiring and keeping their ranks, they arrived safe at their own Camp. In this Conflict, which the Night put an end to, few were killed on either side. Our Men lay all night, in token of Victory, upon the Hill, which the Enemy had possessed; a Place very inconvenient to the Troops, especially the Horse, but not inglorious to the Conquerors. The night was employed in regulating the Stations, instead of sleep; but was otherwise free from disturbance: Informations were also taken of the Roads, and the Avenues to the Enemy's Camp observed. On the day following, viz. the 14th of *July*, the Army was drawn up on a Plain at the top of That Hill, which beginning from the Village of *Nimes*, grows broader afterwards, and branches itself as it were into several Vallies; through one of which the Rout for Our Army lay towards *Port de Givais*: There the Hill begins to contract itself, and makes an Elbow of five hundred feet in breadth, where the Enemy had raised a new Fortrefs in the form of a square; and from thence



A. D. it terminates in rocky Precipices, the roots whereof spread themselves  
 1555. along the opposite *Meuse*: From this Fortrefs an Intrenchment had been  
 carried to a Redoubt raised to a sufficient height; in the middle of the  
 Valley, which overlooks the nether Town of *Givais*; from whence the  
 Intrenchment reached to another lower Redoubt, that on each side  
 commands *Givais* and the intermediate River; and the Fortrefs itself is  
 surrounded by another Ditch; the sides of the two Redoubts serving  
 very well to flank the upper and the lower Trench on each side. The  
 name given to the Fortrefs was *Charlemout*: But, from That Hill there  
 runs out another, overgrown with a Copse; This does not take so  
 streight a course; but, going off to the Left towards *Agimont* and the  
 West, reaches by a gentle descent to a Valley pretty streight on that  
 side, and almost surrounded by a very winding Rivulet; which runs  
 through it, and makes it so very wet, that it is generally covered with  
 standing waters. The Cavalry for the greater expedition was com-  
 manded to march through the middle of the Valley, which lies between  
 the Hills; because the upper way, which leads directly to *Port de Gi-  
 vais*, was so incumbered with Rocks and Woods, that the Horse could  
 not conveniently pass. Two great Bodies of Foot marched along the Top  
 of the Hill, making an equal front, and preserving a moderate distance;  
 A third was placed for the security of the Passes: The Musqueteers  
 were disposed below in the Valley, with two Culverins so planted on  
 an eminence, as to be able to play both upon the side of the Mountain,  
 and into the very bottom of the Vale. Again, between these Hills  
 and the nether *Givais*, there rises a third Hill, which is a branch of the big-  
 gest of the other two, of a triangular form, reaching about two hundred  
 Paces: In the very middle whereof there shoots up another of a Conical fi-  
 gure to the height of two hundred Cubits; in the summit of which the  
 Enemies had placed their larger Musquets; whilst their Horse stood be-  
 hind it sheltered from Cannon-shot. There lay no way to them, but  
 by crossing the River; after which, Our Men were to climb up a steep  
 ascent, exposed to all the attacks of the Enemies and their Forts: So then,  
 when our first Squadrons had advanced thro' the Vale to the side of the  
 River, they met there with some Musqueteers, with whom they main-  
 tained a Skirmish: And, when some Troops of *German* Horse came  
 in to the assistance of the Musquetry, *De Bourdillon* on the other side rein-  
 forced our Men in like manner with a Squadron of Horse: When a great  
 Body of Musqueteers made a fresh attack upon us, and the Enemy's Ca-  
 valry stood upon the top of the Hill; *De Nevers* chose out of the *French*  
 and *Germans*, which were with him, about twelve hundred Men; with  
 whom he proposed to renew the fight, and bring the Enemy to a neces-  
 sity of coming that day to a general engagement: These, as soon as  
 they advanced to the River, passed it with incredible ardour, in order  
 to come to a close fight with the Enemy; upon which, the Battle grow-  
 ing hot, the Noise was prodigious, which the rattling of the small and  
 great Guns, and the clamours of the Soldiers on every side ecchoing  
 thro' the Vallies, made in the Air: Besides which, the smoke and flames,  
 the glittering brightness of the Arms, and the Dust that was raised,  
 made



made a very terrible appearance: As the Enemy gave way, and the *A. D.* German Horse and Musqueteers were come down at length from the 1555. Hill to support their Comrades, *Nemours*, *Elboeuf*, and *Randan* on our side passed the River, and obliged them to wheel off, after giving us a Volley, according to their Fashion, and to retire up the Hill again; to the very middle of which they were pursued by our Men, who there stood still, defying the Enemy to a further engagement: But These endeavouring to fire upon us with their larger Musquets, that remained upon the summit of the Hill; the Powder which lay in a Barrel, was by some mischance blown up, and the Soldiers, who were nearest, destroyed; by which means, being destitute of this resource, they made a general Retreat. But what prevented our Men from pursuing them, was the King's Order, which *De Nevers* obeying, lost a very fine opportunity. However, he immediately dispatched a Trumpeter to *Charles Count de Barlemont*, who commanded for the Emperor in *Givais*; to let him know, that if he was disposed to fight, our Troops were ready; but the Messenger was sent back with threatnings, and without any further answer. Thus ended the Expedition of *Fort de Givais*, in a vain ostentation of our Forces, attended with no further advantage. As few Men were missing on either side, our Troops returned the same evening to *Nimes*: There, in pursuance of a Resolution they had come to of taking *Saultour* and *Chimay*, before the return of the Enemy; a chosen Body of Horse, under the Command of *Tiercelin*, Son of *Roche-du-maine*, was sent to summon the Men of *Saultour* to surrender: As These did not dare to refuse, the Army being so near them, but declared themselves ready to capitulate upon honourable terms; *Tiercelin* rashly believing them, sends their answer away to *De Nevers*, who was upon the point of raising his Camp, and leaving *Nimes*: He received the message with Joy; as knowing how very inconvenient it must have been to turn aside to such a place with his whole Army, Provisions failing, and his Men being fatigued; and therefore thinking himself secure of *Saultour*, he marches directly for *Chimay*, which he flattered himself he should find defenceless and deserted. The Men of *Saultour* perceiving our Army to have taken a different Rout, grew bold; and after many disputes, sent word, that they would not treat of surrendering, 'till they saw the great Guns brought down upon them. At this *Nemours*, when the last answer of the Garrison of *Saultour* came to be known, was advanced to *Chimay*; which he found provided with a stronger Garrison than he had expected, viz. two Ensigns of Foot, and a Troop of Horse; and was therefore obliged at last, by the fall of the Rains, to abandon the attempt: Thus we gained neither place out of too rash a confidence of possessing both. The Garrison followed, and laid an Ambuscade for us; but coming too soon out of the Wood, they were driven back into it with the loss of many killed, and fifteen taken prisoners: But they had their revenge afterwards, by intercepting and cutting off *L'Avanture's* Company, as it was foraging in the Evening at too great a distance. The Rains continuing to descend, and to annoy our wearied Soldiers beyond measure, the Duke of



*A. D.* of *Nevers* marched to *Aubenton* and *Mont-Cornet*; and having first sent away the *Germans*, and ordered the *Horse*, which *St. André* had brought, to return into *Picardy*; He at last, at his return to *Retel*, disbanded the Army. There was an appearance, that before the end of the month the Enemy would revenge the affront which they had received before *Givais*, by an Expedition on Their side; yet there happened nothing but some slight Skirmishes and Excursions upon the Frontier on both sides.

About the same time, we had a furious Sea fight with a Fleet of *Flemmings*; For news being brought, that a number of large *Dutch* Ships were returning home from *Spain*, laden with *Indian* Goods and other precious Commodities; the Men of *Diepe*, who had always born the chief reputation amongst us for maritime affairs, had it in charge from the King, to get together what Ships they could along the Sea-Coast of *Caux* and thereabouts, and with them to attempt to intercept the Enemy's Fleets, and also to suppress the boldness of the Pirates. They with nineteen Ships of War and six scout-Ships, commanded by *Spineville* of *Harsleur*, a Captain of great experience in naval Affairs, overtook and attacked the *Netherlandish* Fleet in the view of *Dover* a Sea-port of *Britain*; not without some disorder at the first, because of a difference of Sentiments about the method of attack; For most were of opinion, that letting the forward Ships alone, the assault should be made upon those which were hindermost; supposing that by this means the forward ones would think themselves farther from danger, and would therefore chuse to escape, and be content to save so considerable a part of the Merchandise; whereas, if they were all attacked together, it might happen on the contrary, that the hazard of so rich a Prize might inspire the Enemy with Courage. In the midst of this tumult of different opinions, *Spineville* crowds sail, and attacks the Admiral: The Enemy's Ships were twenty two in number, of the kind which they commonly call *Urcas*; and which, though designed for Merchandise, were yet provided with every thing necessary for defence. Whilst *Spineville* was engaged with the Flag-Ship, the other Captains, with iron Grapples, put fifteen more of the Enemy's Squadron to a necessity of fighting. The dispute for four hours was very sharp and bloody, and the event uncertain: Because though *Our* exceeded them in the number of Soldiers; the Enemy nevertheless being superiour in the largeness, weight, and firmness of their Ships, thundered down upon *Our* Men, as it were from so many lofty Towers, with frequent volleys of great Guns, with which they abounded; and their Courage, being raised and increased by the necessity they were under of fighting, equalled the valour of the *French*. At last the strength of both parties failing, they came to extremities. And as artificial fires, in which the *Netherlanders* were above all others expert, were continually thrown out on both sides; at length one of our Ships took fire, and with five others of our Squadron was burnt down: And the flame, spreading from thence to as many of the Enemy's Ships with prodigious swiftness, obliged both sides to think more of the means of extinguishing That, than of the victory.



The Imperialists write, that Our Men, experiencing so much unexpected Courage in theirs, were desirous of retiring from the Battle; and actually gave signs of demanding a Truce: But that not being heard for the noise, they took Counsel from despair, and set fire to their own Ships; hoping by that means to escape the danger they were in: However that might be, whether it began from our own Men or from the Enemy, (which latter is the more likely,) the fire produced a very great alteration; for our people to deliver themselves from the flames, leapt upon the Enemy's Ships without fear; and being superiour in the number of Men, had the advantage of the Enemy, (who were at that time more sollicitous about their Merchandise than the Fight) and took several of their Ships, though not without considerable loss: The night at length put an end to the Battle, which had lasted six hours. Five of the Enemy's Ships, with many prisoners on board, were taken; but had been so battered with the Cannon, and scorched with the Flames, that, when they were brought to *Diepe* in token of victory, they served rather for Ostentation than for Use. There perished of the Enemy, either slain, burnt or drowned, about a thousand; and of ours about four hundred, whereof *Spineville* the Commander was one; the loss of whom made it a sorrowful and expensive victory to the King.

This happened in the latter end of *July*; in which month notice was brought, that the Prince of *Orange*, having increased his Army with a reinforcement of *Germans*, was come into the Camp with the title of the Emperor's Captain-General: The first thing he did, was to extend the Fortifications begun at *Charlemont*, and to carry them on as far as the Valley, where our Soldiers had made a stand after the repulse of the Enemy: From thence drawing out his Army about the middle of *September*, as if he were marching to *Mariembourg*, he retook *Faignoles* (which was then in our hands), and shewed great humanity towards the Garrison; whilst to oppose these motions, *De Nevers* ordered his Army to draw together to *Rozay en Thierache* in *Champagne*. The Prince of *Orange*, after he had taken *Faignoles*, and marched with his Army in sight of *Mariembourg*, came to *Courvenne*, where *De Nevers* had left a small Garrison; upon whose quitting the place, he ordered the fortified Tower there to be demolished; and from thence advancing to *Saultour*, he halted with his whole Army, 'till he had fortified a Castle, which he called *Phillippesville*, and put it into a state of defence. At the same time on the borders of the *Netherlands*, the King suffered a disgrace, rather than any great loss, by the defeat of a Body of Nobility and Gentry, and other privileged Persons; many of whom were killed and taken prisoners: For every one of a better Family than ordinary, to avoid the appearance of being forced into the War, either puts himself under the Royal Banner, or enters his name in some Troop of Horse-Cuirassiers: The manner of the accident was this: A party of Volunteers, consisting of four hundred Foot and twelve hundred Horse, commanded by *La Faille* one of the prime Nobility of *Angers*, having made an Inroad into the Enemy's Country, and brought off a considerable Booty; in their return, as they marched like Men un-



A. D. experienced in warlike affairs, without observing their Ranks, they fell into 1555. an Ambuscade prepared for them between *Arras* and *Bapaume* by *Alsimont* Governour of *Arras*; and, being beset in the Road betwixt a Wood on the upper side, and a River on the lower, were defeated by a small Body of the Enemy; and the greatest part of them, not having any way to escape, were made prisoners: Which gave occasion to this taunting expression, that the *Flemmings* had taken several *French* Nobles, but none of the proper Weight; in allusion to an *English* piece of Gold, which goes by the name of a Noble. This, tho' a matter of more noise than importance, encouraged the Enemy to attempt something more considerable: Immediately a report was given out, that they had a design upon *Guise*; for which reason that Town had a large addition made to its Garrison: But it appeared soon after, that they had other views; which were to finish the Fortifications begun at *Charlemont* and *Philippesville*; and, if occasion should offer, since they continued in the Field, and Our Men were dispersed into Quarters, to attack (tho' in the winter season) *Mariembourg* and *Rocroy*, two Places destitute of Provision.

*Henry d' Albret* King of *Navarre*, and Governour of *Guienne*, had died lately at *Pau en Bearn*; from whose Father, *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, Grandfather by the mother's side to the Emperor, had taken that Kingdom, by virtue of the Forfeiture to which it was exposed by the unjust Excommunication of Pope *Julius II.* He was a Prince of a Great Mind, and maintained Splendor with frugality; whose misfortune as well as Ours it was, that he did not by our Assistance recover those Possessions of His, which he had lost in our Cause: All that he could possibly obtain, was, That in the Treaties of Peace made since that time between the Emperor and the Kings of *France*, no mention was ever made of the Affair; so that the Right remained entire with him and his heirs: *Anthony* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Vendôme* and Governour of *Picardy*, who had married his only daughter *Joan*, that had formerly been betrothed to *William* of *Cleves*; succeeded him, not only in the Title to the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and the vast Possessions which he had in *France*, but also in the Government of *Guienne*, which is justly esteemed the most considerable in all the Realm. Upon his quitting the Province of *Picardy*, that Government was conferred by the King upon the Admiral *Gaspar de Coligny*; who, in order to baffle the designs of the Enemy, immediately bethought himself, (and communicated his intentions to *De Nevers*) of furnishing *Mariembourg* and *Rocroy* with a larger quantity of Provision. This happened to be effected later than had been agreed upon; because Captain *Beaujeu de la Franche Comté*, the Commander of *Thionville*, by corrupting a certain Soldier, had made himself master of *Enery*, a Castle near *Metz*, held by *De Choiseuil* Sieur of *Lancques*, and a Garrison of twenty five Men; which was of great importance to the security of the Country: This however, after it had stood the Fire of an hundred and twenty Cannon-shot, was retaken in the beginning of *October* by *Sansac*, *Vielleville's* Lieutenant; who drew out the Garrisons with all possible expedition from *Verdun*,  
Toul,



*Toul, Ivoy and Mommedy.* The whole month of *October* following *A. D.* was spent in getting together Provisions; which was no easy Task in 1555. a Country exhausted by the frequent marches and counter-marches of Soldiers; and in drawing forces together, that should be a match for Those of the Prince of *Orange*, if he should give any opposition. At length, on the 23d day of the same month, *Coligny* with about six hundred Horse-cuirassiers came to *Château Porcien*; the Rhingrave with twenty Ensigns of *Germans* to *Mont-Cornet*; and *Sansac* with *Rabodange, de Haultcour, and Villiers des Pots*, and twenty five compleat Companies of *French* Veterans arrived and met the rest of the Troops, the last day of *November*, at *Maubert*; whence, the Cavalry being lodged in *L'Eschelle, Aubigny* and the neighbouring villages, *Coligny*, who led the Van-Guard, arrived the same day at *Rocroy*. From thence *Sansac* was sent before with the Light-armour and about three hundred Musqueteers; and *De Bourdillon* was ordered to follow some time after, with a Body of Horse; which was to march all night, to view the Passes and get intelligence of the Enemy's Designs. The day following *Coligny* advanced from *Rocroy*, whither *De Nevers* afterwards with five hundred Horse cuirassiers, and the Rhingrave with the *German* Ensigns, arrived. The Waggons met at the same place; but could not safely proceed farther, till Our Troops were come to *Courvenne*; because it was expected, that the Enemy would attack them by the way. But as the Enemy did not think fit to make any motion, and Our Men arrived thither safe and without interruption; as soon as the Troops were posted, and the Tents fixed; fifteen Waggons laden with Corn, and no more for that day, entered *Mariembourg*; and in the following three days the rest of them, with much difficulty, were brought into the town; the Roads being rotted with the continual rains, or at least rendered so slippery, that the Horses dropped down even as they were travelling, and were to be seen lying in great numbers up and down in the High-ways. Besides this, Our Cavalry suffered mightily from the Snow and Cold; and were in want also of Fodder, which could not be fetched without hazard from *Chimay*; insomuch that the Hunger and Cold turned to a sort of Madness; so that, when the Hostlers offered them Hay or Corn, they would generally bite at their Legs or Arms: All this while, there were frequent Excursions and Skirmishes on both sides; the Enemy making successfull assaults upon Our Waggons, as they passed through the difficult and woody roads, with which They were better acquainted; and Our Men on the other hand, falling upon the very Camp of the Enemy. *Paul-Baptist Fregose* beat up the Enemy's Quarters, and pierced through their Camp as far as *Port de Givais*; and, in his return meeting with some Troopers, routed them, and returned to the Army with several Prisoners; *Trelon* and the Governour of *Arvesne le Sec* having narrowly escaped by flight. The Stores being laid in, Our Men marched back, in the same order which they had used in coming, to *Maubert*; placing the empty Waggons in the middle. Nevertheless some of them, which, to avoid the inconvenience of the narrow Roads, had set out the earliest, were intercepted:



A. D. 1555. cepted: Amongst others, *Daspart*, a Veteran Soldier, who had been particularly industrious in providing the Supply, fell into the Enemy's hands: Being taken with the Duke *De Nevers's* Orders in his pocket; when the Prince of *Orange* questioned him about the stock of Corn carried in, he magnified the quantity with so much assurance, that the Enemy laid aside all hopes of attempting *Mariembourg* and *Rocroy*: So that the Prince, after furnishing *Charlemont* and *Philippeville* with Garrisons, and sending the Troops into Winter-quarters, repaired to the Emperor at *Brussels*.

This year, on the 18th day of *March*, King *Henry* had a Son born, the fifth and last of the Royal Issue, named *Hercules*, and created Duke of *Alençon*; the same, who by a change of the name was afterwards called *Francis*, and made war in the *Netherlands*. Some time before this, on the 15th day of *February*, an Edict had been published in the Parliament; whereby in every Presidial Court, and some others of a lower degree, a Lieutenant Criminal was instituted with a yearly Pension of six hundred Franks; and a military Lieutenant subjoined to him with a Salary of three hundred Franks; and six or four Marshalls or Pursuivants were assigned to each of them: But the Office of Provosts was abrogated, excepting those, who served in the ten principal Provinces of the Realm: And in a little time after, in every Court of the Kingdom a Lieutenant Criminal with his Military Assistant was created with four Pursuivants. This at the first was rejected as new and unusual; but in process of time prevailed. On the 12th day of *June* a Law was read in the Parliament, by which, such parts of the Buildings in *Paris* as projected over the Streets, and were a nuisance to the Publick, were commanded to be removed: Which the King afterwards by an Edict enjoined to be observed in the other Cities and larger Towns of the Realm. But whereas an Edict had been registered in Parliament four years ago (as we have observed in its place); whereby the King reserved to himself the full and entire Cognizance of the Lutheran Sect; and referred the same to his Judges, without any Exception; unless when the Heresy required a special Declaration, or when the Persons to be tried were in Orders: In This Year, at the instigation of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*; who had already conceived thoughts of the *Neapolitan* Expedition, and was therefore willing to do a pleasure to the new Pope by this proceeding; the King put out a contrary Ordinance; commanding all Governours to punish without delay or appeal, in proportion to the Offence, what Persons soever the Ecclesiastical Judges and Inquisitors of the Faith should condemn as convicted of Heretical Pravity: To secure which Point, the Cardinal went himself into the Parliament-house, and used many Arguments to persuade the Counsellors to confirm the Edict. When he had been heard, the Parliament required time to deliberate upon it; and, after a Consultation, they sent Delegates of their Body to wait upon His Majesty, on the 16th day of *October*, with a Remonstrance conceived in these Terms: "What your Majesty, our supream Lord and King, has commanded by an Edict lately sent us, altogether inconsistent with another, that  
" was



“ was registered in your Parliament some years ago; as the Senate are *A. D.*  
“ of opinion, that it is unfit to be ordained, they look upon it as 1555.  
“ their Duty, to represent to You the Reasons, which have prevailed  
“ with them to withhold their Subscription and Consent. By the very  
“ Constitution of the Realm it is provided, that the King shall have  
“ a full and absolute power over his Subjects, who ought to apply to  
“ none but to Him for Justice: And tho’ in Ecclesiastical Matters he is  
“ not altogether arbitrary; yet since our Kings have for a great num-  
“ ber of years shewn themselves such strenuous Defenders of Religion  
“ and the Honour of the Priesthood, they have justly acquired a right  
“ to concern themselves therein; so that, when the Question concerns  
“ the Possessions of the Church, the Cause is always referred to Your  
“ Majesty’s Civil Judges: But now by This Edict, You subject the  
“ very Persons of Your Subjects, over whom You have the power of  
“ Life and Death, to the jurisdiction of Others; by which proceeding  
“ Your Honour and Authority are to our great concern very much  
“ violated and infringed; forasmuch as by a written Law You desert  
“ Your People, whose reputation, fortunes and safety you commit  
“ to Foreign, that is, to Ecclesiastical Judges; and by depriving them  
“ of the Benefit of Appeals, which is the only security left to inno-  
“ cence, You give them up to an illegal power; and consequently,  
“ to all the pride and arrogance of Men, abusing the Royal Authority  
“ devolved upon them. We therefore think it more expedient, that  
“ You commit the Enquiry and Judgment of these Offences to your  
“ own Magistrates; and when a question arises, whether any opinion  
“ favours of Heresy, You may then order a meeting of Clergymen;  
“ who may also, by Your Majesty’s Leave, have the right of exer-  
“ cising Jurisdiction over their own Members. In the first place the  
“ Pope ought to be intreated by You, that He will permit Your  
“ Judges to take cognizance of such Appeals; and that the final de-  
“ termination upon those Appeals may be left to such Counsellors as  
“ are in Holy Orders; of whom if there be not at any time a  
“ sufficient number, their place may be supplied by others, who are  
“ conspicuous for piety, integrity, and innocency of life. The In-  
“ quisitor also should in every Province appoint Deputies, who are  
“ remarkable for Holiness and Probity: And the necessary Expences  
“ of the Process (which, if need be, may be settled by a sentence) ought  
“ to be born by the Bishops, and not by the Persons accused. This  
“ is what we have thought pertinent to say with relation to the Edict:  
“ To which may be added; That since by the punishment of those  
“ Wretches, who are every day put to death on account of Religion,  
“ nothing else has hitherto been effected, but that their Crimes are  
“ rather made detestable, than their Errors corrected; it seems con-  
“ venient, rather to tread in the steps of the Primitive Church; which  
“ did not make use of fire and sword in the establishment and propa-  
“ gation of Religion, but succeeded by the force of a purer Doctrine,  
“ and the exemplary Lives of the Prelates. We therefore think it ad-  
“ viseable for Your Majesty, to labour that point, which is in the



A. D. 1555. " power of You alone; that by the same methods, whereby Religion  
 " was antiently settled, it may be now preserved and maintained.  
 " Let the Bishops, as becomes faithful Shepherds, rule their Flocks in  
 " person: Let They, who act under them, do the same; that is, live  
 " piously, and teach the Word of GOD sincerely; or at least take  
 " care, that it be taught by able Ministers: And for the future let  
 " such be preferred, as shall be able to do what is their proper business;  
 " by themselves, and teach the People without the vicarial assistance of  
 " others. This is the Root, which is to be cherished; this the Foun-  
 " dation, to be built upon: For by these methods we doubt not,  
 " but a seasonable stop may be put to this Distemper in the beginning,  
 " before it has spread farther; and all this Luxuriancy of naughty  
 " opinions, which every day spring up in Religion, may be checked  
 " and restrained: On the other side, if these Remedies be despised,  
 " no Laws, no Edicts whatsoever, will be sufficient to cure the Evil.

In this Year also a Treaty was concluded between the King and  
*John de Broffes* Duke D'Estampes Governour of *Bretagne*: This Person de-  
 rived his Pedigree from That *Charles de Blois*; who, contending formerly  
 with the assistance of our Countrymen for the Principality of *Bretagne*,  
 was defeated at *Nantes* in a memorable battle by *John de Dreux* Count  
 of *Monfort*, on the 29th day of September, 1365. From that time the  
*Monfortians* enjoyed the Sovereignty of that Country, down to *Anne*  
 the only daughter of Duke *Francis*, who was married first to *Charles VIII.*  
 and afterwards to *Lewis XII.* *Claude* the elder daughter by this marriage  
 became wife to *Francis I.* in whose time the Dutchy of *Bretagne* was,  
 by a Decree of the Provincial States, so strictly united to the Crown  
 of *France*, as to be incapable of ever being again dismembered from it.  
 In this Treaty several things were granted to *De Broffes* by the King  
 by way of compensation, and amongst others the County of *Pentievre*;  
 upon his acceptance of which, he renounced the Title of *La Bretagne*,  
 which his Ancestors had used, and all his right in that Principality.

At this juncture, a Tumult was raised in the night-time at *Geneva*,  
 near the Lake *Leman*, by some of the order of Senators, who had a  
 mind to draw the whole Power to themselves and their Creatures.  
 These Men bore a violent aversion to *John Calvin* of *Noyon*, who had  
 taught in that City for many years; and to those especially, who, to  
 escape the danger of punishment, had fled thither for the sake of Re-  
 ligion out of *France*; the greatest part of whom they saw, to their  
 extream concern, admitted into the Body of Citizens; by which it fell  
 out, that the number of One party being increased, the power and  
 authority of the Other declined: Wherefore, in order to drive them  
 out of the City, they made use of this contrivance: That in the middle  
 of the night, their Friends should run up and down in the Streets in  
 several Places; and, at a signal given, cry out, that the *French* were  
 in arms and the City betrayed. But as the Strangers kept themselves  
 within their houses, the People likewise, whom the Conspirators thought  
 by this means to have armed against them, abstained from violence.

And



And thus the Design of the Faction was disappointed; some of them *A. D.* being afterwards punished for it, and others obliged to save themselves 1555. by flight.

The People of *Lucern* also, a Town belonging to the Community of the *Swiss* Cantons, demanded at that time a purer use of *GOD's* Word, as they called it: But as the greater part of Those, under whose jurisdiction they were, stood up for the antient Religion; the differences grew to such an height, that every thing tended to a Civil War; 'till at length it was decreed, that they should remain in the Religion of their Fore-fathers; and that They, who refused to submit to it, should have liberty of departing, whithersoever they pleased: Upon which many retired to *Zurich*, where they met with a generous Entertainment.

In this Year died *Wolfgang Lazius* in his own Country of *Vienna* of *Austria*, near fifty years old; a very diligent Writer of the *Greek*, *Roman* and *German* Affairs; as his own famous monuments of Learning testify to Posterity; an Illustrator of his Country; an industrious and sagacious Enquirer into Antiquity; raised by *Ferdinand* in consideration of his merits to Him and the Commonwealth of Learning, from an Imperial Physician to the dignity of a Privy-Counsellor, and the Order of Knighthood. *Conrad Pellican* also, born at *Rufach* in *Alsace*, (who had professed *Hebrew* for a long time at *Zurich* with great reputation, and translated out of *Hebrew* into *Latin* not only numberless Commentaries of the Rabbins upon the sacred Scriptures, but many of their Pieces also relating to the secret Rites of the *Jewish* Religion) paid his Debt to Nature in a very old age. I will add to these, *George Agricola*, born at *Glauca* in *Misnia*; who in this age wrote so accurately upon Metals, Fossils, and subterraneous Animals, that he vastly exceeded all the antient Writers of that kind; and who, by his exactness, not only in the explication of what the Antients have delivered down to us, but in his pursuit of modern Discoveries, very much illustrated that part of natural History; having, after *William Budæ*, *Leonard Porto* and *Andrew Alciati*, added a laborious Treatise of Weights, Measures, and the value of Metals and Coins: At length he died on the 21st day of *November* in this Year, and in the sixty first year of his age, at *Kemnitz* of *Misnia*; not far from those famous Silver-mines, belonging at this time to the Electors of *Saxony*, where he himself had made so many new and surprizing Observations. Some time before him, on the 25th day of *May*, died *Gemma de Friesz*, so called from his Country, a Publick Professor of Physick at *Louvain*; but much more esteemed for his rare skill in Mathematicks, which he taught at home, and greatly illustrated by a most curious set of artificial Instruments: He had been often invited to the Court of *Charles V.* but by his modest excuses he gave an exemplary proof, that he preferred a leisurely retirement to the favour of Princes; in which quiet state he died, of the Stone, not exceeding forty seven years of age: He left behind him a Son *Cornelius Gemma*, who professing the same Arts at *Louvain* with great reputation, revived the glory of his Father by his own diligence and learned



A. D. learned writings. Some time after, on the 5th day of *October*, *Edward* 1555. *Wootton*, born at *Oxford*, Professor of Physick in his own Country, (who had gained a great name among the learned by a Commentary, which he published on the difference of Animals) died at *London* in his climacterick year, and was buried at *St. Alban's*; leaving a very numerous family behind him. *Isidore Clario* a *Brescian* by birth, and by profession a *Benedictine*, who presided over the Church of *Foligno* for seven years, is to be commemorated among the First; a Man learned in three Languages; who to his Christian Doctrine added Chastity of manners, a most innocent Life, and a Mind breathing nothing but Charity and the Reformation and Union of the Church: One of so great Charity to the poor and Generosity to others, and of so high a reputation for Holiness, that after his death, the common-people bursting thro' the Officers into the house, he lay exposed to their Kisses for full four hundred hours, without emitting any Stench: After he had lived sixty years, being seized with a violent fever, he had an easy passage to GOD on the 28th day of *May*, and was buried in his own Church. In which same year *Olympia Fulvia Morata* of *Ferrara* died in the flower of her youth; a Lady comparable to Any of former ages for Holiness, Wit and Learning: Her Father was *Fulvio Peregrini Morato* of *Mantua*, a learned Man, who instructed his Daughter in Letters; wherein She made such a proficiency with the farther assistance of *Chiliano Sinapio*, that she wrote elegantly in *Greek* and *Latin*, and learnt to make verses in each language: Afterwards, having sucked in the Protestant Doctrine in the family of *Rende* wife of *Hercules II.* of *Ferrara*; where, as well as in the Retinue and Friendship of *Anna da Este*, who was afterwards married to *Francis* of *Lorraine* Duke of *Guise*, she held the principal place; she gave herself entirely up to Theological Studies: At last, being obliged on the account of Religion to quit her native Country, she retired with her brother *Emilio* into *Germany*, and was married to *Andrew Grunler* a physician; with whom she lived very happily for a few years, and then departed this life on the 26th day of *October* at *Heidelberg*, where she had fixed her dwelling; when she had not reached full twenty nine years of age: She was soon after followed by her brother *Emilio* and her husband *Andrew*; who were buried in the same Grave at *St. Peter's*: Several Miscellanies of her's were collected and published by *Celio Secondo Curio*, who was himself also a Refugee from *Italy* for the sake of Religion; which give a specimen of the rare Learning and Manners of this admirable Woman; and shew clearly what might have been expected from such an excellent Genius, if it had not been cut off so very early. These were all preceeded by *Mark-Anthony Majoraggio*, called so from a Town of that name, where his Father Count *Julian* dwelt, whereas he was before stiled Count *Anthony Maria*; for which being accused by *Fabio Lupo* and *Maximo Nigro*, he cleared himself of any blame upon that account in an elegant Speech before the Senate of *Milan*; wherein he shewed, that the changing of a Name was not without Precedents: He excelled very much in Eloquence, and commented very well upon the Books of *Aristotle*



*Aristotle* and *Tully* upon that Subject; the latter of whom he defended *A. D.* against the Calumnies of *Celio Calcagnini*: After a laudable employment 1555. of full thirteen years in instructing the Youth of *Milan*, having betaken himself at length to the Studies of Divinity, he slept in *GOD*, on the 4th day of *April*, in the forty first year of his age; and was buried by his Wife's Brother Count *Bartholomew* at *Milan*, in the Great Church, in a Tomb which he himself had erected. Amongst Us, *Oronce Finé* the Son of a Physician, born at *Briançon* in *Dauphiné*, ended his life of somewhat more than sixty years on the 6th day of *October*: He was the first after *James le Fevre d'Estaples*, who revived the Circle of Sciences, which had been for many ages unknown and forgotten in *France*; but, as he had greater things in view, he contented himself with delivering the Principles of them, and discovering their Fountains: Upon the Invitation and Encouragement of King *Francis*, he taught the Mathematicks at *Paris* to a large Audience, and illustrated them by his Writings, which for that time were very learned. Another of our Countrymen died this year, at *Rome*, viz. *Peter Gilles d'Alby*; who to an exact knowledge of Both Languages, Antiquity, Antient Writers, and fine Arts, particularly Natural History, had joined an unwearied desire of seeing remote countries; so that he became a diligent Traveller for more than forty years through *Greece*, both the *Asiaes*, and the greater part of *Africa*; partly with an intention to collect *Greek Books*, as he had been commanded by *Francis I.* and partly to describe the Situation of several Places: The King being dead, after a tedious wandering up and down, and a very extraordinary and providential escape out of the hands of the *Tripoline* Rovers, he at length retired, as to a secure Haven, into the Family of that most generous Patron of Letters *George Cardinal D'Armagnac*, who was Agent for the King at *Rome*; where, whilst he added nights to days in ordering and recollecting the Observations, which he had been so long rudely heaping together, he was seized with a burning fever, whereof he died in the sixty fifth year of his age, and was interred in the Church of *St. Marcellus*: The love which the Cardinal bore to his Client, and to the Progress of Learning, prevented his Works from perishing; the greatest part whereof his Eminency caused to be carried to *France*, and there published: But some part of them is supposed to have been stolen by *Peter Belon* of *Mans*, his Amanuensis for several years and the Companion of his Travels; who, tho' he afterwards published those Pieces in his own name, and not in *Gilles's*, yet, as much a Plagiary as he was, deserves the thanks of the learned World; for that he did not grudge the Communication of them to the Publick, as is the practice of many others.

In this Year happened That famous *American Expedition*, which was undertaken by *Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon* Knight of the Order of *Jerusalem* (whom I have often mentioned before), a Man active and exercised in Affairs and Enterprizes of importance; and, what seldom happens to Men of that sort, not meanly learned. He, incited by the thirst of Glory, and (as some add) by an eager desire of getting Wealth, obtained of the King, through the Intercession of *Gaspar de Coligny*



A. D. the Admiral, to have the liberty of fitting out a Fleet, and carrying  
1555. the Arms of *France* into the new World under His Majesty's protection :

By this means he proposed to raise the Honour of the *French* Name, and divide and weaken the Forces of the Enemy, who drew great wealth for the support of the War from their unmolested possession of those Countries; and also to open a way, by the example of the *French*, for other Foreign Nations to adventure into those Parts; which might end in restoring the *Americans* to their Liberty, and settling there a free and general Trade, which the *Spaniards*, by laying an intolerable Yoke of Servitude upon that People, arrogate at present solely to themselves. These things were given out publicly: But in private he had agreed with *Coligny*, whom he knew to be a secret favourer of those of the *Helvetian* and *Genevan* Confession (too many of whom were at this time in *France*), to propagate that Persuasion, in the Places which he should make himself master of. Thus *Villegagnon*, furnished, by the King's order, with two large Ships, of two hundred Tons each, and a sufficient number of Great Guns, and a Transport besides of sixty six Tuns, loaden with Provisions and other Necessaries; and also accompanied with great numbers of Gentry, as well as Mariners and Artificers; set sail from *Havre de Grace* on the 12th day of *July*: But being obliged by a storm to put in at *Diepe*; where some of his Companions, who were tired of the Sea, and would adventure no farther, were set on shore; he returned to *Havre de Grace*: From whence, on the 4th day of *August*, setting sail again, and getting clear of the Straights between the two *Britaines*, he came on the 20th day after in sight of *Tenariff*, the chief of the *Fortunate Islands*, fifteen hundred leagues distant from the Port whence he had set out, and twenty eight degrees northerly from the Equinoctial Line: From thence, keeping close to the *African* Shore, he sailed by the River *Liger*; and weathering the Promontory of *Albus*, which lies under the Tropick of *Cancer*, he arrived on the 8th day of *September* at the *Aethiopick Cape*, distant fourteen degrees from the Torrid Zone, and three hundred Leagues beyond *Tenariff*: He afterwards passed along the Coast of *Guinea*, as far as the Torrid Zone; which he found, contrary to the opinion of the Antients, to be so temperate, that He, who had put on cloaths, had no occasion to lay them aside for the Heat; nor He, who was without cloaths, to put them on for the Cold. At length, on the 10th day of *October*, he came under the Equinoctial Line at the Island of *St. Thomas*; from whence he was thrown back to the West by the blowing of a South-east wind; 'till on the 20th of the same month he fell in with the Island of *Ascension*, which is eight degrees and an half distant from the Equator, and five hundred leagues from the Continent: And at last, on the 13th day of *November*, he entered the Bay of the River of *Genabara*, so called from its likeness to a Lake, and vulgarly named by the *Portuguese* *Rio de Janeiro*, twenty three degrees beyond the Equinoctial Line, under the very Tropick of *Capricorn*: There, upon his landing, about five hundred of the Natives came out to meet him, armed with bows and arrows, congratulating



his arrival, offering all manner of assistance, and by solemn Fires *A. D.* testifying their joy, that such Strangers were come amongst them, as <sup>1555.</sup> could defend them against the *Portuguese* and their other Enemies: The Lake of *Janeiro* is so large, that (as they, who have been there, affirm) all the Ships in the world might very safely and commodiously ride in it. But as, upon quitting the Ocean, they were under a necessity of creeping by the Coasts of three uninhabited Islands surrounded every way with rocks; the Ships, at their entrance, were in very great danger of striking upon them: After this, a Streight was to be crossed, which was not above three hundred paces in breadth, bounded on the left-hand by a mountain and a very high rock of a Conick figure, so exactly turned by Nature, that to a distant spectator it seemed rather the work of Art: As they advanced farther, they met with a flat rock, of about an hundred and twenty paces in circumference, on which *Villegagnon* at first had lodged all his baggage; but being driven back by the force of the waves, he proceeded three thousand paces farther, and rested upon another Island, formerly deserted, of a thousand paces in capacity, and of a length six times greater than the breadth: which, being encompassed about with rocks rising just above the water, is inaccessible even to small Vessels, unless it be just over against the Harbour, where the Sea flows into it: On each hand there are prominent rocks, in which *Villegagnon* ordered Huts to be erected for Watch-towers: In the middle, where another rock of sixty feet in breadth extended itself, he fixed his own Tent: The whole Fort he called *De Coligny* in honour of the Admiral, building houses therein for eighty men (the number of his whole family) and planting his Great Guns. Beyond this Fortrefs, near ten miles farther in the same Bay, there lies a most beautiful and fertile Island of twelve miles in compass, called for that reason, from a comparison with the others, *The Great Island*, by such *Frenchmen* as then went thither; from whence Our Men frequently furnished themselves with Corn and other necessaries of Life. *Villegagnon* on his arrival immediately wrote to *Coligny* a brief account of his Voyage, his landing in the Country of *Brasil*, the Nature of the Place, and Manners of the People; and to secure his Friendship for the future, confirmed him in the hopes of settling the purer Religion (as they called it) in those parts, and desired his leave to send for some Divines from *Geneva*. To the same purpose he wrote the next year to *John Calvin*; who, upon the receipt of the Letter, communicated the contents to his Brethren of the Ministry: After a consultation had thereupon, two of their number were chosen, who at the request of *Coligny* and *Villegagnon* undertook the voyage, namely, *Peter Richer* then fifty years old, and *William Chartier*; to whom many others joined themselves, and amongst the rest *Jean de Lery* a *Burgundian*: These were all headed by *Philip Corquilleray* *Sieur du Pont*, a Refugee at *Geneva* upon the account of Religion, and a Person known to *Coligny*; by whom he was therefore solicited by Letters, that he would not refuse to undertake this Province, which (as *Coligny* himself expressed it) tended to the Glory of GOD. After a meeting with *Coligny* at *Chastillon sur Loir*, they went with



A. D. with his Letters to *Honſieur*, where they were kindly received by *Du Bois*, ſon of *Villegagnon*'s ſiſter, who was ſent thither by his Unkle for that purpoſe; and ſetting ſail on the 19th day of *November* with three Ships well fitted out, they reached the *Cape* on the 4th day of *March*, by the way which *Villegagnon* had taken; and three days after entering the Bay of *Janeiro*, arrived ſafe at the Fortreſs of *Coligny*. Upon their arrival, *Villegagnon* leading the way, a New Form of Church-Government was eſtabliſhed according to the Rites received at *Geneva*; and even the Lord's-Supper was celebrated, and *Villegagnon* himſelf communicated on the 21ſt day of *March*. But a Diſpute ariſing amongſt them upon that Subject, *Chartier* was ſent back into *France*, to learn the ſentiments of *Calvin*. In the mean time, ſome ill blood being bred by that Controverſy, *Villegagnon* at the admonitions (as it is thought) of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, uſed the *Genevan* Miniſters very hardly, and ſent them away; and *Du Pont*, with *Richer* and his Companions, eſpecially *John de Lery*, (who were afterwards joined by *La Chapelle* and *Du Bois*) leaving *Fort de Coligny* about the end of *October*, paſſed over to the Continent, in the eighth month after his arrival in *Braſil*: At length, on the 4th day of *January* in the following year, he embarked his People on board a Ship of *Martin Baldwin*; who, after having been toſſed with variety of Fortune, and endured the extremities of Hunger in the Voyage, landed at laſt in the end of *May* at a Port of our *Bretagne*. That *Lery*, whom I have mentioned, has with great Fidelity and Simplicity deſcribed this Voyage, as alſo the Nature of the Country and Manners of the Nation; and *Andrew Thervet*, who went thither with *Villegagnon* himſelf, and ſtaid in *Braſil* but three Months, has done the ſame, in a peculiar Book, intituled *Antartick France*: But ſince I have taken notice of this latter Perſon, I am willing, not ſo much to derogate from the Faithfulneſs of his Narrative, as to admoniſh thoſe who may be ſtrangers to him, concerning his Quality and Merit. He was born in the Province of *Angoumois*, and a Franciſcan at firſt by Profeſſion; then, before he had any tolerable ſmattering of Letters, throwing off his Monk's Cowl, he became a moſt famous Stroller, and ſpent his early years in Religious and other Pilgrimages: Having gained a reputation from this practice, he turned his mind, through a fooliſh ambition, to the writing of Books; which taking generally from other paultry Scriblers of Voyages and ſuch ſort of vulgar Pieces, he put off to the poor Bookſellers as his own: For of himſelf he was to an incredible degree ignorant of Learning, Antiquity, and every branch of Chronology; inſomuch that he moſt commonly delivered Uncertainties for Certainities, Falſhoods for Truths, with the utmoſt Confidence. I very well remember, that when ſome learned and acute Friends of mine went to ſee him, according to cuſtom, for their Diverſion; they made him believe, in my preſence, ſuch abſurd and ridiculous things, as could hardly be ſwallowed by Children; ſo that I could not forbear laughing; and I have ever ſince pried thoſe many People, who being Scholars themſelves, are not only unable to ſee through the Cheats of that Mountebank, but continually mention his Name with Honour in their Writings: And I have often



often wondered, how a Fellow, who was so easily imposed upon, could A. D. so shamefully impose upon such honourable Persons; whom I take 1555. this opportunity of admonishing, that for the future they may cease to defile their valuable Works with the Name and Character of such an ignorant and foolish Knave.

The War being hotly pursued throughout the greatest part of *Italy*, and on the Borders of *Picardy* and *Champagne*, the state of Things in *Germany* grew somewhat more quiet. The Emperor in the former Year had summoned a Diet to *Ulme*, then removed it to *Augsbourg*, and commanded the Princes and States of the Empire to be present on the 13th day of *November*; Lastly, being hindered by ill health from appearing there himself, he appointed his Brother *Ferdinand*, on the 5th day of *February*, to commence the Business of this year. There He, (few of the Princes being present) having made a long preamble of the Emperor's and his own good will towards them, and extraordinary care in the matter of Religion and the Publick Tranquillity, declared This to be the Emperor's chief Desire, "That whatsoever concerned the  
"Glory of GOD and the Peace of the Empire, might be settled by  
"their joint Counsels: That he himself had hitherto used all diligence,  
"that, occasions of offence being taken away, Religion and the Publick Quiet might be established; and that he had in fact abundantly  
"performed the Decrees of the two last Conventions, and all that he  
"had taken upon himself to do; but that such Circumstances had  
"happened, such intestine Troubles had been raised without his fault,  
"that his laudable Endeavours had been interrupted: That now, when  
"an opportunity first offered for applying a Remedy to those growing  
"Evils, he was unwilling to defer it any longer, and had appointed  
"*Ferdinand* to act in his absence as his Vicar with full powers; and  
"also joined some chosen Persons to him, in order to concert with  
"Them the most honourable and suitable measures for the good of  
"the Commonwealth: That it seemed proper to begin with Religion,  
"the Differences whereof had introduced so many Miseries not only  
"into *Germany*, but all *Europe*, and had opened a door for the invasion  
"of *Hungary* and *Austria* by their common Enemy the *Turks*: For it  
"was a most lamentable and hateful spectacle to GOD, that through  
"the obstinate Contumacy of some Persons tinctured with Novel  
"Opinions, it had happened, that They, who partook of the same  
"Baptism, Name, Empire and Language, should be so miserably torn  
"asunder: This seemed the more grievous, inasmuch as not one or  
"two Sects only, but new ones every day were started at pleasure, which  
"every one, who pleased, claimed a licence of embracing: No body  
"could doubt, but that these things tended to the Dishonour of GOD,  
"and to loosen the Bonds of Charity; and must wretchedly distract  
"the Consciences of the Common-people, who could not tell what to  
"fix upon or believe: That the Evil had now spread so far, that, as  
"young People grew up, This also insensibly grew up with them; and  
"very many were to be found, who, careless of all things, believed  
"nothing, and regarded neither Reason nor Honesty, nor the Dictates



A. D. 1555. " of Conscience : There was need therefore of the hand of the Civil Magistrate; who is properly intrusted with the business of Religion, as what is the only support of God's Honour and all Moral behaviour : That the Emperor had employed all his strength for a long time in composing these Differences, and at Their Request had obtained of the Popes the celebration of an OEcumenical Council; which, tho' more than once summoned, and oftentimes actually begun, they themselves knew the Causes, which hindered its producing the expected service to the Commonwealth, and therefore he would pass over the mention of them : If it were thought expedient, He would take care, that it should be summoned once more : But if, by reason of the Distractions of War, it were judged better to put it off to another time, it would behove them to try, if some other method might not be taken for the restoration of Concord : That a National Council had been frequently mentioned, but he was afraid, that this, being less agreeable to common usage, might not be altogether so suitable to the present Times : It seemed better, to leave the Business to be done by the way of Colloquies : In which Affair, tho' the Emperor's pious Endeavours had been ill construed in former years, and unacceptable to both Parties; yet he now hoped, that, laying aside all private Passions on each hand, a firm agreement might be settled amongst them : That with regard to the Publick Tranquillity, Laws had indeed been enacted in the preceeding Diet, which made excellent provision for the common Quiet : But since by some of them it was forbidden to outlaw seditious and rebellious persons, till they should first be put upon their Tryal, and in a regular way of proceeding convicted; those Causes met with such stops and delays, as gave factious people in the mean while an opportunity of making many bold and wicked attempts : That it had been also provided, that the Borderers should be bound to succour all such as suffered violence : Which nor being actually done, other Remedies were to be applied : They should consult therefore in common, in what manner these two Heads of the Law might be amended; that the Rashness of the Enemies of the Publick Repose might be restrained, and the dutiful Subjects of the Empire be assured of assistance against violent Usage : They should also maturely deliberate about the settlement of the Judicial Court, the common Quotas, Money, and other things relating to the state of the Empire."

The Substance of this long Oration was immediately published throughout Germany : To hinder its favourable reception, especially amongst the Protestants, many Impediments concurred, principally This; That at the same time notice came from several places, that Ferdinand himself had banished out of Bohemia near two hundred Ministers, who were gone to Wittenberg and into Misnia : And because Cardinal Hierom Morone had been appointed by Pope Julius, as his Legate at the Diet, many put this interpretation upon his coming, that



*Marone* had been sent for by the Emperor, in order to bring about in A. D. Germany, what *Pool* had done in England under his Son *Philip*. For that 1555. the Pope publickly made those Boasts. Amidst these Difficulties nothing went forwards in the Diet: For the Confederates were busily pursuing the remains of the War undertaken against *Albert*: And, having in the former Year taken *Blaschbourg* the principal Fortress of the whole Country, they at this time, that it might not, when recovered, prove the occasion hereafter of greater Mischiefs, levelled it with the ground, not without the manifest disgust of the House of *Brandenbourg* and their Relations. The Elector *Augustus* having been often cited by *Ferdinand* to the Diet, excused his not taking a journey at that time by his Embassadors, because of the unsettled condition of *Saxony*; and, throwing in the mention of the imminent danger from the *Turks*, took upon him to demonstrate, how necessary it was to restore Unanimity; that all causes of offence being removed, and all diffidence extinguished, they might with joint Minds and Forces make an early opposition to the pernicious Attempts of the Common Enemy: In which Affair each Party was guilty of great Errors: For that many of the Protestants were not fair enough, and rejected those Constitutions, which had been made by his Brother *Maurice* a little before his death in Religious Ceremonies: That They again were too inflexible, who opposed the Confession of *Augsbourg*, and yet took no care in the mean time of settling a just, pious and lawful Discipline and Reformation in the Church: He therefore earnestly requested, that *Ferdinand* would not condemn, for wicked and impious, That book, which had been presented to the Emperor twenty five years ago in that very City of *Augsbourg*: That in the mean time peace should be granted to the Church, and no molestation offered to any one upon a Religious Account: For That had lately been one of the Conditions offered by *Maurice* at *Passow*; and although it was referred by the Emperor to the general States of the Empire, yet he himself did not disapprove it, but had added These express words to the Treaty, "That he would take effectual care, that in the Diet every thing should be handled equitably, and that the Suffrages concerning Religion should be transferred by no Chicane whatsoever". These things were said in *Ferdinand's* presence by the Embassadors, on the day before he himself delivered his Sentiments.

A little while after, the Electors *Augustus*, and *Joachim* of *Brandenbourg*, *John-Frederick's* Sons, the Landgrave of *Hesse* and other Princes of *Saxony*, assembled together at *Naumbourg* upon the *Saal* on the 6th day of *March*, and renewed the League concluded above an hundred years before between the Houses of *Saxony*, *Brandenbourg*, and *Hesse*; declaring at the same time, that they were resolved to abide resolutely by the Confession of *Augsbourg*. That they might not afford a suspicion of secret Meetings and Counsels, on the 5th day after they wrote to the Emperor; and added, That, since by reason of the troublesome state of things, they were obliged to stay at home, they had therefore sent Embassadors to the Diet, whom they had instructed to refer all their

Actions



A. D. Actions and Counsels to the point of Concord; that so, no Violence  
1555. or Danger might be apprehended for the sake of Religion or any  
Civil Cause. On the same day they sent Letters to *Ferdinand* also, to

the same purpose, and particularly urged That Article, which I have  
specified, of the Treaty of *Passaw*.

Soon after, on the 15th day of *March*, the Archbishop of *Mentz*,  
who had been so hardly used by *Albert*, departed this Life and was  
succeeded by *Daniel Brendell*; And when, about the same time, the  
news arrived of Pope *Julius's* Death; *Morone*, who had come by his  
orders into *Germany*, immediately returned towards *Rome*, that he might  
be present at the choice of a new Pope: He was accompanied by *Orto*  
*Truchses* Cardinal of *Augsbourg*; who, before his departure, sent Letters  
to the Senate of Princes and Deputies, signifying, that he desired Peace  
indeed, but would never join in Counsels, whereby any Prejudice  
might accrue to the See of *Rome* or the antient Religion.

There was brought likewise upon the Carpet, at this time, That so  
often banded Controversy between the Landgrave and *William* Count  
of *Nassaw* concerning the District of *Catzenellbogen*: That an end might  
be put to it, and to prevent any worse Evil from springing out of it,  
some Princes offered their Mediation. These were, the Elector Palatine,  
*Christopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg* and *William* Duke of *Cleves*; who, as  
honorary Umpires, appointed the 1st day of *July* for the hearing at  
*Worms*; whither the Landgrave sent his eldest Son *William*. The  
Terms being proposed, a long Dispute ensued between the Parties: At  
last, it was agreed, to refer the matter to a farther Deliberation, and a  
certain time was fixed for the purpose: And when they had afterwards  
met at *Bacherach*, and again finally at *Worms*, because of the Palatine's  
ill health; the Dispute was ended by a Treaty, and a certain sum of  
money stipulated, which the Landgrave paying to the Count, should  
remain in the possession of *Catzenellbogen*. But when *Nassaw* insisted,  
that unless the Money were actually paid down on the day appointed,  
the Transaction should be void, and his Right continue un-impeached;  
and the Landgrave rejected this Condition; the Assembly broke up  
without coming to a perfect conclusion.

A Rumour likewise of the *Danish* Fleet's sailing to the North, held  
the minds of the Princes in suspense; whilst some said, that it was  
done by the advice of the Emperor, who thought to put the King's  
Son or Brother into the possession of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: Others  
imagined it to be fitted out for the use of the *French* King; and others  
again, which was the more likely, that it was designed to be a check  
upon the Emperor and his Son *Philip*, (whose Power, since the accession  
of *England* began to be formidable to the Northern Princes) if they  
should happen to make any farther Advances; and the Maritime  
Cities were therefore commonly believed to have contributed towards  
the Charge of that Armament. After a long and uncertain Expecta-  
tion, all this Rumour at length vanished; and the King of *Denmark*,  
who saw he had no need of that Fleet against the *Austrians*, gave out,  
that it had been designed against the *Pirates*.

These



These things helped to slacken the Proceedings of the Diet begun in *A. D.* the month of *February*. But, when the Deputies had at length consented, 1555. that the Affair of Religion should be explained, it was at last resolved, that Peace should be given to Religion: But the Protestants added This, that all Persons without exception, even the Clergy, might be at liberty to embrace the Confession of *Augsbourg*: The other side contended, that This was not to be permitted either to those Cities, which seven years before had received the Decree of *Augsbourg* concerning Religion, or to any of the Ecclesiastical Order; But on the contrary, that if any Bishop or beneficed Priest shall abandon the received Religion, he ought to be displaced, and another substituted in his room. When they could come to no agreement, each Party delivered its Reasons in writing to *Ferdinand*. Another Treatise was afterwards published out of course, wherein the Demand of the Protestants was rejected, as unjust, and detrimental to Piety and common Decency: For that, after this rate all Discipline must be dissolved, if a liberty shall be granted to all Men promiscuously of changing their Religion: That it had been a Custom received in the Church from the times of the Apostles, and confirmed by four OEcumenical Synods, that They, who preside over God's House, shall not allow of any condemned Religion; but shall gently admonish, and deterr, such Prelates or private Persons as seemed inclinable to fall away; and present such as are obstinate to the Church: Otherwise, under colour of Liberty, the worst sort of Licentiousness would be introduced, which would necessarily be followed by a Dissipation of the Faith. Then *Ferdinand*, by Letters directed in the beginning of *August* to the Electors of the Empire and other Princes, declares it to be owing to Their absence, that no agreement could be established; whereas, in his opinion, if they had been present, things might have been brought to an excellent conclusion: Which since *GOD* had not granted, it seemed adviseable, that a Decree should be issued to This purpose: *Since, through the absence of the Princes, nothing can possibly be determined, it is resolved, that the business be put off to the next Diet, which shall commence at Ratisbon about the beginning of March, and at which all Persons are required to appear:* That he had pitched upon *Ratisbon* as the place for holding the Diet, because the imminent danger from the *Turks* would not suffer him to be farther distant from his Dominions. To this the Princes answered, that it by no means seemed adviseable, to break up the meeting, before Peace should be established; Forasmuch as all *Germany* was full of vast perturbations, and there never was a greater or more general Harmony of Sentiments than at present; for which reason they beg, that an end may be put to this Controversy, before the dissolution of the Assembly: Which being done, they might in the next Diet enter into more expeditious resolutions concerning the *Turkish* and other Affairs. *Ferdinand* therefore, when he saw it impossible to defer the thing any longer, on the last Day of *August* declared his Opinion of the Writings of the opposite Parties; and pressed this Point, that the Protestants would admit the proposed Exception; namely, that such Ecclesiasticks, as should change their Religion, should



A. D. be displaced: For that it seemed an equitable Proposal: Otherwise the  
 1555. Retainers of the old Religion would have reason to complain of a  
 hardship; that Rules were prescribed to Them, concerning the Administration of Provostships, Colleges and Benefices; whereas They do not prescribe to the Protestants, how they shall deal with the Ministers of their own Dominions: Besides, it necessarily followed from hence, that the Provostships would be dissolved; and, if that licentious and impious Liberty were allowed, the Nature of those Offices, and the Design of the Founders being altered, they would become entirely secular and prophane. The Princes hereupon replied, That it was the least of their thoughts, to suffer the Holy Patrimony to be wasted; but that they regarded one Point only, that no Force should be offered to Consciences; and that no one should suffer in his Fortunes or Reputation for a Religious Profession, which they embrace as true and consonant to the Word of God and the Doctrine of the Fathers: For these reasons they besought, that the Exception might be omitted. Then *Ferdinand* exhorted them to consent; for otherwise there would be danger of parting unsuccessfully; and the matter could be no longer delayed. At last he compelled them to consent; and a Decree was framed, and read openly, according to custom, on the 25th day of September; The Principal Heads whereof were These: "That all  
 " People may freely maintain the Confession of *Augsbourg*, and be  
 " exempt from violence upon that account; and may likewise peacefully enjoy the Estates, Effects, Duties and Possessions, which they  
 " at present possess: That the Differences of Religion shall be composed  
 " by none but amicable methods: The Allies of the *Augustan* Confession shall on Their parts carry themselves with moderation towards  
 " the Clergy, and shall allow them their Religion, Ceremonies, Laws,  
 " Possessions, Revenues and Rights; nor give any hindrance to their  
 " peaceable enjoyment of them. Such as shall be of neither Religion,  
 " are not to be comprehended in this Decree. If any Prelate or  
 " other Dignitary of the Church shall relinquish the old Religion, he  
 " is immediately to forfeit his Dignity, and be deprived of the  
 " Profits which he received from it: Which however is to be done  
 " without the least blemish to his Character: And the College, or  
 " They to whom it belongs by Right or Custom, shall elect another  
 " into his Place: But because some States of the Empire and their  
 " Ancestors have taken to themselves certain Provostships, Colleges,  
 " Abbeys, and other Ecclesiastical Estates of that sort, and have converted them to the service of schools and other good Uses, they  
 " shall not be molested upon that score, nor be liable to any Action  
 " at Law; nor shall the Judges of the *Chamber* pronounce any Sentence  
 " against them; which is to be understood of those Possessions, which  
 " do not belong to the Empire, or to other States subject to the Empire,  
 " and which have been alienated or usurped before the Pacification of  
 " *Passaw*. Moreover, that the said Jurisdiction shall not be exercised  
 " against the Professors of the *Augustan* Faith, but suspended, till the Quarrel  
 " shall be made up. Schools, Alms-houses, Hospitals for strangers  
 " shall



“ shall remain, as they have been antiently constituted; and all poor *A. D.*  
 “ and afflicted persons shall be admitted into them and cherished, 1555.  
 “ without examining which of the two Religions is professed by such  
 “ as are to be relieved by those Contributions: And if for that  
 “ Cause any Dispute shall arise, Umpires shall be chosen by the con-  
 “ sent of the Parties, who shall hear and determine it within six  
 “ Months.

But now, Peace being settled in the Protestant Churches of *Germany*, the Difference, which had subsisted between the Protestants themselves for full thirty years concerning the true Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, broke out with fresh rancour; and Books were published upon that subject by the Ministers of *Bremen* and *Hamburg*, in which *John Calvin* and *John a Laski* (of whom we have formerly spoken) were particularly lashed. *Calvin* and *Henry Bullinger* presently answered them. But *A Laski*, in a Treatise inscribed to *Sigismund-Augustus* King of *Poland*, complains, that without taking cognizance of the Cause, either in the way of Conference or by an amicable collation of Suffrages, their opinion was condemned through meer Prejudice. This also was the reason, that in the year following, when *Conrad Pellican* that learned Professor of *Hebrew* had died, the People of *Zurich* by Letters directed to the Senate of *Strasbourg* earnestly requested, that *Peter-Martyr Vermilio*, who had lately arrived there from *England*, might be sent to them: For He too was opposed by the *Saxon* Ministers: Nor was he unwilling to quit *Strasbourg*; that he might treat that Argument with more liberty at *Zurich*, and answer the Arguments of the Adversaries.

A little before, *Joan of Arragon*, Mother to the Emperor and *Ferdinand*, had died at *Madrid*. By giving way formerly to Jealousy, she had contracted a Distemper of mind, which, after the death of her Husband *Philip*, turned to a manifest and down-right Madness: And from that time she continued shut up in a Tower, playing and fighting with her Cats, to an extreme old age; preserving all the while the Titles of the Realms of *Spain*, which, as long as she lived, she used jointly with her Son in all publick Acts; whether out of her own Choice, or in pursuance of a Decree of the States, is uncertain. The Emperor solemnized her Funeral Obsequies at *Brussels*, and *Ferdinand* did the same at *Augsbourg*. Whether the Emperor took a serious admonition from the Death of his Mother, or was tired with his ill fortune; his Indisposition continually growing upon him, he began to think in earnest of retiring into *Spain*. *Philip* his Son had come to him out of *England*, where, in the midst of his Dotal Kingdom, he had been unmercifully affronted by virulent Jest and Libels; many of which tended to provoke the Populace against the *Spaniards*, and many others to alienate the Queen's Mind from her Husband; yet, notwithstanding the most diligent search after the Authors, no Discovery could be made. The Emperor was principally influenced by the uneasiness of his Circumstances, which he every day grieved to see decaying with himself, and had resolved to withdraw into *Spain* at a distance from the Administration of Affairs; in order both to consult his Health, which  
 now



A. D. now no longer recurred to him by intervals, but was continually assaulted; 1555. and also that, upon the return of good fortune, in favour of his youthful Son, he might set him up against the flourishing and hitherto successful King of France. Nor were there Examples wanting of illustrious Men, who in like manner had descended from the same high Station; which occurred to his mind, as often as he hesitated in that Deliberation: And in the first place, That of *Diocletian*; a most excellent Prince, if you except what he did amiss through the Deceits of Gentilism against the Christians; who after having governed the Empire with the utmost Virtue and Prudence for twenty years together, abdicated the same at *Nicomedia*, with his Colleague *Maximilian*, in the year of Christ 308, and retired to *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, where he amused himself as a private man in the delightful culture of a Garden. When the Empire was afterwards torn to pieces, *Anastasius II.* and then *Theodosius III.* both Christians, resigning the Imperial Dignity, ended their days in a Monastery. *Isaac Comnenus* also, who deposed *Michael Stratiota*, whether frightened by an Apparition (from whence he had contracted a mortal Distemper) or out of a design to decline the invidiousness of affecting the Empire; upon the death of his Wife, surrendered the Crown to *Constantin Ducas*, and voluntarily entered into the Abbey of *Anthemius* at *Studium*, which had been built by himself; causing his Hair to be shorn, from which Circumstance his most noble Family has taken its Name. *Michael* also commonly called *Rangabe*, after holding the Scepter two years, spent his old age in the Island of *Protus*: And after him, *Michael* the Son of *Ducas*, when he had ruled the Empire six years and an half, was thrust into the Retirement of *Studium*: His Successor *Nicephorus Botaniata*, being turned out again by the Faction of the *Comneni*, cast off his Purple Shoes, and went into the Monastery of *Periblepta*, (of which after *Romanus Argyrus* he was called the second Founder) and shaving his head and changing his Garment took the Frock of a Monk. Lastly *Manuel Comnenus*, after he had administered the Empire for thirty eight years, took up the Hair-cloth, and died in it: And after him, *John Cantacuzenus*, Partner in the Empire with *John Palæologus*, laid down his Honour at last, and spent the remainder of his days in a private Life. Many of these indeed left the Imperial Dignity unwillingly, and with a security taken that they should not suffer any inconveniency or injury. But the most memorable of all was the Instance of *Lotharius* the Son of *Lewis the Pious*; who, having taken in his Son as joint Administrator of the Government, retired voluntarily, in the fifteenth year after, and the 855th of Christ, into the Abbey of *Pruim*, which himself had richly endowed. By these and other Examples, the Emperor being confirmed, and having resolved to renounce the Empire and his other Kingdoms, ordered an Instrument to be drawn on the 15th day of *October*, which he subscribed with his own hand, and confirmed with his Seal; whereby he resigns to *Philip*, whom he had before declared King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, all his other Dominions and Possessions: And an Assembly being summoned to meet at *Brussels* on the 25th of *October*; when the

Day



Day was come, he first in the morning created *Philip* Sovereign of the *A. D.* Order of the *Golden Fleece* with the proper Solemnities; and after 1555. dinner, in the grand Hall of the Palace, amidst a full Senate, and a large Company of Noblemen and others of all Ranks, when he had seated himself betwixt *Philip* and his Sister *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, he commanded the *Latin* Instrument to be read aloud by the Counsellor of *Brussels*. Therein he signified his resolution of sailing by the first opportunity into *Spain*, and to spend the remainder of his Life there in Tranquillity and Repose; transferring his Right, Dominion and Possession of the *Netherlands* to the Prince his dearest Son, who was now of a competent age for the management of Affairs; whom he therefore commanded all the Subjects of the *Low Countries* to obey as their rightful Prince and Lord, and to swear Fealty to him; for which purpose he released them from the Oath, which they had taken to himself; upon this condition, That all Debts, which had been contracted by Him, or by others in his name, for the service of the *Netherlands*, should be paid by the Prince; that so his own Honour might be discharged of them. The Instrument being read, he himself pronounced a Speech in the *French* Tongue, which for the ease of his memory he had in writing; wherein, repeating the whole tenor of his past Life, he demonstrated, that the Good of Christendom had been his principal Aim from his very Childhood; that he had directed all his Actions and Counsels to that Point; and had never given the least portion of his Time to Idleness or private Pleasures: That, since his Age began to decline, and he had settled the Peace of his Provinces, he had resolved to retire, and for the remainder of his years, live to GOD and himself: He required therefore and commanded, that they would pay, as they stood obliged, the same Honour, Observance and Fidelity to his Son, whom he left his Successor, as they had hitherto paid to himself. Then *Philip* rising, saluted the Company with his Head uncovered; and stepping forwards, touched his aged Father's Right-hand with great veneration, and falling upon his knees kissed it. The Father reciprocally embracing him in the tenderest manner, and laying his Hand upon the Prince's Head, pronounced him Sovereign of the *Netherlands*; and then in a set Form of words, adding the Sign of the Cross (the common Banner of all Christians), and expressing the Names of the Holy Trinity, in hopes of deriving from thence an auspicious influence upon his Son's Reign, he prayed for his Success; and charged him above all things, that he should never cast away the Reverence and Fear of GOD, but should make the Conservation of Religion his peculiar care, and maintain the Authority of the Laws: That these were the Arts of reigning well and happily. Hereupon *Philip* in a low and modest Discourse assured the Company, that with the help of the Great and Good GOD, and his loving Father's admirable Instructions, he would see to the diligent performance of these Commands: Insomuch that the Emperor was observed to cry, and by his Example to draw Tears from many of



A. D. the Nobility there present; when he said, that he pined his dear Son, 1555. who had taken such an heavy weight upon his Shoulders. *Philip* having rejoined, that he understood indeed the *French* Language, but could not express himself happily in it, opened his mind by *Anthony Perrenot* Bishop of *Arras* in a very long Speech; and in a very injurious manner reflecting upon the *French*, as having rejected very fair conditions of Peace lately offered at *Graveling*, animated the Spectators to join their Valour and Forces in a vigorous War: By the way he warned them to beware of those Monstrous Heresies which crept about every where, to show themselves dutiful in all things to the Magistrates, and consult the common welfare by a faithful and unanimous Obedience: For that by those means, Affairs at home being quieted, they might be a Terror abroad to their Enemies. Upon the Bishop of *Arras's* drawing to a conclusion, *James Maes*, one of the King's Counsellors, rising up, returned thanks to *Philip* in the name of the *Flemings*, who engaged their Fealty, Life and Fortunes, to the Son, as they had before done to the Father. When *Philip* had sat down, Queen *Mary* Governess of the *Netherlands*, resigned in like manner the Administration of that Province, which she had ruled by her Brother the Emperor's Commission for twenty three years with exemplary diligence and honour; and immediately *Philibert Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* was promoted by *Philip* to her Place. The Ceremony of the Renunciation being over, the Emperor, leaning upon the shoulders of *William* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange* and Count *de Buren* (for he assumed all these Titles), withdrew out of the Hall: And after the interval of one month, in the same place, before the Deputies and Presidents of his Kingdoms and Provinces, whom he had summoned thither for that purpose, he made a Cession to his Son of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, the Islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, *America* and the *New World*; reserving only to himself, when he should arrive at the designed Place of Retirement, a Pension of an hundred thousand Crowns, for the maintenance of himself and his Family. The Emperor had before made frequent Tryals upon his Brother *Ferdinand* (as we have related), if by any means he could persuade him and his Son *Maximilian*, to give back the Imperial Dignity to *Philip*, upon receiving a proper Compensation: Not being able to obtain This of them, he had at length requested, that at least they would constitute *Philip* Vicar of the Empire throughout *Italy* and the *Netherlands* with full Powers. But they refused to consent even to This Proposition; alledging, that the Imperial Dignity and Majesty, which they had undertaken to preserve entire and unimpaired, would lose so much of its Lustre, as should be granted to another. The Emperor therefore, who saw it impossible to gain any thing from them, sent Embassadors to his Brother then residing at *Innspruck*; to notify his fixed Resolution, and to call upon him to enter upon the Administration of the Empire; desiring him to conciliate and recommend his Son *Philip* to the *German* Princes and States. The 13th day of *November* was fixed upon for the Emperor's Departure: But, whether



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whether in regard to the roughness of the Season, or that the prudent A. D. Father was unwilling; whilst the Breach continued between Us and 1555. the New King, to leave his Son so soon, before he had gained any experience in the publick Administration; upon one or other of these accounts, his Going was put off to the next year. Philip, being now invested in his Father's Dominions, in order to gain the Affections of his Subjects, set about visiting the Principal Cities of the Netherlands; and in the beginning of the Year following, on the 18th day of January, made his Entry into *Antwerp* with great Pomp.

**The End of the Sixteenth BOOK.**



**BOOK**





## BOOK XVII.

### ARGUMENT.

Cardinal Pool, who had been out-lawed by Henry VIII. restored. Philip crowned King of England. The Governour in Scotland abdicates his Authority, and transfers it upon the Queen Dowager. The Protestants in England suffer various sorts of Punishment. The Bodies of dead Persons dug out of their Graves. A Truce between the Emperor and the King confirmed by the Oath of each Party. Ottavio Farneſe, deſerting our Intereſt, reconciles himſelf to the Emperor. The Caraffaes diſturb the Truce; and Cardinal Charles Caraffa is ſent Legate into France. The Colonnaes excommunicated by the Pope; who ſtarts a quarrel with the Emperor on account of Sicily. A ſnare laid by the Caraffaes for Alcanio della Corgna. The Duke of Alva's Succeſſes in The Campagna di Roma. The Town of Anagni taken. John de Luna revolts from the Emperor to Us. Oran in Africa unſucceſſfully beſieged by the Turks, through the brave defence of Count Alcaudete. Mark-Anthony Colonna ravages to the very gates of the City. Tivoli taken. Vicovaro ſurrendered. Blaiſe de Montluc ſent to fortify and defend Velletri. Nettuno, through the Rebellion of the Townſmen, ſubmits to the Duke of Alva. Palombara, through a quarrel amongſt the Inhabitants, taken by ſtorm and pillaged. Balthazar Rangone falls head-long into a Snare laid for him by Popoli, and by his miſfortune puts the City into a fright. Oſtia beſieged, and at length ſurrendered. A Truce between the Pope and Alva, upon the Report of an Army of French Auxiliaries approaching: During the Ceſſation, Alva takes a turn to Naples, in order to conſult with the General Officers the beſt means of guarding the Borders. Ferdinand Gonzaga, who had returned into Italy, after the Judgment given by the Emperor in the Netherlands againſt his Accuſers, is preſent at the Conſultation, and gives his opinion. Oſtia in the mean time is retaken by the Papal Forces under Peter Strozzi; and Mark-Anthony de Montluc, Blaiſe's Son, ſlain in the place. Vicovaro alſo ſtormed and taken by Our Men. In France, the Severities againſt the Sectariſts are continued, and many put to death. A ſolemn Judgment given by the Parliament of Paris in the Caſe of Julian



Julian Tabouë; by whom, after re-examining an Arret of the Parliament of Dijon, Raimond de Pelisson and others, who had been indicted and condemned for bribery and extortion, are honourably acquitted. In Austria and Vindelicia, Petitions offered for a Peace in Religious Matters, and seconded by the Bavarians. Troubles caused by Osiander's Disciples in Prussia. Funcken retracts his Error. At Spiers and in the Territories of Baden, the Confession of Augsbourg is received: The Suspicions of the Protestants kindled against Us by reason of the League with the Pope. Frederick Elector Palatine, who had married Dorothy daughter to Christiern the captive King of Denmark, dying without Children, Otho-Henry the Son of his Brother Rupert succeeds him. Albert's Cause discussed in the Diet of Ratisbon. The fruitless Siege of Zigeth in Hungary, and Misfortune of the Turks. The Military Virtue of Haly Bashaw an Eunuch. Gran retaken by the Christians. A Comet appearing on the 7th day of March, the Emperor, who thought himself concerned in it, sends Letters to the Chamber of Spiers, about the Abdication of the Imperial Dignity, and recommends his Brother Ferdinand: Then setting sail from Sudburg Castle in Zeland, he arrives in Spain. The Death of John Sleidan, John Forster, Sebastian Corrado, John Gelida and other learned Men.

**I**N England, this year, about the very beginning of January, A. D. the Parliament was dissolved; wherein the Restitution of Cardinal Pool, as we have already related, had been enacted; and the Statutes, for the Punishments inflicted by former Kings upon Hereticks, revived. It was expected too, that some Proposals should have been made by Queen Mary about placing the Crown upon Philip's Head: But having thoroughly founded the Inclination of the Peers, and found them averse to it, she dropped the Design. Afterwards, in the beginning of February, John Hooper Bishop of Gloucester, Laurence Saunders, Rowland Taylor, John Bradford a Canonist, and John Rogers, were capitally condemned at London for the sake of Religion. The last mentioned Person suffered the Fire at London, where he had long taught: But Bradford was kept for some time in prison after the Sentence, 'till at length in the following month of May he also was burnt: The rest were forthwith sent every man to his own home, to Gloucester, Lancaster, Coventry and Hadley, and put to death in the same manner. Not long after, the Bishop of St. Davids was condemned, and sent to his own Diocese, in order to be executed. But when, about the close of the preceeding year, on Christmas-Eve, News had been brought to Rome of the Conversion of England to the Unity of the Church by the means of Cardinal Pool; the whole City immediately rung with Joy; Publick Thanksgivings being ordered, the Cannon discharged, and Bonfires every where lighted. A Bull was then also published; wherein the Pope, making use of the Example of the Prodigal Son, not only signified his own particular Joy for the Reduction of England to the Roman See; but that, in imitation of that indulgent Parent, he was willing to invite



A. D. others also to share in the Banquet and the common Festivity: That 1555. accordingly, opening the Treasures of the Church, after the received custom, he granted a plenary remission of Sins upon certain conditions, to all such, as with a pious and contrite heart should sincerely and religiously execute the contents of that Mandate. Moreover the Pope, who had received satisfaction upon all other points, pressed very earnestly for the restitution of the Goods, which had been taken from the Church; and had recommended that Article in the strongest Terms to the Embassadors sent to him, who, about this time were returned homewards: Which was referred to the ensuing Parliament. In the mean time, to gratify the Pope in some measure, *Ridley* and *Hugh Latimer* a very antient Man, who had been removed to *Oxford*, were committed to the Flames. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was also brought out with them; but having openly begged pardon, and implored the mercy of GOD, he was remanded back to Prison. At length the Parliament sat again in the months of *October* and *November*, to whom a second proposal being made for vesting the Royal Power in *Philip*, it miscarried again. The Queen also recommended to them the restitution of the Ecclesiastical Estates; but, most of Those having been for many years possessed by the Lords, and the principal Gentry, nothing of this kind could be obtained. At length an Act passed, for the payment of First-fruits and Tenths for the future to the Clergy. About the end of the Session, *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, who had been made Chancellor of the Realm by *Mary*, died of a Dropsy. *Thomas Heath* then Archbishop of *York* succeeded him; the same person, who having formerly spent some time in *Germany* with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had afterwards assisted *John Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland* at his Execution.

Before we leave *Britain*, it is but reasonable, that we should run briefly through the affairs of *Scotland*. The Queen Dowager, as soon as she returned home, had this principally in her view, that with the consent of the Governour she might draw the chief administration into her own hands. At length, after long Debates, partly by cunning, and partly by force, she extorted it from his weakness. For at *Sterlin* a Treaty was set on foot, and an approbation produced of the Conditions, which the Queen and her Guardians had subscribed; with this additional Article, that the custody of *Dunbritton* should remain with the Governour. A Parliament being then summoned to meet at *Edimburg* on the 10th day of *April*, the Covenants were again publicly read; which done, the Governour rising from his Seat, resigned the administration, delivering the Ensigns of Authority to *Henry Clutin D'Oysel* the Queen's Proctor; who receiving them in the name of the absent Queen, delivered them shortly after, by her Orders, into the hands of the Queen-Mother. She immediately accepted them amidst the joyful Acclamations of the people, and was carried in state through the City to her Palace without the Walls, taking upon her the title of Regent. The Governour for his part, who had been attended with a noble Retinue of Lords at his entrance into the Parliament House, and had the Sword, Scepter, and Crown



Crown laid before him, according to antient usage ; now being reduced to his primitive Rank, passed undistinguished amongst the rest of the Crowd. The promotion of a Woman to the Regency, with the consent of the Grand Council, was, as the *Scotch* Writers say, a new and unheard of thing till that very day ; and was owing to the Interest and Power of the *French* ; to whom, however, the *Scotch* could never be induced to consent, that the Castle of *Edinburg* should be delivered : For fear, to be sure, lest, if the Queen should die without Issue, the *French* would retain it for their own use. It was committed therefore to *John Areskine* in sequestration, with Orders to surrender it to no person whatsoever without a Decree of the States. The neighbouring Country was grievously infested with Robbers, headed principally by *John Mudyard*, the chief of the race of *Clan Reynald*, who had committed great Outrages. To apprehend this person, the Regent sent *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntley* ; a subtle Man, who taking pleasure in the publick calamity, and aiming to make an advantage of its losses, executed his Commission with little sincerity. Therefore, as soon as he returned, he was clapt into prison, and continued there 'till the day of his Tryal. What added to his load, was the death of *William* Chief of the House of *Cathness*, Sister's Son to *James* Earl of *Murray* ; whom the other in spight to *Murray*, and because he would not become his Vassal, had taken care by the means of his Wife, to remove out of the way. The opinions concerning his punishment varied very much ; whilst some thought he deserved to lose his head, and others declared for banishing him for some years into *France*. At length they complied with the judgment of *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassils*, one of *Gordon's* bitterest Enemies ; who, foreseeing that an Agreement between Us and the *Scotch* was not likely to continue long, thought it by no means safe, that such a turbulent person should be left to inflame and head a War ; and much less that he should be capitally punished : For that no Domestick Evil was so terrible, nor the Revenge of *Gordon's* Crimes so considerable, as that for those reasons they should inure Foreigners to the shedding of *Scottish* Blood : He voted therefore, that the matter should be made up with *Gordon* for a sum of Money. In consequence of which sentence, he remained so long in prison, 'till he was forced to give up many valuable Privileges and Revenues, which he had usurped in the Kingdom, and to relinquish several Lordships, which had a Cognizance of Causes appendant ; the profits of all which were added to the Royal Patrimony. Being dismissed upon these conditions, he again insinuated himself into a familiarity with the Regent, and was admitted to her intimate Counsels. From that time things grew more quiet in the Realm, 'till the month of *July* in the year 1556; *A. D.* when the Regent travelling to *Inverness*, and holding a Parliament, as usual, punished several disturbers of the publick tranquillity with exemplary severity ; and the resolute and valiant *John* Earl of *Athol* being sent against *Mudyard*, took him with his whole Family by Capitulation, and brought him to the Regent. But he afterwards, either by deceiving or corrupting the Keepers, slipped away ; and flying to his usual barbarities, laid every thing waste with Fire and Sword. The

Regent



A. D. Regent being returned home, in order to gain the good will of the Nobles, restored some of the Cardinal of St. *Andrew's* Murderers, who had been banished by the Governour. But what degree soever of Affection she got by that Action, she lost it again by her odious Devices of raising Money, for the maintenance, as it was given out, of Foreign Soldiers. The contrivance was this; That a Book of Valuations being framed, the Estates of all the people were to be registered; and every Man commanded to pay a small yearly portion, according to the Assessment, into the publick Treasury appointed for that Use. Though the odium of the project was thrown upon our Countrymen, namely, *D'Oysel, Du Rubis* and others, who generally influenced the Regent; yet They, who searched more narrowly into the matter, were of opinion, that the Author of it was *David Panter* Bishop of *Ross*, a Man of extraordinary Parts and Learning, who was a Dependant of the *Hamiltons*, and no Enemy to their Family or Counsels. Neither was it thought to be done without the privity of *Gordon*; who, observing the Regent to be chiefly intent upon accustoming the *Scotch* to Taxes, and fearing, that through the perpetual increase of her Power, she might break the force and authority of the Nobles; by which means a Woman, and a Foreigner, and one who, through the fault of her Nation, was unmeasurably ambitious, would become absolute; who, I say, seeing these things, is supposed to have given her this advice, suited indeed to her Taste, but plainly malicious; as knowing very well, that the *Scots* would neither pay the Taxes, nor be so ready to obey her, as they had formerly been. The execution of this design was hindered however by the Nobility; who dispatching *James Sandlands* and *John Weemes* to the Regent, begged, that she would spare them the ignominy of paying Taxes, and the confession that must be made of the publick and private Poverty, by a Register of their Estates. For, that with regard to mercenary Troops, it was a most dangerous thing to put the whole power into the hands of those, who would be disposed to any desperate Attempt; either of themselves, or upon hopes of advantage; whose insatiable Avarice would be fired by opportunity to proceed always further, and whose Fidelity would be swayed any way by Fortune. But though no danger might be apprehended from thence, and they should more consider the love of their Country than their own Condition; could any one imagine, that Mercenaries would fight more valiantly for other people's Estates, than Proprietors for their own? or that such vulgar Wretches could be more animated by small Wages, which would cease of course in Peace, than the Nobility would be by a regard to their Fortunes, Children, Hearths and Altars? By these and other arguments the Queen being perswaded, and apprehending the fatal consequences of her persevering, remitted the Tax; repeating however, that not she herself, but some considerable persons amongst the *Scotch* were the Authors of that design; by which words she was generally thought to mean *Huntley*.

In England, about the same time, *Thomas Crammer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been long since condemned, and sent back to Prison after



after the execution of *Ridley* and *Latimer*, was brought out of Prison at *A. D. Oxford*, on the 21st day of *March*, clad in a tattered Garment for sport's sake, as it seems is usually done to persons degraded from the Priestly character. Some days before his death, hopes being given him of life, he had, at the persuasion of certain people, retracted many heads of the Doctrine formerly professed by him; and had subscribed to a Confession proposed by them, containing an approbation of the Authority and Doctrine of the *Romish* Church. But when he saw his death to be nevertheless unavoidable, falling into Repentance, he made an elegant speech before the people: Which he began, in order to engage the Audience, with a long Admonition to an amendment of Life and Manners; and went on, with declaring how much he had offended God, by a denial of the Truth; and then repeating the chief Articles of Doctrine, briefly explained his Sentiments, and declared the Power of the Pope to be the Support and Bulwark of Anti-christ's kingdom. Having concluded with these Words (which could scarcely be heard) he was immediately entertained with the most opprobrious language, and hurried from thence to the place of Execution: Where as soon as he arrived, stretching forth his Right-hand, "This, says he, has been  
 "a wicked offender, as having subscribed to that impious Doctrine proposed by the Adversaries of Truth; and shall therefore be the first to  
 "suffer, according to its deserts". Thus being fastened to the stake, as soon as ever the Pile began to be lighted, he thrust his Right-hand as far as possible into the Flame, that it might first undergo the torment. Not long after, many suspicions appeared of a general Insurrection intended throughout the Kingdom; and many of the chief Nobility were apprehended upon that account, and cast into prison. Some suffered capital punishment, others fled into *France*; and amongst the rest, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the Duke of *Northumberland's* Brother. *Udall* and *Throgmorton*, two of the Queen's Sister *Elizabeth's* Servants were also taken, and being impeached by some common Fellows their Accomplices, as if they had designed to raise a Rebellion, were put to death. Soon after, Sir *Peter Carew* likewise, who had fled the year before upon a like account into *France*, and had afterwards made his peace with King *Philip*; and with him Sir *John Cheeke*, formerly Tutor to King *Edward*, who was come back out of *Germany* into the *Netherlands*, in order to fetch his Wife; as they were both returning from *Brussels* to *Antwerp*, were apprehended by the King's Command, and brought over to *London*: But *Carew* making his escape from thence, lived a long time after, and died at last in *Ireland*, where he had a very large Estate. Lastly, from the death of *Thomas Cranmer*, to the decease of Queen *Mary*, an estimate was taken by some curious persons of one hundred seventy and six Souls, who either suffered death, or perished in confinement under condemnation, in all the Cities, Towns, and Castles of the Realm, for the sake of Religion. *Pool* indeed, who had been intrusted with the care of Religion, was very unwillingly drawn to exercise severities against those, for whose salvation he laboured with so much fervour; being of opinion, which indeed he was often heard



A. D. to express, that He and the other Bishops were appointed not only Judges 1556. of Hereticks, but Paternal Judges.

The Cardinal, three years after his Arrival in *England*, applied himself to the Reformation of the University of *Cambridge*; looking upon all other advances to be very inconsiderable, if, after the settlement of Religion, the Colleges, and consequently the Discipline for the Education of Youth (where the first Milk of Piety is sucked) should be neglected. The Persons chosen for this purpose were *Cuthbert Scott* Bishop of *Chester*, *Nicolas Ormaneto* Bishop of *Verona* (a Man in high favour with *Julius III.* and who had come with *Pool* out of *Italy*), *Thomas Watson* Bishop Elect of *Lincoln*, *John Christopherson* Bishop Elect also of *Chichester*, and *Henry Cole* Provost of *Eaton*. These, having first sent orders to *Andrew Perne* the Vice-chancellor for that year, that he should summon the whole Body of the University to meet on the 11th day of *January* in *St. Mary's Church*, set forwards on their journey. Being received, at their arrival, with great congratulations, on the first day they ordered the Churches of *St. Mary* and *St. Michael*, wherein the Bodies of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Fagius* had been interred four years before, to be shut up. The next day, a Congregation was held in *Trinity College*: There *John Stokes* in a long Oration commended the Piety of the Queen and Cardinal *Pool*; and in the name of the University desired, that, Pardon being granted for past Offences, some future provision might be made for Religion and Academical Discipline; that such as had unadvisedly strayed, or been carried away by the Craft and Violence of others, might by degrees be brought back into the right Path. Then the Bishop of *Chester* spoke; and having testified his Joy for such a full signification of their good will, and extolled the Cardinal's Affection to his Pupil the University, declared This to be the only method for the attainment of what they desired, namely, that such Persons as had erred should abjure their Error, and return into the way of Truth: For that They would seem to have taken a very considerable step towards Soundness, who should acknowledge and confess their Offence: That for his own part, he inclined more to Clemency than Severity; but the Distemper was so dangerous, that it needed very sharp Remedies: If however, such as had erred, would upon admonition acquiesce in salutary Counsels; the Commissioners would take care, that neither They nor the rest of the University should have reason to complain of a failure in any Office of Humanity or Benevolence, as well in respect of the Publick Cause, as the Interests of particular Persons. From thence they went to *King's College*, where Mass was celebrated before a large Audience; and afterwards a Sermon was preached at *St. Mary's*, notwithstanding the Interdiction of that Church: From thence they fell to consider of the Dis-interment of the dead Bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*: And because they both, during their Life, had not only spread a pernicious and erroneous Doctrine, but had led a Party amongst the Sectarists; and had not only strayed in their own Persons from the Catholick Church, but set others an example of revolting; it was decreed, that their Carcasses should be im-



immediately dis-interred: For that it was contrary to the Decrees and A. D. Discipline of the Church, that the Bodies of such Men should be committed to Ecclesiastical Sepulture; and would be a manifest Affront to 1556. GOD, and a violation of the sacred Laws, (which might also be attended with the Danger of Souls and the Offence of the Faithful) if Persons of different Customs and Laws should partake promiscuously of the same sacred Burial. It was determined therefore, that the Place should be purified, and nothing left, that might injure even the Earth itself; which was but a proper Concession to the Consciences of weak Brethren. It seemed convenient to proceed in the Forms of Law; and, a Libel being presented to the Delegates, first the dead Persons were cited, by one, and then a second, Proclamation; and Witnesses were each time produced against them. When none appeared hardy enough to undertake their Defence, they were at length condemned as contumacious: And on a day appointed, before the whole Body of Scholars, after the Bishop of *Chester* had in a Speech excused the severity of the Sentence, and declared how unjust it were to suffer, that the Minds of weak Persons should any longer be made uneasy for want of an Expiation of those Crimes; Judgment was given, and the dead Bodies ordered to be dug up, and to be delivered to the Civil Magistrate; because Ecclesiastical Persons have no power to inflict Capital Punishments. A few days passed (the Sentence being remitted to *London*), 'till a Mandate could come from the Sovereign for the Execution. In the meantime *Perne* made a virulent Invective against *Bucer*, with whom he had been intimately acquainted; and, after his example, many of the Youth out of wantonness composed Copies of Verses in derision of the Deceased. At length, on the 6th day of *February*, the Bodies were dug up; and on a spot of ground, laid out for that purpose in the Market, a huge Stake was driven, to which their Bodies (as if they had been living) were bound; and a vast Pile of wood brought together for the burning of them: Then the Coffins with the inclosed Bodies were set upright, and on every side Posts fixed in the ground, connected with a long iron chain: Great numbers of Books written by Protestants (for which a thorough search had every where been made) were thrown into the Fire, and burnt with the Corpses. *Watson* preached a Sermon upon the Subject; after which the interdicted Churches were restored to their sacred uses. Then some Ministers of the University were punished, either by the loss of their Votes or their Places: And lastly, the Decrees of these Inquisitors, in relation to the settlement of the University, were published.

Not long after, at *Oxford*, *Brooks* Bishop of *Gloucester* took the same method with *Catherine* the Wife of *Peter Martyr Vermilio*; who dying above four years before, had been buried in *Christ's Church* near the Tomb of *Fridiswid*, a Saint of high veneration in those parts: For, being convicted of having embraced her Husband's Doctrine, she was condemned; and her Body, being dug up and carried on a Porter's Shoulders, was thrown into a Dunghill belonging to *Marshall* the Dean of that Church. But after *Mary's* Death, upon the suggestion of



A. D. of *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edmund Grindall* Bishop of *London* and *Richard* Bishop of *Gloucester*, her half-consumed Bones were by Queen *Elizabeth's* Command picked out of *Marshall's* Stables; and being thoroughly mixed with the Bones of *Fridiswid*, were again buried on the 11th day of *January*, A. D. 1561. Before which, at *Cambridge*, on the 22d Day of *July*, by a Decree of the Senate of the University, the Degrees and Honours, which had been taken from *Bucer* and *Fagius*, were restored; and every thing cancelled, that had been done against their Doctrine and Memory. To add to the Solemnity, a Congregation was summoned to meet at *St. Mary's* on the 30th of *July*; where *Ackworth* in the name of the University made an Harangue in Praise of the Deceased, lashing in many words the Cruelty of the former Times, which had spared neither the Living nor the Dead. To the same purpose *James Pilkington* spoke very copiously, and called to memory the Example of the Popes *Stephen VI.* and *Sergius III.* who with the most exquisite barbarity wreaked their private malice upon the dead Body of *Formosus*.

We must now return from *Britain* to the Continent.

The Emperor, when he had resigned the Imperial Dignity and all his Kingdoms, and was preparing to sail to *Spain*; in consideration of his ill health, and the lateness of the season, put off his departure to the next year: But, that his time might not lye unimproved upon his hands, he employed it entirely in fixing and establishing his Son's Affairs: And being justly apprehensive, that his Son, who was unprovided of all things, might in the Infancy of his Reign, through the Fervour of Youth, be precipitately engaged in an unfortunate War, he judged a little Breathing-time to be necessary for him; whereby, being better settled in the Government, and more provided with the necessaries for a War, he might then, if need were, pursue the old quarrel with the King. For this purpose, by the intervention of Cardinal *Pool*, who as Mediator in the Queen of *England's* Name had treated of a Peace, he urged, that, if a Peace could not be effected, a Truce at least might be concluded for some Years. Embassadors were therefore sent on both sides; on the King's part, the Admiral *Gaspar de Coligny*, and *Sebastian de l'Aubespine*, Master of Requests; on the side of the Emperor and *Philip*, *Charles* Count de *Lallain*, *Simon Renard*, *Charles Tisnac*, *Philip* of *Brussels*, and *John-Baptist Schiccio* a Civilian of *Cremona*; who meeting about the beginning of the year at the Abbey de *Vaucelles* near *Cambray*, after long altercations agreed at last upon these Terms: "That by Sea and Land, as well in the *Netherlands* as throughout *Italy* and all the Dominions of each Prince, there should be a Truce for five years, and a Cessation of Arms on both parts: That in the mean while each should retain the possession of those Places, which he had seized during the War." The Pope was comprehended by both Parties; but the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* Exiles were excluded by the Emperor. The King had also comprehended *Albert* Marquess of *Brandenbourg*; but afterwards consented, that the mention of him should be omitted; because without Prejudice to the Empire, which had been com-



comprized by each Party, the Marqueſs could not poſſibly reap the *A. D.* advantage of the Truce, 'till, his Outlawry being revoked, he ſhould 1556. be reconciled to the Empire. It was alſo ſtipulated, " That in the  
 " room of *Ivree* and the Valley of *Aoſta*, which had been ſeized by  
 " Our Troops in the laſt War, the King ſhould order an annual Sum  
 " of money to be paid to the Duke of *Savoy* by two Penſions at  
 " *Lyons*." This was ſettled on the 5th day of *February*; and four  
 " days after, they treated of the Priſoners taken on both ſides; and agreed,  
 " That they ſhould be ſet at liberty; the common Soldiers, at the  
 " Price of three months Pay, and the Gentlemen upon the payment  
 " of one year's Revenue of their Eſtates, which ſhould be performed  
 " without Fraud upon Oath: Of Our Countrymen, were excepted, the  
 " Duke of *Buillon* and *Francis Montmorency*, the former of whom had  
 " been taken at *Terouenne*, and the latter at *Hédin*: Of the Enemies,  
 " *Philip de Croy* Duke of *Arſchot*, who in the Battle of *Amiens* had been  
 " taken in the habit of a Peaſant, and was kept a Priſoner in the  
 " Caſtle *du Bois de Vincennes*. However, it was afterwards concluded,  
 " that they too ſhould be releaſed, upon a Ransom to be ſettled within  
 " three months." But the matter being drawn out to a great length,  
*Arſchot* in the mean time eſcaped; which gave occaſion to a vulgar  
 Sarcaſm of the Emperor's, that *he had been taken in the Netherlands*  
*like a Beggar, and had fled out of France like a Thief*. As this appeared  
 impoſſible to be done without Accomplices and Abettors, *Frances*  
*Amboiſe* the Widow of his Kinsman *Charles de Croy* Count *de Senighen*,  
 being accordingly ſuſpected, was ſeverely queſtioned by *John Munier*  
 the Lieutenant Civil of *Paris*; a Perſon, whom the Parliament, for a defect  
 in his Creation, had lately rejected, and after frequent Commands, at  
 the inſtance of *Anne Montmorency*, had with much difficulty admitted  
 to that Office. *Montmorency* urged the Examination, becauſe having  
 by the eſcape of the Priſoner loſt the hopes of redeeming his Son, who  
 ſhould have been exchanged with *Arſchot*, he deſired to be repayed for  
 his Damages out of the Eſtate of the Duke's Couſin *Senighen*.  
 Nothing was left undone, in order to come at the proof of what was  
 apparently true, even by the means of False-witneſſes: And *Amboiſe*  
 herſelf was thrown into Priſon, and ſhamefully proſecuted at Law in a  
 vexatious manner. All which turned at laſt to the Ruin of *Munier* the  
 Promoter and Judge of that falſe Accuſation; and was the beginning  
 of thoſe Animofities, which had hitherto lay concealed, but upon this  
 occaſion broke forth between the two moſt powerful Families of the  
 Realm, thoſe of *Guiſe* and *Montmorency*, as we ſhall afterwards more  
 fully relate. The Truce being ſtipulated, in a ſhort time *Coligny* re-  
 paired to the Emperor at *Bruffels*, and *Lallain* to the King at *Blois*, to  
 receive the Oath of each Prince for a Confirmation.

The Treaty was quickly proclaimed by the King, even at *Metz*: By  
 the Emperor in the *Netherlands*, not 'till ſome time after; becauſe *Philip*  
 deſired to contract the Truce to a ſhorter time: But in *Italy* it came  
 out much later, either through the Negligence of the Imperialiſts, or their  
 Craft, which however turned to their own diſadvantage. For when They



A. D. in the mean while had seized and garrisoned *Gattinara* in *Piedmont*, and 1556. were advancing farther, *Lewis Birague* came suddenly upon them with the Provincial Bands and two Ensigns of *Swiss*, and having recovered the Town through the Cowardice of the Governour without Cannon Shot, put nine Men therein as a Guard. From thence, guessing that the Imperialists would soon return thither, he made a shew of going to *San-Giacomo*, and placed his Men under a convenient Covert at a little distance: And he was not deceived in his Expectation: For immediately upon his departure the Enemy flew thither with eight Bands of *Italians*, one of *Germans*, an hundred Light-horse, and three Pieces of Cannon: And when Our Men had abandoned the Town, they fell to attacking the Castle. In the close of the evening, *Birague* comes up with his Party; and whilst he amused the Enemy on one side, as if he meant to fall upon them there, on another side he sends the *Swiss*, who, before the Enemy could observe it, found a way into the Place. Thus the Enemy, being pent within the Castle and the Town, received an easy Defeat. The Colours and Cannon were taken, and most of the Soldiers fell into Our hands, *Mansfred Torniello*, who had been sent to their succour, arriving too late. Our People surprized likewise the Town of *Vignale* in those parts, where there was a more considerable Garrison than ordinary of *Italians*; no less than fifteen hundred Foot under ten Captains; four of whom were slain and six made Prisoners, and the Soldiers disarmed; notwithstanding the utmost Efforts of the Marquess *di Pescara* for their Relief. As to *Tuscany*, in the Maritime Provinces of it, the Garrisons of *Grosseto* and *Montepescali* marching out, reduced *Giuncarico*, *Colonna*, *Ravi* and other Castles; which for the greatest part were soon after recovered by *Luke-Anthony Cuppano*. Our Men likewise took possession of *Pienza*, tho' dismantled; which in the same manner was retaken by the coming up of *Santa-fiore*; and some Soldiers, who had taken refuge in the Church-Steeple, were ordered to be hanged. *San-Chirico* was deserted by the Garrison: *Campriano* remained in Our hands. But *Cosmo*, who knew that the Truce had been agreed upon, (which was also publickly given out by *John Parthenay de Soubize*, Commander in Chief for the King in *Mont-alcino*) had carefully fortified *Turrita*, *Asinga-lunga*, *Monte-fellonico* and the neighbouring Places.

It happened too about the same time, that *Doria's* Fleet met with the misfortune of a Shipwreck. For when *John-Andrew Doria*, thinking to take *Bonifacio* by Stratagem, had descended into *Corfica* with twelve Gallies; meeting with a sudden Storm near *Elba*, he lost one of his Ships, in which more than two hundred Men perished. And when he sailed from thence with the rest into a certain Bay of *Corfica*, in hopes of reaching *Porto-vecchio*, he was again tossed with an horrible Tempest; and, the Gallies being dashed against one another and the Rocks, he suffered a vast loss both of Men and Goods: With difficulty he himself escaped with the Flag-Ship; at the expence of a multitude of Prisoners, Cannon, Arms, Stores and Soldiers. They, who survived the Storm, were forced to swim through the rolling waves to Land.



At length the Truce being proclaimed, and solemn Thanksgivings *A. D.* every where decreed, Cardinal *de Tournon*, who was at *Rome*, went with 1556. the King's Ambassador to the Pope, and acquainted him with what had been done, declaring however the King's fixed resolution of abiding by the secret League. This though the Pope and his Partisans did not dare to condemn openly, yet they took it very ill, that the King had consented to the Truce, without admonishing the Pope of it; because their thoughts being totally bent upon a War, they could not now hope to find the King so favourable to their designs: Therefore they set diligently about the Fortification of the Frontier places. In *Città di Castello*, they placed *Flaminio da Stabbia Orsino*, *Strozzi's* kinsman; and by the King's Permission sent for *Strozzi* himself from *Antibes* (whither, after the defeat at *Marciano*, being traduced upon that account to the King by the Constable *Montmorency* and others, he had retired) in order to make use of his assistance in the War, which they were contriving. On the other side, *Cosmo* thinking it a proper Season to look after his Borders, placed *Peter dal Monte* with an Ensign of Foot in *Borgo a San Sepolcro*, over against *Città di Castello*, joining *Pandolfo da Ricafolo* to him with another. He besides fortified *Castro-carò* near the Borders of *L'Ombria*, as also *Cortona* and *Montepulciano*, against the Garrison of *Montalcino*: Because tho' in appearance he suffered no Hostilities from the Pope, yet having lately met a repulse with respect to the Archbishoprick of *Pisa*, which *Cosmo* had long pitched upon and requested for his second Son *John*, he interpreted That as a certain sign of the Pope's displeasure.

About this time, through the interposition of *Cosmo*, and the labours of *Hierom da Correggio*, *Ottavio Farnese* Duke of *Parma* made his peace with his Father-in-law the Emperor, and recovered possession of *Placentia*, *Novara* with its Territory, and the Castles in the Dutchy of *Parma*, which had been seized by the Imperialists. These were the Conditions which the Emperor prescribed to his Son-in-law; " That " he should be bound to receive a *Spanish* Garrison in the Castles of " *Placentia*, and maintain it at his own Expence; with a Saving to " the demands, which the Empire and the *Roman* See may have upon " any part of the Dominions of *Parma*: That the Castle of *Novara*, " shall be in the hands of the Emperor: That the Estates, which *Ottavio* and the Emperor's Natural Daughter *Margaret* have in the Kingdom " of *Naples* and *Tuscany*, and which his Brother *Alexander* the Cardinal " has in *Sicily*, shall be restored to them; but that they shall prosecute no Action for the mean profits, received by the Imperial " Chamber: That the Sons of such Conspirators as are dead shall remain unmolested in the possession of their Effects, and have the free " use and enjoyment of them: That no new proceedings shall be set " on foot within six months, against such of the Conspirators as are " still living: And, that in the mean time they may have liberty to " sell or mortgage their Estates to whomsoever they please: That *Ottavio* shall receive the Count *di San-Secundo*, and *John-Francis San-severino* into protection, as persons recommended to him in the " Emperor's Name: But, if for the future they shall violate their Al-  
" legiance,



A. D. 1556. "legiance, he may then animadvert upon them: That *Torrile*, *Rocca-bianca*, and *Torricella* shall be dismantled: That the Town of *San-Donino*, with all the present Fortifications added to it by the Emperor, shall be consigned into *Ottavio's* hands: At the time that the possession of *Placentia* shall be delivered, *Alexander* the elder Son of *Ottavio* and *Margaret*, shall remain as an Hostage at *Milan*, and from thence shall be sent to King *Philip*, and live in his Court". This Accommodation proved of singular benefit to the affairs of the Emperor and *Cosmo* in *Italy*, by strengthening the state of the Sovereignty of *Milan*, and debarring our Forces from a passage that way; so that they could not, for the future, march so conveniently by Land into *Tuscany*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*. This change too gave a fresh establishment to the Counts of *Correggio* and *Nugolara*, who from that time opposed the Duke of *Ferrara*, who hung upon their backs, with so much the greater Courage.

During those Transactions, Cardinal *Caraffa* left nothing unattempted to spirit up our Countrymen to a War against the *Spaniards*, by sending *Hannibal Rucellai*, as we have said, into *France* before the conclusion of the Truce; by writing frequent Letters in the Pope's name to the King, to *Anne Montmorency*, and, in order to leave no stone unturned, even to that Witch the Dutches of *Valentinois*, who had perfectly enchanted the Mind of the King, already ambitious enough of itself and elated with successes; and lastly, by sending the Duke of *Somma*, to hasten the promised Auxiliaries. After the settlement of the Truce, by the same Duke who was then at Court, he complained most heavily to the King, that contrary to the League, and without the privity of the Allies, the Pope's Cause was betrayed, and the *Caraffaes* deserted; and he besought the King, that he would not subscribe to the Conditions. Having afterwards by other Letters, dated the 5th day of *March*, expostulated with him upon the same subject, he required at last, that if his Majesty was determined to observe the Truce, he would at least consign to the Pope the Towns, which he held in *Tuscany*; whereof the Cardinal of *Lorraine* had given him some hopes: For in consequence of that, neither the Imperialists nor *Cosmo* himself, being freed from the fears of the *French*, would care to trouble the Pope; but would even restore *Siena*, and the places which they had seized in the *Sienese* Territories during this War, in order to gain the Pope's good Will: For that it was a thing universally confessed, and particularly allowed by the *Spaniards*, that it lay in the breast of any brave and resolute Pope, to transfer the Property of the *Italian* Dominions to whomsoever he pleased; and to what side soever He inclined, a vast weight would be added to the Balance. In order to put a finishing hand to the business, he had even then resolved to go himself into *France*, under the colour of an honourable Legation; but was kept back by the Cardinal *de Tournon*, who told him, that the interests of the Pope, and even of the King required his presence at *Rome*: This he pretended; whereas in reality the prudent Man, who had all along from the beginning detested the League and that whole affair as detrimental to the Realm, was fearful, out of a natural



natural love to his Country, lest that turbulent Prelate should interrupt *A. D.* the Quiet procured by the Truce, and, finding favour at Court, in-1556. volve us in a fatal War. But when *Caraffa* could not so much as obtain the delivery of the King's Possessions in the *Sieneſe* into the Pope's hands; then indeed he no longer regarded *Tournon's* Monitions, but prepared himself for the Legation. He easily obtained that appointment of his Uncle, who otherwise minded nothing but the business of the Inquisition, which he thought the grand Secret for the support of Religion, or at least of the Papal Power; and who delighted to make a shew of his Dignity with a sumptuous and more than Royal Pride, and therefore very seldom admitted the Foreign Embassadors: For This also he thought conducive to the maintenance of Grandeur; being persuaded to it by his Creatures, who, the more easily to abuse the morose Temper of a proud and almost delirious old Man, had by that Artifice debarred him from all conversation with others.

Fortune was not wanting to favour *Caraffa's* designs; for about that time an affair happened, which cruelly exasperated the Pope's revengeful and impatient mind. The Emperor's Embassador, the Marquess *De Sarria*, who used frequently to take the Diversion of Hunting, had obtained the favour of *Montorio*, who bore the chief military Command, that at any hour, were it never so unseasonable, he might be allowed to go with his servants armed out of the City, which then was usually shut and guarded by Soldiers. Accordingly setting out one Morning very early, when he came to the City Gate; and the commanding Officer, who knew nothing of the Order, and had just taken his Post there upon the change of the Watch, refused to open it; the Marquess taking it to be a point of Honour, which concerned him both in his private and publick Character, offers violence, and repulsing the Centry, breaks open the Gate. *Caraffa* and his Uncle resented this Action exceedingly, and by the Duke of *Somma* expostulated with the King about the injury, which they complained of as a violation of Majesty. When the Marquess, to excuse the matter, desired to be admitted to the Pope's Audience, he was refused; and though he still came within the Gates of the Palace, he not only found no admittance, but was told by *Caraffa*, that his Uncle had thoughts of committing him to the Castle, or of punishing him still more severely; whereupon he at length retired. *Caraffa* having gotten such a fair opportunity for going into *France* to the King, could hardly prevail at last with the Pope, that he would abstain from Violence; and that in order to do the thing more surely, he would dissemble the Injury, and take a fitter time for the Revenge of it. The Pope thereupon at length admitted the Marquess to an Audience, and openly declared his Zeal for the Reconciliation of the Princes: "That he was preparing a Legation to the Emperor and the King for that very purpose: That *Caraffa* indeed he had resolved to send to the King; but to the Emperor and the King of *England* he would depute *Scipio Rebiba* Bishop of *Motola*, lately chosen by him into the College of Cardinals, with Orders to go into the *Netherlands*."



A. D. 1556. Under this colour, for the procurement as it were of a Peace, *Caraffa* took his journey towards *France* with a numerous and a stately Retinue. Before he set out, the Pope inveighed publickly in the Consistory against the *Colonnaes* in general as an impious race of Men, whose Ancestors had been the bitterest Enemies to the Papal Interest; Then against *Ascanio* in particular, a Prisoner at that time in *Naples*, who formerly had besieged *Clement VII.* in the Castle, and had pillaged the City in conjunction with the *Spaniards*; Lastly, against *Mark-Anthony* his Son, who, treading in his Parents Steps, had practised the first wicked Lesson of Depredation upon his own Father, whom he had impiously robbed, and was now hatching equally impious and detestable Designs for the Ruin of the Pope and the Holy See: Accordingly he pronounced him unworthy of the Favours, which had been granted to him by the Indulgence of the Popes; and confiscated the Estates both of the Father and Son; publishing a most angry Bull, wherein he laid them under an Excommunication. And not long after he solemnly invested *John* the Elder of his Brother's Sons in the Dukedom of *Paliano*, issuing out a new Bull for that purpose, which he would have the Cardinals to subscribe; and removing the Duke of *Urbino* from the Place of Governour of the Church, he preferred his Nephew to it, delivering to him the Staff of Office; and to his Nephew's Son, yet a Child, he granted the Town of *Cavi*, belonging to the *Colonnaes*, with the Title of Marquess. From thence the Cardinal with the new Duke and *Peter Strozzi* repairs to *Paliano*; and having carried with him some skilful Engineers, appoints Out-works to be raised in proper places, and stored the Town against a Siege with Wine, Meal, Salt meat and other Provisions. Which being done, he sets forwards on his journey with a large Train of Gentry; and going to *Civita-vecchia*, sets sail for *Marseilles*, under the Convoy of *Paul Giordano* the Head of the House of *Orsino* with eight Gallies, partly the King's and partly his own.

In the mean time *Cosmo*, who placed no great confidence in the Truce, and despaired of the King's and the Pope's Friendship, prepared all the necessaries for a War in *Tuscany*; and with his best advice and utmost abilities assisted the Duke of *Alva*. First of all, he strengthened the Places opposite to the Enemy, and amongst the rest *Lucignano*, which, being lately taken from Us, had suffered considerable damage from Lightning; the Castle-Tower, where the Powder was kept, being set on fire, and more than forty Men, of the Retinue and Soldiers of *Donato Ambrosio di Arezzo*, blown up. *Cosmo* took a particular care of this Place, because the *French*, who held *Foiano*, lay very near it. *Cortona* likewise and *Castro-caro*, not far distant from the Pope's Towns of *Forli*, *Imola* and *Cesena*, were also provided with Cannon and Soldiers; in order to strike a Terror into the Pope, whom by these methods he hoped to draw from the Thoughts of War to more equitable Terms. In the mean time he cunningly tried to reduce the Cardinal *De Burgos*, who in *Philip's* name presided over the Affairs of *Siena*, and could not find either money or provision enough for the main-



maintenance of the Soldiery, to a necessity (in order to keep the City *A. D.* nevertheless under *Philip's* Obedience, when the Garrison should be 1556. driven out) of committing the Place to His Custody. But for some time the Cardinal eluded this contrivance by a contrary management; for, the Citizens of *Siena* hating *Cosmo's* Government, he easily persuaded them, since he was unable to maintain a Garrison sufficient for the defence of so great a City, to let him rebuild the Citadel, which might well enough be defended by a small band of Soldiers. The Citadel was accordingly encompassed with Walls, and a Guard put into it; and provision made, that since no supplies came from the Sea-coast, Corn should be brought thither from *Sicily* and *La-Puglia*: Which however could not so effectually be done, but that the City in the mean time laboured under the most wretched streights imaginable. *Cosmo* thought this an opportunity not to be slighted, and by *Alfonso Tornabon* Bilhop of *Burgo* in *Tuscany*, pressed *Philip* at last to perform his Promise concerning the Territory of *Piombino*; which in like manner the *Spaniards*, by starting many delays, avoided. But when the Distress of the *Sieneſe* increased every day for want of Corn, and *De Burgos* laid the blame of it (for the Reasons already mentioned) upon *Cosmo*, and traduced him upon that account to *Philip*; *Cosmo*, in order to purge himself, was obliged to communicate all his Counsels to him: About the same time it happened, that a secret Conspiracy was formed for the surprisal of *Mont-alcino*; and hopes likewise were given of delivering up *Groſſeto* the principal Town of the Maritime Country. This Scheme being imparted by *Cosmo* to *De Burgos*; the latter, who gave a sinister interpretation to all *Cosmo's* Actions, thought it done by him with a view, not to *Philip's* Advantage but his Own; that, by making himself master by degrees of the rest of the *Sieneſe* Territories, he might force *Philip* to yield up the Possession of *Siena* itself: In consequence of which, the Secret, whether too much neglected on one side through Indolence, or too rashly communicated on the Other through Levity, was divulged by the Cardinal; and, the Plot being discovered, the Accomplices were seized and punished according to their deserts by Our People, to *Cosmo's* great Detriment and Disreputation. Not long after, one *Caldora* a *Neapolitan*, who had been a long time in *France*, being dispatched by *Cosmo's* Embassador from *Rome* to *Florence*, and having taken out a Pass-port during the Truce from *Montluc*, in his passage through *Siena* was apprehended by *De Burgos* (who suspected him to be sent thither by the *Caraffaes*) and examined by Torture as to his dealings with *Montluc* and *Cosmo*. Through which Action it was likely to have happened, that Our People, who pretended the Laws of Nations to be violated, should betake themselves to Arms; and that *Cosmo*, who resented the calling his Honour into question, should be provoked upon that occasion to embrace Counsels foreign to his Interest and the Circumstance of the Times.

At *Rome* in the mean time matters grew warm: For when *Fabrizio di Sanguine*, whom the Pope had sent to *Philip*, had returned without Success; and some Conspiracies, true or false, had been discovered in the



A. D. the City; the Pope, more enflamed, gave orders to *Silvester Aldobrandino*, 1556. on whom he very much relied, and the Procurator of his Treasury, that for the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, commonly called Beneficiaries of the Holy See, (the direct Dominion whereof belongs to the Church) an Action should be brought against the Emperor and *Philip*; whom, as favourers of Rebels, and consequently Rebels themselves, he pretended to have incurred a Forfeiture.

And now Cardinal *Caraffa* had reached *France* and arrived at *Fontainebleau*, where the Court was very much divided: For *Montmorency*, now grown old, out of his natural Prudence, and from an ominous apprehension of the ill success of the War, inclined to Peace; and with that view, while the Cardinal of *Lorraine* was abroad the year before at *Rome*, he had brought things to an agreement by a Truce; being assisted therein chiefly by the Admiral *Gaspar de Coligny* his Sister's Son. The *Guisians* on the other hand, glowing with youthful heat, immoderately fond of Command, and desirous of drawing power to themselves by new Commotions, rejected all peaceful Counsels, and persuaded the King to embrace with greediness so fair an opportunity. The King hesitated, tho' rather inclinable of himself, by reason of his Successes, to warlike measures; But *Montmorency*, by his Interest, Authority and Prudence, threw a great deal of weight into the other Scale. The Queen at last egged on her wavering Husband, in favour of *Peter Strozzi* her near Relation, who desired a War in *Italy*, that he might bear some Command in it: But *Diana* Dutches of *Valentinois* was thought to have contributed most effectually to it; for she, having contracted an Affinity with the House of *Guise*, and being otherwise courted in a most servile manner by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, lent an helping hand to their Ambition. *Caraffa* trusting to this Hope, attacks the King, and in the Pope's Name with great Pomp and Ceremony offers a Consecrated Sword to him, as to the Defender of the *Roman* Church; and being admitted to a private Conference, explained the State, wherein the Affairs of *Rome* and his own Family were situated. " Ever since, " (says he) upon the Promotion of my Unkle to the Pontifical Chair, " I came to be advanced to the Chief Ministry, Most Christian King, " I made it my chief business, that, as I had before served you with " fidelity in the Wars of *Parma* and *Tuscany*, I might at length gain " you the Pope's favour; and prevail upon him, that slighting the " Emperor and the King of *England*, he might take You for the " Vindicator of the Holy See and Our Family. I appeal to *Lansac* " Your Embassador then at *Rome*, and to *John d'Avançon* Your late " Embassador, who found me forward to obey their motions. And " although they made the most ample promises in Your Majesty's " Name both to the See and to Me in particular, I was induced by " no hopes of reward, nor accepted any Terms, which regarded my own " private Advantage; but was moved purely by my inclination to the " *French* Interest, to advise the Pope, that he would commit the Honour " of the Holy See, Himself and the wealth and fortunes of his House " to Your Protection; as a Refuge which seemed both honourable for the " Pope



“ Pope and the Holy *Roman* Church, glorious for Your Majesty, and *A. D.*  
 “ lastly safe with regard to our Relations. A League was accordingly 1556.  
 “ concluded betwixt You; in which as I had no other view, than to  
 “ provide for the Pope, the Dignity of the Holy See and the Safety  
 “ of Our House, and to give the *French* Name an occasion of in-  
 “ creasing its Grandeur; so no Article was added to it, in favour of  
 “ my private Concerns. But as human Counsels commonly turn out  
 “ contrary to expectation, it happened, that, by Your concluding a  
 “ Truce in the mean while, the League, if not violated, has been  
 “ certainly rendered of no manner of Effect, and in the Event as per-  
 “ nicious to Us, as I had persuaded myself it would prove profitable  
 “ and advantageous. For since the *Spaniards* are manifestly provoked  
 “ at it to a high degree, without all doubt Men greedy of Revenge  
 “ will omit no opportunity of returning the Usage; and Now the  
 “ Truce has actually thrown one in their way. For being freed from  
 “ the Fears of War in the *Netherlands*, the *Milanese*, *Piedmont* and  
 “ *Tuscany*, prudent persons make not the least scruple of believing,  
 “ that they will turn all their Power and Forces against Us: And we  
 “ know to our inexpressible grief, that the Duke of *Alva*, the Com-  
 “ mander in Chief throughout *Italy*, is gone to *Naples* for that very  
 “ purpose; and has there drawn together the largest Army he can  
 “ muster, that he may ruin us, before we are prepared. Neither are  
 “ the Capital Quarrels, which they have maintained of old with Our  
 “ Family, and which, since the League lately concluded with You,  
 “ must be still more imbibtered by that fresh provocation, their only  
 “ incentives to this Attempt; but the Easiness of making war (which  
 “ you know goes a great way with Ambitious Princes, although no  
 “ Offence or just Cause has been given) is an additional Motive.  
 “ For the Towns of the Papal Dominions are generally weak, the  
 “ antient Popes contenting themselves with preserving the Reverence  
 “ and Obedience due to them, and thinking themselves abundantly  
 “ secured by those Guards: Besides, on the Borders there are no  
 “ fortified Places; from *Ascoli* and *Terracina* we are surrounded by the  
 “ King of *England*; on another side, towards *Rimini* and *Mont-alto*,  
 “ *Tuscany* meets Us; and again near *Rimini* and *Bologna*, the Territory  
 “ of *Florence* (that is, our most inveterate Enemy *Cosmo*) comes in  
 “ our way. Lastly, the Treasury being exhausted by the former  
 “ Wars and the negligence of the last Pope, there remains no  
 “ hopes in the Soldiery, (although *L’Ombria* abounds with the best  
 “ in the world) nor any in the strength of Towns, sufficient to  
 “ oppose so formidable an Enemy employing his whole Force  
 “ against the Pope. What therefore can the League lately made signify  
 “ to Us, what to You? but only to expose Us to our bitterest  
 “ Enemies the *Spaniards*, if not to their Devastations at least to their  
 “ Insults; and that, to Your great detriment and dishonour, (for let  
 “ the Pope, whose Person I here represent, have leave to say so much  
 “ to You) the Authority of the Holy See, and the safety of an illustrious  
 “ Family, which has voluntarily put itself under Your Protection,  
 VOL. II. 2 G “ may



A. D. 1556. " may be betrayed to the Enemy: But considering Your hearty  
 " Good-will towards the Pope and his whole House, and your  
 " Greatness of mind not to be conquered by any Dangers, it is  
 " not lawful to imagine, much less to suspect any such Conduct;  
 " and I always thought, that, for want of being better instructed  
 " in Our Circumstances and even in your Own, You con-  
 " sented to the Truce at so improper a juncture; which im-  
 " boldens me the more to hope, that, when You shall have diligently  
 " and maturely weighed the state of things, as they really are, You  
 " will at length take a Resolution both honourable to Yourself and  
 " salutary to Us, and lastly necessary to Both. But many Persons, I  
 " understand, who have a considerable share of Credit with You, are  
 " concerned about the Faith which has been given, and the Oath  
 " which has passed for a Confirmation of the Covenants. As I shall  
 " not go about to deny the Veneration, which Princes ought to pay  
 " to these solemn Bonds, so I think those Gentlemen, who pretend  
 " Piety for the colour of their Opinion, should look carefully to  
 " it, that, whilst they desire to be esteemed rigid Assertors of Re-  
 " ligion, they do not bring Religion itself into Danger: Which un-  
 " doubtedly will be the Case, if at so critical a juncture You desert  
 " the Pope, to whose Defence You are obliged by the Example  
 " of Your Ancestors, Your lately plighted Faith, and in short by  
 " Your own Piety; all which You must first violate, and also con-  
 " found all Rights Divine and Human, if you will stand by the  
 " Truce. For what, I beseech you, can be more distant from  
 " all justice and Reason, than that You should not be at liberty  
 " to do That for Our Defence, which an Impious Enemy allows  
 " himself to do for Our Annoyance? Or what is more consonant to  
 " Equity, than that, if the *Spaniards* may, during the Truce, make  
 " War upon the Pope, You also may, without hurting the Truce,  
 " protect and defend him from all Damage. Add, that agreeably to  
 " Your Piety, You were even pleased to comprehend the Pope in  
 " the Treaty; whose danger for that very reason You cannot  
 " neglect. For far be it from Us to think otherwise than honour-  
 " ably of Your Clemency and Magnanimity, or to persuade ourselves,  
 " that what You, who rejoice in serving the whole Race of Mankind,  
 " have often done for the sake of meer Glory and in pursuance of  
 " Your own Inclination, You should fail of doing in the Pope's  
 " Cause, which is closely linked with Your own Reputation and  
 " Fortune. You have lately protected *Parma* and *Mirandula*, and the  
 " City and Liberty of the *Sieneſe* against the Common Enemy of  
 " *Italy*. And as for *Francis*, Your Father of most august memory, He  
 " in a far different Case, which even appeared an odious one to the  
 " Catholick Potentates, assisted the Princes and Cities of *Germany*;  
 " because the prudent King rightly feared, that, as soon as *Germany*  
 " should be conquered, those victorious Arms would be turned against  
 " *France*: And what He (whether because he began it so late, or was  
 " hindered by death from pursuing it) could not execute, That You,  
 " the



“ the worthy Son of such a Father, by concluding a League lately *A. D.*  
 “ with the Elector *Maurice*, happily finished. But then, if in the 1556.  
 “ Cause of the Protestants, which was liable to so much suspicion and  
 “ odium, You are allowed by all candid and intelligent Judges of  
 “ Affairs to have acted wisely; because by undertaking their Defence  
 “ You prevented Your own Danger; what, think You, ought You  
 “ to do in the Pope’s Cause, which has the Cause of Religion annexed  
 “ to it, and which no less concerns Your Honour and Safety? For  
 “ if You abandon the Pope, whose Interest ought in all seasons and  
 “ places to be the dearest to You of any; You ought not to doubt,  
 “ but the other *Italian* Princes, who have hitherto acquiesced under  
 “ the Shadow of Your Protection, will be so terrified by that example,  
 “ as to revolt from You: So that no one will for the future be found,  
 “ who will dare to place any security in Your Abilities, or lastly in  
 “ Your Compassion. How much this concerns Your own Reputation  
 “ and the Dignity of the *French* Name, You both know Yourself,  
 “ and all Your Ministers understand. It will be incumbent therefore  
 “ upon Your Prudence, most clement and discerning Prince, to see, that  
 “ the Glory which has been as it were handed down to You from  
 “ Your Ancestors, be not lost by You, through a preposterous regard  
 “ to Religion, or, to say more truly, by an unseasonable Patience;  
 “ and not to endure, that, when Popes and distressed Princes have  
 “ always found the surest Refuge with the Kings of *France*, they should  
 “ now, through Your Desertion, be forced to beg it with the most  
 “ abject Prayers of the Enemy, and to implore Their Mercy.” By  
 these and other Arguments when *Caraffa* saw the King’s mind, already  
 prepossessed by *Valentinois* and the *Guisians*, beginning to yield; that  
 he might add a new spur to a Prince greedy of Praise, and the Parent  
 of a numerous Offspring, he renewed the mention of the Kingdom of  
*Naples* as a farther Bait: In which Enterprize the Pope would assist  
 him with excellent Troops, plenty of Provisions, a most commodious  
 entrance into the Province, and lastly with the convenience of Havens,  
 for the landing of foreign Soldiers. Not that he entertained any  
 sanguine hopes of an Expedition incumbered with so many Difficulties,  
 as he had flattered the *Guisians*; but, by setting the *French* and  
*Spaniards* again at variance, he expected this Consequence from it, that  
 each Party, growing weary at length of a fatal War, would relinquish  
 the Cities and Towns which they held in *Tuscany*, and suffer them to  
 fall into the hands of the Pope and his Relations: For it was  
 manifest, that the Emperor would not contend very obstinately for the  
 City of *Siena*, provided the *French* would abandon the rest of *Tuscany*;  
 and the *French*, who would see it impossible to maintain a War in  
*Tuscany* without a prodigious expence, seemed likely to close readily  
 with those terms of pacification, whereby, Liberty being in appearance  
 restored to the *Sieneſe*, they might honourably lay down those troublesome  
 Arms, which they had taken up for the sake of That Commonwealth.  
*Alexander Andrea* a diligent Writer and Inspector of these Affairs adds,  
 that hopes were given by *Caraffa*, of putting *Bologna*, *Ancona*, *Paliano*,  
*Civita-*



A. D. *Cività-vecchia*, and even the Castle of *Rome* itself, commonly called the  
 1556. Castle of *St. Angelo*, into the King's hands, by way of Pledge. At  
 length a War was determined for the defence of the Pope; after that  
*Caraffa*, by virtue of the Powers granted to him by the Pope, had  
 released the King from the religious obligation of the Oath taken  
 by him for the observance of the Truce; and had given him the  
 liberty of attacking the Emperor and his Son even without any pre-  
 ceeding Declaration of War; *Peter Strozzi* and *Blaise de Montluc* (which  
 latter at the request of the *Sieneſe* had been appointed to ſucceed *Soubiſe*  
 then reſiding at *Mont-alcino*) were pitched upon for the temporary  
 Direction of the War in *Italy*; 'till the Army could arrive there for  
 the Protection of the Pope and the *Caraffaes* under the Duke of *Guiſe*.  
 From thence *Caraffa* made a pompous Entry, in quality of Papal Le-  
 gate, into *Paris* the Capital of the Realm; where as often as he made the  
 Sign of the Croſs, upon the People's flocking together and falling  
 upon their knees before him, inſtead of the words uſually pronounced  
 upon thoſe occasions, they charge him (as he certainly had no ſerious  
 thoughts of a Deity and was an arrant Derider of Religion) with fre-  
 quently muttering theſe Words; *Since the People will be deceived,*  
*let them be deceived.* He was then preſented by the King with  
 the Biſhoprick of *Cominges*, which *John Bertrand* Vice-Chancellor of  
*France* had reſigned in his favour: And, when in the following month  
 of *June* the Queen bore two Daughters at a birth, *Caraffa* conſented to  
 ſtand God-father to one of them, and gave her the lofty Name of  
*Viſtoire*; either becauſe of the happy and almoſt inceſſant Succeſſes of  
 former years, or the hopes raſhly entertained by all his Family of future  
 Triumphs; which hopes however vaniſhed in a ſhort time with the  
 Life of the Infant, and her Siſter, who was called *Joan*.

Whiſt theſe things were doing, the Biſhop of *Motola*, who had  
 been ſent Legate to the Emperor, when he was come to *Maeftricht*,  
 before he had arrived at the Court, was recalled by *Caraffa* into  
*France*: Whereupon the Imperialiſts, who had for ſome time before  
 given over all Expectations of a Peace from the Pope's Counſels,  
 eſpecially from the time that the Fortifications of *Paliano* had been com-  
 menced, were confirmed in their pre-conceived Opinion; namely,  
 that things tended to a Rupture in the *Campagna di Roma*. *Philip* there-  
 fore ſent immediate Orders to the Duke of *Alva*, that, without ex-  
 pecting 'till the Auxiliary Army ſhould arrive, he ſhould draw out  
 his Troops, and by force of arms interrupt the Works begun at *Paliano*.  
 For thus he judged; that, if the Army took the field betimes, and ad-  
 vanced to the very gates of the City, the Pope, being unequal in Forces,  
 would repent him of the War raſhly undertaken by his Relations; and, before  
 Our Succours could be there, would renounce the League, and come  
 to a fair and honourable Treaty. With that view, the Duke of *Alva*,  
 that he might fall upon the Papal Troops in a poſture of leſs defence,  
 had ſent *Pirro Loffredi*, of the noble Houſe of the Marqueſſes *di Trivico*,  
 Embaſſador to the Pope, if poſſibly the difference could be amicably  
 compromiſed, in order to amuſe him by that appearance: But the Pope  
 made



made use of another amusement on his part; for imagining, that *A. D.* *Alva* would not descend to Arms, 'till *Loffredi* should have returned 1556. without finishing his business; and expecting every day the return of *Caraffa*, whom he continually pressed by Letters to leave *France*; he always referred the Ambassador to the next Consistory. *Alva* therefore, not waiting the return of *Loffredi*, advanced his Camp: Which provoked the Pope to such a degree, that complaining of being deceived by *Alva*, whom he himself had intended to deceive, he caused the Ambassador, in contempt of the Laws of Nations, to be cast into Prison; from whence he would never discharge him, 'till a Peace in the following year was concluded between Him and *Philip*.

In the Duke of *Alva's* Army were eight thousand *Italians*, the Troops of the Kingdom, under *Vespasian Gonzaga*; four thousand *Spaniards* commanded by *Sancho de Mardones* as Lieutenant to *Garcias de Toledo*; six Ensigns of Horse led by *Mark-Anthony Colonna*; and twelve hundred Light-horse under *Joseph Cantelmo* Count *di Popoli*, who, quitting the Pope's Service, had lately passed over to the Duke of *Alva*: Lastly, twelve Pieces of Ordnance, under the direction of *Bernard d' Aldana*; the same Man, who having a little before escaped an ignominious death at *Vienna*, was now intrusted with that honourable Post by *Alva*, through the Duke's too great indulgence to his own Kindred. *Lopez de Mardones* was appointed Proveditor of the Corn, and *Ascanio della Corgna* Camp-master: The latter at first for his excessive Liberty had fallen under the Pope's Suspicion: But when in the War, which *Anthony Caraffa* made upon the Count *da Bagni*, he had served with extraordinary fidelity; the *Caraffaes* conceived such a high notion of his Valour and Probity, that they intrusted him with the keeping of *Velletri* the chief Fortress of the Pope's Dominions: But through the malice of his Accusers it happened, that he began to be again suspected: And the *Spaniards*, who laboured hard to rob the *Caraffaes* of such an important Commander, in order to make him the more suspected, artfully contrived Letters, tempting him to a Revolt, which they took care should be delivered into the hands of the *Caraffaes*: To these were added other Letters in Cyphers, containing the mention of *Corgna's* Name, sent from *Rome* by *Garcilasso de Vega*, and intercepted by the *Caraffaes*, for which *Vega* was by the Pope's command thrown into prison: There was also taken with him *John-Anthony de Tassis*, first Master of the Carriages to *Philip*; upon whose confessing, after a very severe examination, many things, which increased the jealousy before conceived of *Corgna*; the morose old Man, who referred every thing to the Point of Religion, privately ordered the Inquisitors to proceed against *Corgna*; and *Papirio Capizucchi* was shortly after sent to apprehend him: His Brother *Fulvio* Cardinal of *Perugia* was also committed prisoner to the Castle; and both the Brothers deprived of their Estates, which in land and ready money were very considerable in *Rome* and *Perugia*; and many of their Friends and near Relations clap'd into close confinement at *Perugia* for the same Cause. Not long after, *Camillo Colonna*, and his Brother who had taken Orders, and likewise *Julian Cesarini*, were



A.D. in the same manner thrust into the Castle. Which Proceedings being justly 1556. resented by the Duke of *Alva*, he sent *Julius della Tolfa* Count di *San-valentino* to complain to the Pope, that he did not only afford frequent reception to the *Neapolitan* and *Florentine* Exiles, but also, violating the right of Nations, had seized *Philip's* Ministers, as they were travelling with Relays of Horses up and down *Italy*; that he had opened the King's Letters, and lately at *Rome* had injuriously imprisoned *Vega* the King's Ambassador, whose Person ought to have been sacred with him: That if satisfaction were not made for these Affronts, which could no longer be dissembled, *Philip* would take his revenge. To which Complaints the Pope, after promising to refer them to the College of Cardinals, at last returned this Answer: "That most of *Alva's* Allegations might be refuted by a bare denial; but that He was a Sovereign Prince, and consequently not bound to give an account to any Man of his Actions; nay, that he had a Right over all the Princes of the Earth as his Inferiours and Subjects, who accordingly were accountable to him: As to *Vega*, he had exceeded the Bounds of his Commission; and, forgetting his Character, had entered into Seditions, Plots and clandestine Designs against the Holy See and the Pope: For that reason, the inviolable Right, which he pretended in his defence, had been forfeited by his misbehaviour: That as he had deserved, so he had been, and was still treated; consequently that *Philip* would act unjustly, if he went about to revenge an unrighteous Cause: But that he was not to be frightened with Threats from resolutely maintaining, to the last breath of his life, what was just and suitable to his own Honour and That of the Holy See." Thus *San-valentino* was sent back, and *Dominick del Nero* a Nobleman of *Rome* dispatched along with him to carry this Message from the Pope to the Duke of *Alva*. In the mean time the City was strengthened with a fresh Garrison, and the care of it committed to *Camillo Orsino da Lamentana*.

The Senate of *Venice* observed a Neutrality in this Affair; although solicited on one side by *Philip's* Ministers, that they would oppose the growing Power of the *French* in *Italy*; and, on the Other, by the Pope, that they would enter into the League; for which purpose *Anthony Caraffa* had been sent to them, with promises of mighty Rewards out of the Spoils of the *Spaniards*, if by their joint assistance *Italy* could be delivered from a foreign Yoke. When *Caraffa* pressed the matter, the Senate, who, favouring neither Party, would rather have been glad to see *Italy* freed from the Arms of them both, after frequent Consultations held thereupon, returned him this Answer: "That the Pope, as became a Common Parent, ought to pursue peaceful Counsels; and not do any thing, whereby, the War being re-kindled, *Italy* should be overrun with fresh Soldiers, and lye exposed as a Prey to Foreigners: That every one might take warning from his own danger: That here the *Turk* hung over them; who, through the Quarrels of Christians, increased his Power every day: There the Anger of God manifestly appeared, in the raging of Distempers  
hitherto



“ hitherto unknown in every part of *Italy*, which consumed the *A. D.*  
 “ Bodies of so many Mortals every day.” Which was not said without 1556.  
 Cause: For in that year Purple-fevers first appeared up and down in *Italy*, and particularly at *Florence* and the adjacent places. But the Pope minded none of their exhortations; employing his thoughts upon this single point, how he might seize *Della Corgna*, from whom he was in such apprehensions. *Papirio Capizucchi* was sent upon that errand with Letters of Credence and Tokens to every private Captain, that they should deliver him up. Nevertheless He, by the admonition of his Friends, and his own natural sagacity, getting a scent of his danger, fled privately through the Postern with a few Attendants; and after a hard struggle dismounting a Trooper, who had been sent to apprehend him, reached *Nettuno* in safety; and there spreading a report, that he had been forced by a Mutiny of the Soldiers to run away from *Velletri*, he held the Garrison so long in that persuasion, ’till by getting on board a Pinnace he escaped the danger, and sailed first to *Gaieta* and from thence to *Naples* to the Duke of *Alva*; by whom he was honourably received, and promoted to this important Post in the Army.

Fifteen hundred *Spanish* Veterans were also expected out of the *Milanese* and four thousand *Germaus* actually sent for: But, whereas they did not arrive soon enough, *Alva* advancing with the Forces, which I have enumerated, came on the 4th day of *September* to *San-Germano*, the appointed place of rendezvous, and the next day reached *Ponte-corvo* on the *Garigliano*, a Town belonging to the Ecclesiastical State: Having there received certain information, that *Julius Orsino* had put four Ensigns into *Frusilone*; and foreseeing, that, if time were given him to fortify that Place, the Enemy might from thence march very easily into the Kingdom, he resolved to be beforehand with them, and ordered his Troops to draw together to *Isola* not far from *Ceperano*. *Garçias de Toledo* was sent forwards with the *Spanish* Infantry, and some Troops of Horse; whose approach being known sooner than could be imagined, the Garrison retired in the night, and abandoned the Place. *Alva* halting there and at *Posi* for three days, took in some neighbouring Castles, as *Falva-terra*, *Castro*, and lastly *Ripi*; the Inhabitants of which Town, being friends to the House of *Colonna*, when they perceived the Duke of *Alva* to approach, took up arms themselves, and killing the Papal Garrison, made their Commander *Trentacoste* Prisoner. *Alva*, having found a good stock of provision there and refreshed his Soldiers, proceeded farther, and sends *Garçias* before to *Veruli*, where *Baricello da Fabriano* and *Laurence da Perugia* were with two Ensigns of *Italians*; and the Great Guns being brought to play (for the Garrison refused to surrender) the City was taken and the Soldiers stripped. *Vespasian Gonzaga*, being detached to *Banco*, routed *John Guasconi* a *Florentine*, and *Thomas da Camerino* with their Companies. Upon a motion of the Camp towards *Anagni*, the Towns of *Piperno*, *Terracina*, *Acuto*, *Fumone*, *Ferentino* and *Alatro* fell into *Alva*’s hands by a voluntary Capitulation. They found more trouble in the taking of *Anagni*, into which Town the Cardinal *Caraffa* (who by this time was



A. D. was returned from *France*) being dissatisfied with *Camillo Orfino*, who 1556. had administer'd the military Affairs in his absence, had put *Torquato Conti* with eight hundred *Italian* Foot. Four larger sized Pieces and two Culverins were planted against That part, which faces the West, where *Garcias* with the *Spanish* Infantry took up his Quarters: On the opposite side, which looks towards *San-Francesco*, *Gonzaga* was ordered to begin a Battery with three Pieces of Ordnance. This firing being continued for three days, and part of the Wall beaten down, a party of Soldiers by Command mounted the Breach, but with no success; yet not without striking a vehement terror into the Garrison, who in the following night, being the fifteenth of *September*, slipped away as fast as they could with their Commander through a Valley, which leads to *Acuto*; and with the loss of a few Men (for they were obliged to pass through the Enemy's Lines of Horse) escaped part to *Paliano*, part to *Tivoli* and from thence to *Rome*. In the morning when the Enemy saw the Walls naked of soldiers, they rushed in without Orders, and pillaged the Town. At length the Rains falling in Autumn, as usual, and annoying the Troops; and the Roads being so rotten with the continual Showers, that the Artillery could not conveniently be moved; that something in the mean while might be going on, a Treaty began to be set on foot, by *Thomas Manriquez* a Dominican-Fryar, conspicuous for Nobleness of Birth and Sanctity of Life, who was sent from *Rome* by a Committee of six Cardinals; and soon after by *Francis Paceco*, whom *Alva* sent back to *Rome* in company with *Manriquez*: And at length it was agreed, that *Alva* should repair to a Conference with Cardinal *Caraffa* at an Abbey called *Grotta-ferrata* between *Marino* and *Frascati*. After this, *Diego Velez* received orders to fortify *Frusilone*; and the Count *Di Sarno* was made Governour of *Anagni* with five hundred *Italians* and an hundred Horse: *Alva* himself, leaving *Paliano* on the left-hand, marches with the Army towards *Valmontone*; which *John-Baptist Conti*, by the direction of *Aurelio Fregose*, (who had come thither from *Rome* on purpose to view the Place, and judged it to be hardly defensible) surrendered to *Alva*, as he also did *Segni* upon honourable Terms.

About this time *John de Luna*, Governour of the Castle of *Milan*, (who, being the chief Accuser of *Ferdinand Gonzaga* for Male-administration of the Province, at the Demand of *Gonzaga's* Friends, had with *Francis de Ybarra* gone the year before into the *Netherlands* to the Emperor, in order to make good his Charge) resenting the ill returns made to his Merits, and that the memory of his late excellent services in the War of *Siena* was so easily obliterated through the calumny of his Adversaries, left the Emperor and came over to the King; sending a Letter to his Son, whom he had left in the Castle, wherein he certified him of his resolution, and commanded him to deliver the Castle into the hands of the Vice-roy. This held the minds of the *Spaniards* in the *Milanese* for a long time in suspense, because they looked upon this Revolt as a fore-runner of one more considerable; till the Cardinal of *Trent*, the chief Governour of the Province, received the



the Castle from *Luna's* Son, (although he had not the proper Token) *A. D.* and gave the Command of it to *Alfonso Pescione*, taking an Oath from 1556. the Garrison. And not long after, *Francis Taverna*, Chancellor of the Senate of *Milan*, another of *Gonzaga's* Accusers, who had declined going to *Brussels* upon a pretence of Indisposition, was committed to Prison at *Milan*. These things being done, although there was a general Appearance of Tranquillity; yet the Minds of the people being put into Motion, the Cardinal of *Trent*, and the Marquess *di Pescara*, (whom the former used as his principal Assistant and Counsellor) were uneasy to see the Province left so destitute of Troops; and furnished Succours very slowly to the Duke of *Alva*, for whose Glory they were not otherwise over zealous.

There fell out likewise about the same time a new Disturbance in *Africa*, which retarded the Auxiliaries promised to the Duke. For the *Turks*, partly with Land-forces drawn out of *Algiers*, and partly with a Naval Armament attacked *Oran*; and the Princess of *Portugal*, then Regent of *Spain*, had commanded *Doria* to summon together all his scattered Gallies, and go to the Relief of the Town. But through the bravery of the Besieged, the business happened to be effected without any Assistance: For Count *Alcaudete*, the Governour, slew many of the Enemies in Sally, and forced them to abandon the Siege.

In another Quarter, *M. Anthony Colonna* leaving the Camp about midnight with eight hundred Horse-Cuirassiers, made an Excursion as far as the Gates of *Rome*; and after a vain Ambuscade laid for intercepting such thoughtless Soldiers or Subjects of the Pope's as might chance to come that way, he retired, carrying off many Flocks and Herds. This put the City into a violent Fright; notwithstanding which, the Cardinals did not appear at the day appointed, nor any one for them; whereas the Duke had gone thither with a numerous Retinue: Which he interpreted, as if the *Caraffaes* had designed to carry him off, if he had come with a small Attendance, and, finding it impossible to compass their ends, would not therefore come at all. But it is more likely, that the view of the *Caraffaes* in it, was, by spinning out the business of the Conference, to gain time for fortifying *Velletri* and *Paliano*; and for the convenient distribution of two thousand *Gascons*, whom he had brought with him out of *France*, and taken up at *Corfica* in his way (commanded by *Charry* and *M. Anthony Montluc*, *Blaise's* Son, under *Boniface*, called *La Mole*, the chief General) amongst the neighbouring Garrisons; and for looking about him, to observe what the Enemy, under all Events, designed to do. For the number of the Soldiers decreased daily in their Camp; and a Report went, that the *Germans*, who had been sent for out of *Lombardy*, would not come. The Conference not taking effect, *Alva* led his Troops to *Tivoli*, having before deliberated, whether That place or *Velletri* should be attempted. At length laying aside the thoughts of *Velletri*, which was secured by excellent Troops and an unanimous People, and otherwise very strong by its situation; he marches towards *Tivoli*, where *Francis Orsino* had shut himself up with four hundred *Italians*. But when it appeared



A. D. 1556. appeared impossible to maintain the place against such a powerful Army, *Caraffa* detached thither *Blaise de Montluc*, with two Troops of Light-Horse, of the Pope's Guards, and two others of Horse-Cuirassiers, which served the Duke of *Paliano* under the Command of *Ambrose* and *Bartholomew* both of *Epirus*; and with four hundred Musqueteers besides, under *M. Anthony de Montluc* and *Charry*. *Blaise* marching by night with the utmost Expedition, and entering *Tivoli*, admonished *Orfino*, who had no expectation of the Enemy, of his danger; and allowing a short space of time for taking Victuals, presently ordered them to pack up their Baggage, and be gone. *Orfino* had scarce marched out with his Men, separated from the Enemy by a River, which *Caraffa* affirmed to be unfordable, when the *Spaniards* came up: *Montluc* however, who brought up the Rear, kept them in play for some time, 'till the Bridge laid over the River (where it passes through the middle of the City) could be broken down; which engaged both Parties in a pretty long skirmish. At length our Troops, having all marched out, held on their way, under great danger, but without any real damage, 'till they arrived safe at *Rome*; *Ascanio della Corgna*, who pursued them, being suddenly recalled by *Alva*. *Tivoli* being taken, *Alva* advances strait to *Vicovaro*, a Town belonging to the House of *Orfino*; whither *Orfino* himself, upon leaving *Tivoli*, had retired with his Soldiers. It stands upon a Bank of the *Teverone*, and has a small Castle for its Security. *Orfino*, who was hastening the Fortifications, being hindered by the Rains, was forced to abandon it upon the approach of the Enemy, and leave it to be surrendered into the hands of *Ascanio della Corgna*: Whereby there was opened a way for introducing Provisions into *Tagliacozzo*, and a free passage for the Enemy out of the Province of *Abruzzo*. The Castle still held out, defended by fifty Soldiers; whose Commander being invited by *Della Corgna* to a Conference, and imprudently going out, was detained by him, and not released, 'till, the Castle being surrendered the *Spaniards* were received into it.

In the mean time all things were in Confusion at *Rome*, the Enemy being near, and the Papal Forces not daring to stir abroad. For *Camillo Orfino*, who commanded in Chief within the City, having demolished several Houses and Churches, erected some Works within the Suburbs near the *Flaminian Gate*, and kept the Soldiers close at home. Which not only incommoded, but exceedingly terrified the people; as if every thing else had been given up as lost, and the only hopes remained in the Walls of the City: Whereas *Blaise de Montluc*, on the contrary, thought it necessary in point of Reputation (to which the Success of Wars is frequently owing) and in order to wear off that astonishment, which people inured to ease and pleasure are apt to fall into, that the Forces should encamp without the City. When therefore, by the Pope's Permission, *Montluc* had made a military Speech to the People assembled together in the House of *John D'Avançon* the King's Embassador, and had exhorted them to Valour by the fresh example of the *Sieneſe*, he was sent away to *Velletri*, which was apprehended to be in danger, in order to convey Succours into the Place.

He



He performed this Service with his usual dispatch, throwing two Troops *A. D.* of Horse-Cuirassiers into the Town; and then without making the 1556. least stay, that he might not be intercepted by the Enemy, returned in safety to his Friends; having travelled about forty Miles without resting. His sagacity was approved by the event: For as soon as he was known to have set forwards, near five hundred Horse were sent out by *Alva*; who met at *Marino* about two hours too late, when *Montluc* had already passed by, and were disappointed.

*Nettuno*, a Town built upon the Ruins of *Antium*, belonging to the *Colonnaes*, jets out towards the Sea, and is well defended with a Ditch and Bastions, which are washed by the Sea itself. The Inhabitants of the place, out of affection to their Lord, had rebelled, and roughly handled the Garrison and the commanding Officer placed there by the *Caraffaes*. *Alva* being informed of it, had immediately sent Succours thither under *Moreto* of *Calabria*, who with extraordinary Courage defended the place against a Body of the Pope's Troops: Thither *Alva* had taken care to tow up a number of Boats, in order to make a Bridge, for the Passage of his Troops over the *Tiber* near *Ostia*. This coming to the knowledge of *Paulin*, who was at *Civitá Vecchia*, he writes to *Strozzi*; and, if a good number of Foot were sent, promises to set them on shore at *Nettuno*, and with their help to set fire to those Boats. *M. Anthony de Montluc* and *Charry* went accordingly thither with four hundred chosen Musqueteers: But the Project failed of success; because the Enemy, with the special assistance of *Moreto*, had drawn the Vessels on shore, and encompassed them with a Trench, so that the artificial Fires, prepared by our people, could not hurt them. *Alva* too, when he heard of our design, had forthwith sent thither *Ascanio della Corgna* with twelve hundred Horse, and twelve Companies of Foot, to prevent the burning of the Vessels, and defeat our Attempts. As he passed through *Marino*, where *M. Anthony Colonna*, as being in his own Territories, had taken up his Quarters; it happened, that *Montluc* the Father, who had entertained hopes of catching *Colonna*, was come into the Neighbourhood with a flying Party composed of the Troops of Horse belonging to the Duke of *Paliano* and *Aurelio Fregose*; and by *Strozzi's* Permission, had brought with him *Boniface La Mole*: There he lay concealed near the Town, and had sent forwards some Soldiers to draw the Enemy out to an Engagement; imagining, that *Colonna* out of a fond desire of military Glory, which usually glows in the breasts of young Men, would immediately sally forth, and fall into the Ambuscade: He had so strongly flattered himself with this persuasion, that he seemed already sure of his Prisoner; and having carefully computed the Ransom, which he valued at eighty thousand Crowns, was thinking with himself, what part he should give to his Companions, and how much he should take to his own Share; nay, and had laid out a fine Estate, which he was to have bought with that Money near *Paris*: But when, upon the sudden coming up of *Della Corgna*, his Scheme was all undone, and the danger, which he had prepared for another, turned upon his own head; the hopes of those sudden Riches vanished; and, though they ended in nothing else, produced



A. D. a good deal of Diversion : Which I had rather the Reader should learn  
 1556. from *Montluc's* own Commentaries, than from a ridiculous digression  
 in this place. This miscarriage was however magnified by the *Spaniards*,  
 as if it had been a great Defeat, wherein two hundred Horse were  
 slain ; for so *Alexander Andrea* reports it : And so it was related to  
 the King, who at first was troubled with the News, but, when he  
 afterwards understood the truth of the matter, turned his sorrow into  
 laughter.

The Papal Troops were now all drawn together ; and *Alexander Colonna* had assembled near six thousand Foot out of the Troops of *La Campagna di Roma*, and about six hundred Light-horse ; and *Aurelio Fregose* had brought fifteen hundred excellent Soldiers out of *L' Ombria*. At the same time *John-Anthony Tivaldo* had raised Recruits at *Perugia* and *Ascoli*, and *Anthony Caraffa* had repaired to *Bologna* upon the same errand. There were also near two thousand Gascons in the Camp ; so that the whole Army consisted of ten thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Light-horse ; with which if they had at first advanced against the Duke of *Alva*, and had not shut themselves up within the Walls of the City, they would undoubtedly not only have hindered the Enemy's Attempts, but repelling them, had thereby excited an Insurrection amongst the People of the Kingdom, who were desirous enough of a Change. This Capital Error in the Pope's Friends was attributed to *Camillo Orsino* ; who, being now advanced in years, and consequently more cautious in proceeding, followed rather safe than generous Counsels. Amongst the Places held by the *Caraffaes*, they had placed an exceeding strong Garrison in *Paliano* and *Velletri* ; the former of which was committed to *Julius Orsino* and the latter to *Adrian Baglioni*, who had lately succeeded the Duke of *Somma* ; and from thence, the opposite Garrisons lying so near to one another, frequent Skirmishes ensued ; whilst the Papal Troops endeavoured to hinder the Enemy's Camp from its supplies of Corn ; which from the Town of *Isola* (so called, because it stands amongst the Waters of *Fibreno* near the *Garigliano*) they received in great abundance. For *Vespasian Gonzaga* had for that reason been appointed to command in *Val-montone* with eight hundred Foot and three hundred Horse, that he might be at hand to protect the Corn-carriers, and prevent the Excursions of the Pope's Forces. And when *Julius Orsino*, having first burnt the Village of *Serrone*, (which by affording frequent Shelter to the Enemies Ambuscades, used to be a grievous Nuisance to *Paliano*, distant from it about three miles) had taken the field with five Companies of Foot and four Pieces of Cannon, with a design of seizing the Castle of *Piglio* in the Territory of the *Colonnaes* ; upon the coming up of the Count of *Sarno* Governour of *Anagni*, he was not only interrupted, but after a sharp Rencounter forced to retire.

In the mean time *Anthony Caraffa*, leaving *Bologna*, came with a small Band to *Ascoli* a Town situated on the River *Tronto*, which divides the *Marca d' Ancona* and the Ecclesiastical State from *Abruzzo* and from the Kingdom of *Naples* on that side ; from whence  
 gathering



gathering a Body of Troops out of the County of *Montorio*, he descended by the Upper Sea into the Kingdom, and took *Corteguerra*; 1556. and placing one Cohort therein as a Guard, he attacked *Corropoli*, but without Success: For the Townsmen, whether from their own Bravery, or fearing the Threats of the Marquess *di Trevico* (who had been appointed by *Alva* to guard the Frontiers of *Abruzzo*) and consequently alarmed with the danger of being afterwards retaken, and undergoing a severe Chastisement, persevered in their Fidelity: Whilst in the mean while *Charles Loffredi*, the Marquess's Son, venturing with a Troop of Horse into the Ecclesiastical State, carried his ravages as far as *Monte S. Polo* near *Acquaviva*.

*Alva*, when he was at *Tivoli*, had sent a Reinforcement of fifteen hundred Men to the Marquess, who had already with him near two thousand of the Troops of the Kingdom, and a thousand more lately sent to him from *Naples*: Besides, two middling pieces of Ordnance had been brought from *Aquila* a Castle of *Abruzzo* to *Popoli* and *Pescara*, through rough and uneven roads, by the care and diligence of *Bartholomew Rueccas* a Spaniard and Master of the Artillery; upon the arrival of which he was preparing to come to blows with *Caraffa*, if he had not hastened back to *Ascoli*. The Pope's Partizans laboured under streights for want of Money, the Treasury having been exhausted by the Charges of the former Wars: For the supply of which Deficiency the hundredth Penny, and other new Taxes were imposed, which however grievous were excused by the necessity of the present Service. Upon the Retreat of *Caraffa*, *Trevico* taking that advantage marches to *Angorano*, a commodious Place both for Provisions and for its Situation; and immediately upon the refusal of the Townsmen to surrender, he plants his Cannon: But after the Firing, when the Soldiers were upon the very point of mounting to an Assault, *Trevico* recalls his Troops, and drawing off the Artillery goes back to *Civitella*; upon an information, that the Papal Forces were coming from *Ascoli* to relieve the place: However, learning, whilst he was upon the Road; that those Auxiliaries, consisting only of two hundred Foot, had upon meeting with some of his Troops taken shelter in *Malignano*, he turned aside thither; and, without a moment's delay, planting his Guns, after six Discharges and no more, made a large Breach in the Walls, which were very weak, and ready to fall with Age; whereupon the Garrison surrendered to *Trevico* at discretion. The Town being sacked and the Soldiers stripped, *Trevico* repairs to *Civitella*, as he had first intended.

*Mark-Anthony Colonna* with the Cavalry and three Companies of Italian Foot had encamped at *Palestrina*, and the Count *di Popoli* with the Light-armour at a Fortrefs called *St. Angelo*. *Alva* continued still at *Tivoli* with the Spanish Infantry, in order to refresh the Soldiery, who were worn out with fatigue and the unseasonableness of the Autumn. At length having collected his Forces, he began to deliberate of pursuing the War: A doubt arose, whether he should march towards *Rieti*, and cross the *Tiber* at *Monte-rotundo*, in order to strengthen the Barrier of the Kingdom on that side; as he had already done on the other,



A. D. by fortifying *Frusilone* and *Anagni*; or else whether he should attempt 1556. *Ostia*, and crossing the River there should seize upon the Castle of *Tiberius*, now called *Corneto*, and thereby stop the passage of those Provisions, which were usually carried from thence to *Rome* in great abundance. During the Consultation, the Senate of *Venice* sent *Febo Capello*, their Secretary for the Affairs of Peace, to the Duke of *Alva*; requesting in the name of the Publick, that he would cease to infest the Ecclesiastical State, which according to League and antient Practice their Ancestors had never suffered to be attacked by Foreigners. To this an Answer was returned by *Alva*, That the Pope had begun the War, by his injurious treatment of the *Colonnaes*, whom as their Client the Emperor and the King of *England* could not abandon in so just a Cause and such critical Circumstances. About this time he sent Quarter-masters to *Palombara*, to provide Lodgings for a Company of Foot: The chief amongst the Townsmen were two Brothers; one of whom, during the deliberation whether a Garrison should be received or not, prevailed by his authority, that none should be received; whilst the other Brother in vain represented, that, unless Soldiers were admitted, they should be exposed (he foresaw) to the hazard of their Lives and all their Fortunes. *Alva* looking upon this Resolution as an Affront, presently dispatches thither *Vespasian Gonzaga* with a choice Party, and amongst the rest the Company of *Ottavio d'Abenante*, who took the Town by Assault, and used the People with all sorts of insolence and barbarity. Upon this, the Person, who had voted for the Admission of the Soldiers, and had not been able to overcome his Brother's Obstinacy; after a stubborn Engagement, when he saw his Prediction to be too true, compleated the Reputation he had deserved for his prudent Advice, by a no less honourable Action; and, "GOD forbid (says he) that, after I have in vain endeavoured to save my Country by my salutary counsel, I should survive its Destruction; or preserve that Life for the Enemy's scorn, which I could not spend in my Country's defence." Which said, clapping a Pistol to his breast he shot himself dead.

And now the Duke of *Alva* encamping at *Frascati*, had quartered his Soldiers in *Grötta-ferrata* and *Marino*, whither Provision was every day conveyed from the neighbouring places and especially *Tivoli*, for the most part without a Guard; from whence conjecturing, that the Enemy would not miss so fair an opportunity, he orders *Popoli* to lay an Ambush in a proper place with the Light-armor, in order to catch any of the Pope's Parties that should advance: Nor did the Event disappoint *Alva's* sagacity: For when *Balthazar Rangone* had ventured out of the City in the Evening with an hundred and fifty Horse, he fell towards the morning, through his ignorance of the Country, into the Snare prepared by *Popoli*; and, after a short fight, taking to a woody Descent all surrounded with a Ditch, he was defeated and with most of his Men taken prisoners; notwithstanding the endeavours of Cardinal *Caraffa*, who had brought up a Body of Succours, in order to snatch that Victory out of *Popoli's* hands: For the latter, tho' inferiour in strength, yet, by giving way and eluding a violent



violent impression, by degrees retreated into a place of safety with *A. D.* his Booty, and was received by his Friends with wonderful Joy and 1556. Congratulations; whilst *Caraffa* returned unsuccessfully home. *Bartholomew del Monte* experienced the same misfortune a little after; for marching negligently at the head of a Party, he was surrounded, and upon his Soldiers flying many ways, taken prisoner, with the loss of his Baggage.

The Pope himself as well as his Creatures being struck with the most violent Consternation at this mischance, all people judged, that *Alva* in pursuit of his Victory would advance directly with the whole Army to *Rome*, which there was not the least doubt of his taking: But he pretending (for excuse) the ill season of the year, was in short afraid to venture upon so difficult an undertaking; as foreseeing, that, if success should crown his Design, it must cost a great deal of Blood; and even tho' he should gain the City, This would be the consequence, that many of his Soldiers being lost in the Battle, the rest would be so loaded with Booty, that they would not care for fighting afterwards; and thus the whole Army would be dispersed. He resumed therefore the project of taking *Ostia*; and, raising a Fort at the mouth of the *Tiber*, in the same place, (where *Cajus Marius* in the most calamitous times of the Commonwealth had formerly incamped) he resolved, having already blocked up the Road to *Trivoli*, to cut off the City from all Provisions, and so reduce the Pope to make a peace upon equitable Terms, before the Auxiliary Troops could arrive from *France*. With this View, after putting competent Garrisons into *Trivoli*, *Frascati*, *Rocca di Papa* and the neighbouring places, he marched to *Ostia*: And lest He, who thought of distressing the Pope by a scarcity of Provisions, should himself suffer by the same scarcity, he ordered all his Troops to retain only a third part of the Camp-boys and Baggage-tenders, that they might be ready to move without any incumbrance. Therefore, on the 1st day of *November*, when *Alva* made a motion towards *Albano*, the Army passed as it were in the very face of that victorious City, and some Light-horse sallying out maintained a slight skirmish with the *Spaniards*. From thence in the third stage they came to *Castel di S. Sylvestro*, near the mountain of the same name; *Ascanio della Corgna* being sent before to reduce *Porcigliano* and *Ardea*. The latter soon capitulated. But the Townsmen of *Porcigliano* refusing at first to surrender, at length, after the loss of one or two Captains before it, promised obedience to *Ascanio*. A way was thus opened for the conveyance of Corn from *Nettuno* and *Marino* for the subsistence of the Troops: And the Duke di *Somma*, who was shortly after sent by *Caraffa* to deprive the Enemy of that convenient Post, failed of success, and was obliged to retire with loss. At length a Bridge was laid over the *Tiber*, with the help of Boats brought for the purpose from *Gaieta*; which being joined together by Rings and Iron Chains, and disposed so as to humour the Stream, with Planks laid across them, afforded a passage for the Foot, Horse and Artillery. Things being thus disposed, *Alva* in his third march reached *Ostia*; and, the Garrison



A. D. 1556. Garrison putting themselves into a posture of Defence, *D'Abenante* a Colonel of a Regiment, and his Son *Mario* received a Wound upon the occasion; whereupon Orders were given by *Vespasian Gonzaga* to *Francis Tolfa*, *Ottavio di Abenante* and *John-Francis Caraffa*, to set fire to the Gate of the City; but upon their finding it secured by a Bastion, there seemed to be a necessity of great Guns; which being brought to play, the Gates were forced open; upon which the Garrison quitting the City, retired into the Castle. *Gonzaga* having gained the City, and posted Soldiers in the Streets, repairs to the Island, where the Artillery was. *Alva* incamps a little below with the Spanish Foot and all the Cavalry, and orders a Bridge to be laid, and the larger Pieces of Ordnance to be conveyed to the farther Bank; and again, a Mile further below, near six hundred Paces from the Mouth of the *Tiber*, he hastens the building of a Fort. Then their whole Force was employed against the Castle, the Firing being directed against the side opposite to the *Tiber*, which was well covered with a strong Wall and two Towers; one of which, That towards the North, is round, and hangs over the River; the other square, having a Ditch, not very deep, behind it. From the Island in the River, a Battery of six large Guns play'd upon the Walls of the Castle, which *Horatio de lo Sbirro* held with a Garrison of one hundred and fourteen chosen Soldiers: Who digging a Ditch within, and erecting on each side rude Bastions of Earth, hastily thrown up, had undertaken to defend the Place with the utmost Vigour. In order to encourage him the more, *Peter Strozzi* with three thousand Foot and three hundred Light-Horse had come out of the City; that, if the Enemy should be repulsed in the Assault, he might be at hand at all Events to second any sally of the Garrison's. He drew a Line, and encamped upon the brink of a Rivulet, which runs into the *Tiber*, and begun to raise a Fort at a little distance, in order to bridle the Excursions of the Spaniards. The Firing having been continued for seven days, when, notwithstanding *Della Corgna's* exhortations, the Garrison refused to surrender, *Vespasian Gonzaga* obtains of *Alva*, that he with his Men might first assault the Breach, how hard soever it was to be mounted: Then on the 17th day of November, Lots being cast amongst the Commanders, the first part fell to *John-Francis Tolfa*; next to him came *Dominick da Massimo*, and afterwards five others. *Alva* in the mean while passing the Bridge, had left part of the Cavalry in the Island; the rest being committed to *M. Anthony Colonna* and *Popoli*, who were enjoined to make Excursions as far as *Rome*, in order to give a Diversion so long to the Papal Auxiliaries, 'till the Castle should be stormed. At a Signal given, when *Tolfa* began to approach with his Men, he received a wound in the Leg, just as he was stepping into the Ditch; and seeing *Dominick da Massimo* following him almost alone, and that nevertheless *Vespasian Gonzaga* stood behind with all his Men in Arms, he advanced to a Tower before him; but when *Gonzaga* came up, and was exhorting his Men to fight valiantly, he received a Wound in the upper Lip, which obliged him to be carried back to the Camp:



Camp : By which Accident the Vigour of the Soldiers being checked, *A. D.* they proceeded more heavily to the Assault ; although *Tolfa*, who not-1556. withstanding his Wound had marched up to the Tower, performed all the Parts of a brave Officer on that day. At length the ardour of the Soldiers growing cool, *Alva*, who saw the whole from a little distance, orders *Alvaro d Acoſta*, an indefatigable Officer, that, with a choice Body of three hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, he ſhould join the *Italians*, and renew the Fight. This he performed with wonderful expedition ; and as ſoon as he was come up to them, having ſent forwards two Field-pieces, in order to beat back the Defendants, he preſently lets himſelf down into the Ditch, and with the ſame alacrity leaps into the Breach ; but having entered the place with ſome of his Friends, he fell amongſt the Defendants, and was handled very roughly, receiving a large Wound, of which he ſoon after died : To this another Inconveniency was added, that the Cannon firing all the while, the *Spaniards*, who had mounted (when it could not be known whereabouts they were) were ſlain by their own Men. Thus the *Spaniards* being annoyed from within, and from without, *Alva*, at Sun-ſetting, ordered a Retreat to be ſounded. Near ninety *Spaniards*, beſides *d Acoſta* were loſt on that day : Of the *Italians*, there were wounded *Gonzaga*, *Tolfa*, and *Leo Mazzacane*, whiſt he was haſtening the March of five Companies appointed to the Storm, who advanced ſlowly ; and *Marcello Mormile*, who had mounted the Battlements before the reſt, and ſuſtained the Force of the Garrifon with exemplary Courage. *Ottavio Mormile*, *Julius Longo*, and about fifty private Soldiers were taken Priſoners. But the *Spaniards* notwithstanding their Repulſe, had ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Beſieged, that the next day, deſiring a Conference with *Della Corgna*, they capitulated upon aſſurance of their Lives, on the tenth day from the firſt inveſting the Caſtle.

By the interpoſition of Cardinal *Santa-fiore*, a Truce was then concluded between the Pope and *Alva*, which was to expire on the 29th of *November* : But when, two days after, *Alva* and Cardinal *Caraffa* had met in the Iſland, which parted the two Armies, after an amicable Conference in appearance, it was again prolonged to forty Days ; within which time the Terms propoſed by the Pope and the *Caraffas* ſhould be reported to the King of *England*, and upon his conſenting a Peace ſhould be confirmed betwixt Him and the Pope. *Alva* was extremely deſirous of it, becauſe he ſaw it to be for his Maſter's Intereſt, that, a Peace being made with the Pope, things ſhould be left quiet in thoſe Parts ; that ſo, if the Truce between the King of *England* and *France* ſhould be broken, of which there was a very near Proſpect, being ſecure from behind he might ſend all the Forces into the *Milanefe* and *Piedmont*, and recover the Towns lately taken by the *French* in thoſe Provinces. But if within that ſpace no Agreement could be made with the Pope, he ſhould however gain ſo much time as would be requiſite for the reſreſhment of the Soldiery, who were fatigued with the continual Service, and laboured under a general Want of Neceſſaries ; and he might finiſh the Works already begun, and ſettle Matters



A. D. in the Kingdom. Nor was the Truce unacceptable to the *Caraffaes*,  
 1556. who were utterly unprovided, and expected every day the Duke of  
 Guise's Auxiliary Forces. *Alva* however, resolving not to suffer any  
 of his time to be lost, immediately hastened the Fortrefs already com-  
 menced, and laid out Ground for another at *Nettuno*, which place seem-  
 ed extremely commodious for facilitating the conveyance of Provisions.  
 Then placing eight hundred *Spanish* Foot, with eight pieces of Can-  
 non in the Castle of *Ostia*, under *Julian Vasquez Aquila*, and *Francis*  
*Hurtado de Mendoza*, he removed his Camp on the 30th of *November*  
 towards *Anagni*. From thence, leaving *Popoli* in those Parts with the  
 Light-Armour, to command in Chief during his absence, he dismis-  
 sed the *Italian* Infantry, sent the *Spaniards* into Winter-Quarters, and  
 repaired himself, by large Journies, to *Naples*; having given it in  
 Charge to *Lopez de Mardones*, that he should take Care to convey a  
 good Stock of Provisions from *Gaieta* and *Naples* to *Nettuno*, and into  
 the new Fort, and the Castle of *Ostia*; which he executed with the  
 utmost diligence: Tho' he could not avoid the Frauds of the Masters  
 of Ships, who to conceal the Theft, mixed Sand with their Bread-corn,  
 in order to make up the Weight: Which, as soon as perceived, was  
 prevented for the future by the severe Punishment of a few Persons.

When *Alva* was arrived at *Naples*, and had received certain infor-  
 mation of the Pope's Military Preparations against the ensuing year,  
 calling together a Council of Nobles, he exhorted them at that time of  
 imminent danger to join their Forces, and contribute a Supply of Mo-  
 ney. It was there resolved to raise thirty thousand *Italian* Foot, part  
 of which should be distributed amongst the Maritime Garrisons, for  
 their Defence against the *Turkish* Fleet; part should be placed in the  
 Barrier-Towns bordering upon the Ecclesiastical State; and the re-  
 maining part should take the Field, and be sent again into the *Cam-*  
*pagna di Roma*. In *Germany* also six thousand Foot were raised; which,  
 taking the Route of *Croatia*, *Istria* and *Friuli*, were to be embarked at  
*Trieste*, and then crossing the *Adriatick* Gulph to be landed near *Aterno*,  
 now called *Pescara*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Two thousand *German-*  
*Veterans* had already come to the Army under *Gaspar Baron de Feltz*;  
 whom *Alva* causing to be presently embarked at *Gaieta*, sent them to  
*Popoli*, whom he had left in the *Campagna di Roma*. Four thousand  
*Germans* were likewise sent for from the parts of *Lombardy* on this side the  
*Po*, commanded by *Alberick Lodron*, a person well exercised in the former  
 Wars. There were also expected three thousand Foot out of *Spain*, who  
 had already arrived at *Barcelona*. Moreover the Cavalry was increased  
 by new Recruits to the number of fifteen hundred Horse. Next they  
 fell to deliberating about the Guard of the Barrier: And at first indeed  
 it seemed to be agreed, that the upper Frontier should be abandoned,  
 and the Garrisons drawn out of it; and that the Corn, which could  
 not be carried off, should be burnt in the Field, and the rest laid up in  
 Towns of better strength: That all the Forces should be drawn toge-  
 ther about *Naples*; on which side, if an Invasion should be attempted,  
 they might be able to make a stout Resistance; but, if the Enemy  
 should



should proceed to *Abruzzo*, and the Countries destitute of Garrisons, *A. D.* in that case they would be starved: And to this advice *Alva* was rather inclinable: But *Ferdinand Gonzaga* (who after the Judgment given by the Emperor in the *Netherlands*, had gone in a private Capacity, and in a Discontent to *Italy*, as we have already said; and, after having honourably excused himself by reason of his ill Health from accepting the noble Offers made to him on the part of the *Venetian* Senate, if he would enter into Their Service, had retired into the Kingdom where he had a fine Estate in right of his Wife *Isabella* of *Capua*) when his Sentiments of the present Case were demanded by the Duke of *Alva* in a Letter, took a resolution to go himself to *Naples*; that having first heard the opinions of the other Officers, he might then deliver his own. Here in the Council, " They, says he, who are fond  
 " of defending *Naples* alone at the expence of deserting the Frontiers,  
 " measure their Counsel (I suppose) rather by the streightness of the  
 " Time, and the small number of Forces, than by the greatness of  
 " the danger: For certainly, it is extremely to be feared, if the Fron-  
 " tiers be left bare of Soldiers, that the *French* seizing upon the Reve-  
 " nues and Customs of the Kingdom, without which we cannot long  
 " support the charge of a War, and being assisted by the favour of the  
 " Natives, which generally follow prosperous Successes, and above all,  
 " supplied continually with fresh Soldiers, may make themselves Ma-  
 " sters of the whole Country in a very little time without Blood-shed.  
 " It seems therefore far more safe, that the *French* should be stopped  
 " at their very Entrance, and broken and harrassed, before they can  
 " collect their Forces: For thus it will happen, that, the first alacrity  
 " being blunted, their subsequent Attempts and Counsels will be de-  
 " feated: For this is the usual result of such Conduct; and, with re-  
 " spect to the *French* in particular, Antiquity has recorded, that in their  
 " first attacks they are more than Men, and, in their last, less than  
 " Women. The next point is to lay a good stock of Corn in the for-  
 " tified Towns; which if not possible to be compleatly done, at least  
 " the Hand-Mills, which are very common up and down in the Coun-  
 " try, should be taken away; that they may not be of use to the E-  
 " nemy at their coming. For if Corn be necessarily to be fetched  
 " from any considerable distance, there will not be a sufficient quan-  
 " tity of it for many days; from whence it will absolutely follow, that  
 " either the *French* will be forced to halt at the very Barrier, or, if they  
 " do enter the Province with a numerous Army, they will so much  
 " the sooner feel a Dearth and be ruined; which too will put fresh  
 " Courage into the well-affected Inhabitants, and on the contrary, by in-  
 " timidating the Enemy, will reduce them to a tame submission: More-  
 " over, let a good many Castles and strong Places be left behind, provided  
 " in time with plenty of all necessaries; which will find the Enemy so  
 " much employment in their progress, that they will be forced conti-  
 " nually to fight for their Quarters, and thus lie exposed to constant  
 " hazards without any damage on our side. For it is hardly credible,  
 " how vastly convenient it is for people sitting at home, to lengthen  
 " out



A. D. 1556. "out the War; on the contrary, how detrimental is it, for an Army coming from afar, at a distance from Auxiliaries, and in an Enemy's Country, to be every hour combating with the want of necessities, the difficulties of roads, unseasonable weather, and a strange climate: From whence you may frequently observe this to be the consequence, that the fastest Friends and Allies, if the War be long carried on in Their territories, usually change their mind, and take the contrary Party: Which also I foresee likely to be the case with the Inhabitants of the Ecclesiastical State, with the *Caraffaes* and the Pope himself; who, tired with the insolence of the *French*, will soon grow sick of their Alliance, and then heartily sorry for it. This is the best and safest method of managing a war, and providing for the publick safety; whereby a skilful General may gain Glory and Victory; or, if Fortune does not answer his Counsels, may fall honourably and without a Blemish. It is my opinion therefore, that the Barrier be defended; and that strong Garrisons be placed in *Civitella*, and *Aterno* on the *Tronto*, then in the City of *Chieti*, *Arriano*, and *Artemisio* towards *La Puglia*, and lastly in *Capua* and *Nola* near *Naples*." Into which opinion immediately the Duke of *Alva*, and after him the other General Officers, went. The Care of fortifying and keeping *Nola* was committed to *Vespasian Gonzaga*; That of *Capua* to *Santa-fiore*; *Garçias de Toledo* received orders to maintain *Vernosa*, *Artemisio* (now called *St. Agatha*), and *Ariano*. The Marquess *di Trevico* was commanded to abide in *La Puglia* with his Forces, and there guard the Passages, in order to defend the Toll, which being the largest Revenue of the Kingdom the Enemy seemed likely to fall upon the first; for the impression, made above thirty years past by *Odet de Foix* Seigneur de *Lautrec* on that side, was still fresh in every one's memory.

At the expiration of the Truce, *Sermoneta*, *Piperno*, *Sommo* and *Sessa* rebelled; and the Townsmen of *Algido* or *Rocca di Papa*, under *Samson da Tagliacozzo*, fearing some Attempt from the Papal Forces, desired Succours of *Pompèi Colonna*, who commanded in Chief during the absence of *Popoli*. He therefore, with fifty chosen *Italians* of *Torratva's* Company, and as many *Spaniards* out of *Ferrand de Gomez's* Company, together with *Pompèi Tuttavilla* a brave Youth and two hundred other *Spaniards*, setting out from *Tivoli* by night, fell in by chance with *Alexander Colonna* and *Cincio Capizucchi*, who were going with their Men from *Rome* to *Zagorale*, and put them to flight. Near thirty were killed, and two hundred conducted to *Tivoli*, and afterwards dismissed, leaving their Arms. Which being done, That re-inforcement of an hundred Men, which had been introduced by *Pompèi Colonna* into *Rocca di Papa*, making an unexpected inroad as far as *Velletri*, drove off a great Booty. The Inhabitants of *Velletri* had conceived hopes of seizing *Rocca di Papa*, by the help of one of the principal Townsmen; and the Conspiracy was carried on by a *Frenchman*, who went between them: When they had marched out of the Town on the day appointed, and had laid an Ambuscade in a proper place, as they thought; from whence they



they were to rise at a signal given to the Assault; *Andrew Androcio*, A. D. the Governour, coming to the knowledge of it, and having silently 1556. apprehended the Accomplices (whom he afterwards strangled), immediately sent out a choice Party, to possess the Defiles, through which the Men of *Velletri* were to pass in their return: Nor did *Androcio's* Stratagem fail of Success; for when the People of *Velletri* saw no signal given from the Place, and were retiring without doing any thing farther, they fell amongst the concealed Enemies, and were routed; near seventy of them being made prisoners. After these things, *Strozzi* and the Duke of *Paliano* marched out of the City with six thousand Foot, eight hundred Horse, and six pieces of Cannon; and seeing, that the People of *Rome* suffered considerably from the Fort erected by the *Spaniards* on the *Tiber* and from *Ostia*; and that the Citizens were heard to murmur loudly, and thereby discover their Disaffection; they thought it in the first place expedient to turn their Arms that way, before that Fortrefs could be perfected, and the Breaches, lately made in the Castle and Town-wall of *Ostia*, could be repaired. When therefore they had resolved to attack *Ostia*, and yet could gain no certain intelligence of the Place's Situation, the Depth of the Ditch, or whether it held water or not; *Mark-Anthony de Montluc*, who with the Baron *De Benac* and Monsieur *De Charry* commanded the Foot, out of an eager desire of glory, being then upon guard, undertook that province. But, after he had well considered the Place, in his return he received a wound in his Breast by a Musquet-shot; and being carried into *Strozzi's* Quarters and laid upon a bed, had but just time, before he expired, to give *Strozzi* a true and full account of his Discovery. This was the End of *Montluc* a brave Youth, and sagacious beyond his years; who without doubt would have proved a consummate General, if he had lived longer: Whose untimely death being so much deplored by his Father *Blaise* in his Commentaries, I also was willing to pay him this Tribute of an honourable Character. There was little trouble afterwards in the taking of *Ostia*: For upon *Strozzi's* first arrival the *Spanish* Garrison deserted the Castle, and fled into the Fort; which, upon the appearance of Cannon, was presently surrendered by *Julian Vasquez d'Avila*, *Francis Hurtado de Mendoza*, and *Ortiz de Vera* an Officer in high esteem with *Alva*, to whom he had yielded excellent service as Colonel of the Artillery at *Orbitello* and other Places. The Garrison was dismissed in safety, and conducted, according to the Articles, to *Nettuno*. So easy a surrender was afterwards ascribed to the mis-conduct of *D'Avila*; and a rumour went, that he had been corrupted by Our People: But whether Cowardice or Perfidy were the Cause, he lost his head for it two years afterwards at *Brussels*: Although many excused the Action, because, the Breach being not yet repaired, and the rainy season having laid the Country under water, there was room to fear, that, the Mouth of the *Tiber* being dammed, the waters might regurgitate and drown the Besieged.

Upon the taking of *Ostia*, *Cincio Capizucchi* being detached away, *Palestina* and the Fortrefs of *St. Angelo* were retaken by him;



A. D. and not long after *Frascati*, by *Francis di Villa* and *Hierom Frangipani*; together with *Grotta-ferrata*, *Marino* and *Castel Gandolfo*; the custody of which places had been intrusted with *John-Thomas Epiphanius da Nardo*: This Person, who having upon many other occasions proved himself an expert Officer, after he had shewn the utmost valour and diligence in the preservation of *Castel Gandolfo*, (whither he had retired with his Men, and had at last been forced by the Soldiers to capitulate) suffered nevertheless a sharp rebuke for it from *Popoli*; whereupon he retired to *Venice*; where, despising the most advantageous offers, he kept himself private; that his Fidelity, by reason of what had passed, might never afterwards be called into question. *S. Polo* too soon after, held by half a Regiment of *Spanish* Foot, was in like manner retaken; the Townsmen falling upon the sleepy Garrison with such cruelty, that scarce a single man escaped to carry the news of the slaughter. The Towns being thus recovered on all hands, the Count *di Popoli* (who with two Companies of *Spaniards* and the Cavalry had retired out of *Abruzzo* to *Tivoli*) when he saw it impossible to defend the open Country without hazard, in the neighbourhood of Our Troops; fearing, that if he staid there any longer, he might be pent up between the narrow Passes; departed from thence, and went towards *Vicovaro*, whither *Gaspar de Feltz* had already come with his *Germans*. Having spent three days there in fortifying the place, and left two Companies of *Spaniards* under *Gomez de Torres* and *Peter di Castiglia*, he himself with the *Germans* repaired to *Arzoli* and *Otricoli*, to wait from thence the result of affairs. Understanding, whilst he was there, that Our Troops had invested *Vicovaro*, he sent an express to the Duke of *Alva*; from whom having received this answer, That he should not give the *Germans* any unnecessary fatigue, but keep them for the preservation of the more important Towns of *Anagni* and *Frusilone*, he reserved himself; whilst in the mean time Our Men, having opened a Breach by continual cannonading for five days, took *Vicovaro* by storm, through the flight of the Garrison, who being received into the Castle surrendered that also in a short time after. Near two hundred *Spaniards* were slain upon the occasion, the Fury of the *Gascons* and *Swiss* being with much difficulty restrained by the Duke of *Paliano*, who riding himself about the Ranks exhorted the enraged Soldiers to humanity. *Popoli*, frightened with this success, left *Tivoli* and went to *Ferentino*; and without doubt, if *Strozzi* had advanced to the Lake of *Celano*, he had not only gained an immense quantity of Provision, but had brought the Enemy's Affairs into the last danger: But he, contenting himself with sacking *Anticoli di Corrado*, and making an Inroad as far as *Subiaco*, had returned to *Rome* without any farther Exploit. At the same time, *Cavi* and *Genazzano* were retaken by *Francis Colonna*; to whom soon after *Monte-fortino* also, upon *Francis Brancaccio's* quitting the Place by *Popoli's* orders, opened its gates, and was afterwards burnt by Our Men. In this juncture, *Lewis Savelli* Count *di Collalto* and *John-Anthony Maneri*, both Colonels of Regiments, revolted from the Duke of *Alva* to the Pope, notwithstanding the dissuasion of *Gabrielli*, who exhorted



exhorted them to continue in their Fealty to the King of England. The *A. D.* Town of *Le Celle* was likewise attempted by *Savelli*, but without Success, being bravely defended by *Moles*, who often repulsed *Savelli's* party with loss. In the mean while *Alva* orders *Mark-Antony Colonna* to fall into the *Campagna di Roma* with four thousand *Italians* and six Field-pieces; and charges *Popoli* to bring back the Cavalry to *San-Germano*, and to draw out the *German* and *Spanish* Foot from *Veruli*, *Bauco*, *Alatro* and *Ferentino*, and send them away to *Venafro*, where he himself had resolved to muster an Army; for by this time he had heard of the Duke de *Guise's* approach. But before we proceed farther, it is requisite to explain first what passed this year amongst Our Countrymen, in *Germany*, and in other Places.

As in *England*, so in *France*, the Protestants were severely punished. For *John Rabec*, born at *Cerisy* in *Lower Normandy*, by Profession a *Franciscan*; *John le Roux* of *Anjou*, formerly a Clergyman, who had imbibed that Doctrine at *Geneva* and *Lausanne*; were both put to death at *Angers* on the 24th day of *April*. *John Bertrand* also, born at *Montoire en Vendômois*, was burnt at *Blois*; as were *Bartholomew Hector* a Native of *Poitiers*, at *Turin*, and *Hierom Casaubon* of *Bearn*, at *Bordeaux*: In which same place, *Arnold Monier* of *Saint Emilion en Bourdelois*, a Young man of twenty five years of age, and *John de Cases* of *Libourne*, aged twenty seven years, were indicted for the same Crime: But the Judges differed in opinion; some declaring for their capital punishment, and others for a milder treatment of them, and that they should be sent to some Monastery for two months or a longer time, if perhaps in that space, being better advised either of themselves or by the Divines, and more fully instructed in the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, they might be inclined to repent: For that it was not to be found either in Sacred or Prophane Writers, that such as at any time went astray from the Doctrines of Religion, were immediately put to death; which had not begun to be the practice 'till within the preceeding forty years: That an Oecumenical Council was now sitting, whose Decrees would shortly be published; and then indeed it would not be possible any longer to doubt, without manifest wickedness, of the controverted Articles of Religion. When therefore the Judges of That Class, which takes cognizance of criminal causes, could come to no agreement, but were equally divided; the matter was not decided by the milder method, in favour of the Persons accused, as is the practise with Us in Criminal causes; but, as in Civil matters, by the Principal Class; which happening to be inclined unanimously to Severity, the Parties, without regard to their age, were condemned to death, and remanded by the Decree of the Parliament to some Prison in the City (the gates of which were ordered to be shut), 'till the time of their execution: When the Fire began to blaze, the Spectators were struck with a Panick, and, as if an Enemy had been at their backs, fled this way and that way; and the Pursivants and other Officers, who were present, ran into the adjoining houses and prayed every one they met, to hide them, and spare their Lives. The Par-



A. D. Parliament of *Chambery* in the Dutchy of *Savoy* proceeded in the same 1556. manner against *John Trigalet*, *Anthony Laborie* and *John Vernou*, who had been sent from *Geneva*, in order to their clandestine preaching of the Religion condemned by the Royal Laws: And although the Citizens of *Bern*, who had maintained them in their Studies at *Lausanne*, urging the League by their Deputies, begged the King's mercy towards them, they could not obtain it, because the King judged those Liberties to be highly dangerous to the Realm. The mention of the Parliament of *Chambery* puts me in mind to give a brief account (because it was an Affair that raised a great heat and contention amongst the Lords of the Court) of a memorable Judgment, which at the instance of *Julian Tabouè* the King's Procurator had been pronounced by the Parliament of *Dijon*, against *Raymond Pelisson* President of the Court of *Chambery*, *John Boissonné* an Ecclesiastick, and *Lewis du Roset* and Monsieur *Crasins* two Counsellors; which Judgment was afterwards in this year re-considered by the Parliament of *Paris*: *Tabouè*, having by order of the Parliament been sharply reprimanded by *Pelisson*, and being a man of ungovernable Passion, was immoderately vexed; and waited a convenient opportunity for revenging the Affront, which he supposed himself to have received by that Correction. Before the way was opened for robbing the Royal Treasury by frauds and licentious practises; the Nobles, who were the most intent upon gain, in order to support their necessary expences at Court, used to raise money from Informations and such-like odious Accusations, and had Spies dispersed up and down the Country, who served them in the gratification of their Avarice. *Tabouè* therefore, having four years before made a bargain with the Duke *De Guise*, to whom the Estates of the condemned Persons would fall by virtue of the King's Grant, had charged *Pelisson* and others with Bribery and Extortion. The Tryal was committed to the Parliament of *Dijon*, where *Guise*, as Governour of the Province, bore the chief authority. The Parliament used extraordinary severity in their Proceedings; and commanded *Crasins* to abstain from his Office for a year, *Pelisson* to be declared Infamous in Court and banished, and absolutely degraded *Boissonné* and *Roset*, setting extravagant Fines upon the head of each of them. These Transactions passed on the 2d of *May*, the 27th of *June*, and the 4th of *August*. But those Gentlemen afterwards, through the recommendation of the Constable *Montmorency*, a Rival to the *Guises*, obtained of the King, that a second hearing of the Cause might be referred to the Parliament of *Paris*: Which, on the 16th of *May* in the preceeding year, abolished the former Decrees, ordered an estimate to be made of the Damages due from *Tabouè* for the Calumny, and the whole Question to be more thoroughly and fully discussed. Whereupon the Parliament of *Dijon*, looking upon This as injurious to their honour, and being supported in it by the Duke of *Guise*'s favour, sent Delegates out of their Body to wait upon the King, and to remonstrate, that it was an un-precedented thing, to re-examine the Judgments of Supream Courts. The too easy King, who was usually swayed every way by his favourite Lords, in order



order to gratify *De Guise*, sends for *Christopher de Thou* the President to Court, *A. D.* and *Claude Anjoran* and *James Viole*, Counsellors, who had been present at the 1556. Tryal; and, having heard *De Thou*, pronounces by the mouth of the Vice-chancellor, that the Court of *Dijon* had indeed acted sincerely, but the Court of *Paris* had decreed rightly and juridically: Accordingly he confirmed their Decree, and deputed an equal number of Judges out of each Court, together with six Masters of Requests, to take cognizance of *Taboué's* Accusations. These Delegates at length, on the 12th day of *October*, in the present year, absolved *Pelisson*, *Boissonné* and *Crasins*, and set a large pecuniary mulct upon *Taboué* in the name of each of the persons abused. Him himself they ordered to be stripped of his cloaths, and with his head and feet bare, a rope tied to his neck, and a torch in his hand, to be led in the face of the common-people through the Streets of the City, and to suffer the like again at *Chambery*. This Determination, as it loaded the *Guises* with reproach, so it rankled those Animosities, which having for a long time been secretly nourished against *Montmorency*, broke out at last to the Ruin of the Kingdom.

In *Germany*, this year, things went generally very peaceably; only that in the *Upper Panmonia* (now called *Austria*), and in *Vmdelicia*, the minds of the People were disturbed upon a religious account, through the spreading of the example shewn by the Allies of the *Augustan* Confession. Towards the close of the year, King *Ferdinand* had solicited the Princes of *Germany* by his Embassadors, that they would vote proper Aids against the *Turks*, who had re-demanded *Transilvania*, a Province exceedingly fertile and abounding with Horse; and to the same purpose he had held an Assembly of the States in *Austria*, where the People of *Lower Austria* demanded the liberty of chusing their Religion: But the King remitted them to the Diet of *Ratisbon*; and at the same time directed, that since the danger from the *Turks* was imminent, they should attend him on the 13th day of *January* at *Vienna*. At which time when they had assembled, upon the King's pressing for Aids against the *Turks*, they answered, on the last day of *January*, that the business of Religion ought to be discussed in the first place: That they had already been treating with him for above fourteen years on the same subject, and yet no satisfaction had been given to their Prayers, but harsh Edicts on the contrary published, which did violence to their Consciences: That the Thoughts of a Foreign War were vain, unless Peace were established at home; that is, unless the Minds of Men were quieted by the restitution of a purer Doctrine; in defect of which both God's Anger was provoked, and an Agreement in a general Contribution against the common Enemy rendered almost impracticable. They beg therefore, that what he has granted to other Provinces, he will not deny to the *Austrians*; and that the Ministers and School-masters, who profess a purer Doctrine, may suffer no molestation upon that account. To this *Ferdinand* replied, that it was not allowable for Him, who from his infancy had been seasoned and bred up in the Precepts of the Catholick Religion delivered down



A. D. to him from his Ancestors, to change any thing in it, or in any-wise  
 1556. to prejudice it. But as he was not ignorant, how many Calamities  
 this Division had occasioned, he had in conjunction with his Brother  
 the Emperor laboured, that a method might be taken for healing that  
 Breach: That the Council of *Trent* had therefore been summoned at  
 the request of the Princes; by which if it has not hitherto been possible  
 to agree matters, That must not be attributed to any fault of Theirs, but  
 to the accident of the Times: Yet, that it may be manifest to All,  
 how desirous he is to gratify his Subjects, he will in their favour remit  
 the Decree, which he had made concerning the taking the Lord's  
 Supper under both kinds, provided that renouncing all Sects they make  
 alterations in nothing else: He promised besides, that he would in no  
 sort molest the Ministers or School-masters, on condition that they  
 kept themselves within the Bounds of Moderation, observed this For-  
 mulary, and waited for a Decree of the Diet upon the Subject. When  
 they persisted in the Petition, and the King on the contrary ob-  
 jected the Decree of *Augsbourg*, and accordingly contended, that they  
 should be satisfied with the things already yielded; the Deputies at last  
 declared, that they could not desist; for that they had no instructions  
 to promise any thing, unless they themselves, their Ministers and School-  
 masters could first obtain a proper security for their Religion: Thus  
 they parted on both sides abruptly. The King having held an Assembly  
 of the *Austrian* States, goes into *Bohemia*; and summoning the neigh-  
 bouring Provinces to *Prague*, demands and obtains a supply of Money  
 against the *Turks*: And then, by letters dispatched to those assembled  
 at *Ratisbon*, excuses the delay; and, since he was obliged to repair to  
*Vienna* in order to expedite Succours against the *Turks*, appoints the  
 first day of *June* for the celebration of the Imperial Diet.

After the example of the *Austrians*, the *Bavarians* treated too with  
 their Prince *Albert*, the King's Son-in-law; and from Him, who de-  
 signed to ask money of them, they obtained for a time, that they  
 might receive the Whole Supper; and that, on prohibited days, if  
 necessity urged, they might eat Flesh. These Points *Albert*, having  
 first declared that he did not thereby mean to desert the Religion of  
 his Ancestors, promised to comply with; and to procure, that the  
 Archbishop of *Salzburg* and the other Bishops should approve this  
 indulgence, and confirm it with their own Authority.

But whereas, in *Prussia*, Troubles had already been raised by an Error  
 of *Andrew Osiander*, universally condemned, relating to the *Righteousness*  
*implanted in Us*; *Albert* Duke of *Prussia*, being persuaded by his Son-in-  
 law *Albert* of *Mecklenbourg*, a Prince tinctured with polite Learning,  
 declared in a publick Writing, that he embraced the Confession of  
*Augsbourg*; and commanded the Ministers of the Church to preach  
 according to it, promising impunity to all such as should obey for  
 the future. The same Duke of *Mecklenbourg*, calling some learned  
 men to his assistance, effected, that *John Funcken* (the same who by his  
 accurate Chronological Tables has deserved the thanks of the Learned), a  
 Leader



Leader amongst the *Osiandrists*, openly acknowledged and detested his *A. D.* Error, and engaged to teach for the future according to the Confession of *Augsbourg*.

The same year the Senate of *Spiers* received into their City a Pastor or two, who preached the same Doctrine: And *Charles* Marquess of *Baden* embraced that Profession, borrowing Ministers from his neighbours, for the instruction of the Churches within his Territory.

Amongst these Heats, the Protestants, who had before with more caution than honour deserted the League made with Us, fearing the King's Resentment; when they knew of the conclusion of the Truce, took it, as if the Princes had jointly sworn their Destruction; and put This interpretation upon the journey of their bitter Enemy the Cardinal of *Augsbourg* into *Italy*, as if he was gone to *Rome* to communicate the thing privately to the Pope, who at that time pretended a quarrel with the Emperor: That with the like view, under pretence of using the Baths, the Electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne* and *Triers* (this last was *John de Lëien*, who upon the death of *John de Tſsembourg* in the month of *February* had succeeded in his room) had lately held a Conference: For that being intolerably provoked with the Decree made the year before in the Diet of *Augsbourg* for the security of the Protestants, they minded nothing, but how they might procure its Revocation, and the Restitution of Ecclesiastical Discipline throughout *Germany*: And that, to the same purpose, the Pope had often treated with the Cardinal of *Augsbourg*, absolved the Emperor from the Faith he had plighted, and promised large succours and a vast sum of money towards the War: Moreover, that the King of *England*, who was designed to command the Army in chief, purposed to raise eight thousand Foot, chiefly of *Germans*, that the thing might the better be concealed; and, when all the Princes should upon the occasion of the Diet at *Ratisbon* be absent from home, to make an unexpected impression with his whole force. The Cardinal, who had sojourned at *Rome* for a whole year, and, being just returned, was making preparations to go thither again; in order to remove these suspicions, in a treatise written in the *German* tongue about the end of *May*, vindicates himself; and declares it to be a meer Calumny invented by the Disturbers of the publick Quiet; not unlike to That, which in the 28th year of this Century was raised by *Otho Becken* the Chancellor of *George* Duke of *Saxony* concerning a Conspiracy against the Landgrave of *Hesse* and the Elector of *Saxony*; which accordingly, as That fell upon the Author, who was afterwards beheaded for it at *Antwerp*, would at length recoil upon the head of the Contrivers themselves: For that no Project had been formed by the Pope in relation to the Decree, nor about making war upon the Protestants, during all the time that he had been at *Rome*: That the Thoughts of the Princes were turned another way, and the Pope on the contrary was now seriously considering the business of a Reformation in the Church; and that, as he had called together chosen Persons out of every Nation, so He too, tho' unequal to so great a charge, had been pitched upon by him to make one of that



A. D. that number; which was the true reason, that he had staid so much longer, than he expected, at *Rome*. For the rest, that tho' he was indeed heartily zealous for the Religion, which he had received from his Ancestors, yet he bore a violent aversion to warlike Counsels; and that he had never hitherto been wanting in any sort of good offices towards the Princes of *Germany*, no not even towards Marquess *Albert* himself; nor would he ever give any cause of complaint to the Elector Palatine, or *Christopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg* (whom he had always found to be a good, prudent and peaceable man, and had openly given him that Commendation), nor lastly to the Landgrave; with all whom Those framers of calumny designed to set him at variance.

Before this, on the 26th day of *February*, *Frederick* Elector Palatine, who had married *Dorothy* the Daughter of *Christiern* the captive King of *Denmark*, had died of old age at *Altzheim*, without Children: To whom *Otho-Henry* his Brother *Rupert's* Son succeeded; the same, who formerly run a risque of his Life and Fortunes, for his bold profession of the Faith of *Augsbourg*.

Not long after, in the beginning of *March*, the Deputies of the Princes and States met together at *Ratisbon*, and fell to considering of Marquess *Albert's* Case, referring the other business of the Empire to the ensuing month of *April*. By a Decree obtained through the interest of his Relations, it had been allowed, when his Adversaries in the former year implored assistance against him, that he might freely return into *Germany*, and that his Cause should be examined. At length, on the 15th day of *July*, the Diet began; whereat when *Ferdinand* by reason of the Troubles raised in *Transilvania* (of which we shall hereafter speak) could not be present, it was opened for him by *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*; who excusing his Father-in-law's absence, and laying before them the news which came every day of the Preparations of the *Turks* for War, desired, that they would immediately enter into a consultation for sending succours; that so the common danger, which threatened not only the Remains of *Hungary* and *Austria*, but all *Germany* in general, might be warded; also for contributing sums of money, which should be kept in certain places, and expended, as need should be, by the publick Treasurers for the uses of this War. And because in the last Diet it had been agreed, that in This a method should be concerted for the settlement of Religion, the King earnestly exhorted them to fall unanimously upon that business, and contrive some way for effecting it: Moreover, that they would take some care of the Coin, of which the people in general made loud complaints, as if by various arts it were adulterated, to their exceeding detriment.

In *Transilvania* there happened an Insurrection this year: And this was the reason, that *Ferdinand* could not attend the Diet summoned to *Ratisbon*. For *Peter Petrovitz* having solicited the *Turks* for Aids, the whole Province of *Transilvania*, for the causes already related by me, (namely, because the Covenants had not been kept by *Ferdinand*, but, through the introduction of Foreign Soldiers and particularly the Spaniards,



*Spaniards*, the Province was laid waste) revolted to *John*: And shortly A. D. after, *Francis Beveck* and *George* his Son, raising a Defection throughout 1556. *Hungary*, attacked certain Towns and Castles, by the assistance of the *Masi*, now called *Walachians*. Upon this favourable occasion, the *Turks*, whose constant maxim it is to make their own Gains of other people's Differences, invaded *Hungary*, from which they had abstained for three years, during their employment in the *Persian* War and another at home. For after the fruitless, and of all others the most memorable, Siege of *Agria*, *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* had sent *Anthony Verantz* Bishop of *Agria* and *Francis Zay* Governour of *Cassaw*, his Embassadors to *Constantinople*, in order to treat of a Peace; who spent three years in vain at that Court, 'till in the mean time the dispute with *Persia* was finished. At length, after frequent complaints of the Excursions of Our Troops, *Tuigon* Bashaw, (or, as you may call him, Bashaw *Stork*) Governour of *Buda*, resolved to revenge the Injury by Arms. Nor indeed were the Complaints of the *Turks* altogether unreasonable: For the *Heidukes* (a sort of Men who receive no Pay) made frequent Inroads near *Zigeth* and *Babotzka*, and the places about the *Five Churches*, and frequently robbed the Enemy's Boats: Which *Ferdinand* could not possibly hinder, not being willing to displease those Fellows, nor yet holding them under the influence or obligation of Oaths or Wages. *Tuigon* therefore mustering an Army of ten thousand Men, takes *Casposwar*, which was betrayed into his hands by the Garrison; and afterwards *Babotzka*; which, because it surrendered voluntarily, escaped ill usage. Advancing farther, and striking terror into the whole Country, he with the same confidence attacks *Zigeth*, which was held by *Ladislaus Kerezen*, and encamps within Culverin-shot. But upon the passing of a Cannon-ball through the middle of his Tent, he retired; and by seeming to abandon the Siege encouraged the Garrison to such a degree, that he suffered in two engagements with them, and lost near three hundred of his Men. When, provoked with the Affront, he went about to plant his Cannon; being frightened with the Constancy of the Besieged, and deterred by the Admonition of his Friends, the Winter also beginning to draw on, he entirely abandoned *Zigeth*. These things passed in the former year. At the entrance of the Spring *Soliman* recalls *Haly* Bashaw an *Epirot* out of *Persia*, and sends him into *Hungary*, with orders, that he should not dare to enter *Buda* the Capital of the Province, 'till he had taken *Zigeth*. When this Man came to *Sirmisch*, he sent a Messenger to acquaint *Ferdinand* with his design of besieging *Zigeth*; to which the King answered, that such Proceedings would be very unjust, when he had actually Embassadors at that very time at *Constantinople*, and was not conscious of any injury offered on His part: Accordingly he intreated a forbearance of violence; which however if offered, he signified his own readiness, tho' unwillingly, to stand upon his defence. The Bashaw therefore having summoned *Dervis*, *Amerh* and *Nassouf*, the Governours of *Five Churches*, *Babotzka* and *Cophan*, he incamps within a mile of *Zigeth*. The Governour of the Town, in the room of *Kerezen*, was *Mark Hortwath*; who



A. D. who had bound the Garrison by an Oath, that they would endure the  
1556. worst extremities, even death itself, for the liberty of their Country.

These consisted of two thousand Foot under *Benedict Topordij* and *James Radovanvaida*, and an hundred and eighty Horse under *Sebastian Vilaky*. *Zigeth*, more strong by situation than art, was built (as the *Hungarian Annals* testify) by one *Antem* a Lord of high Birth and noble Fortunes. It stands in a watry Flat, from whence it takes its name; and towards the North is joined by a Marsh, from whence its triple Ditch is plentifully supplied with Water. The Town lies westward under the Castle, and is very populous; and the nature of the Soil is such, that no Mines can be carried on. The Castle is defended by two Bastions, and a Rampart made of Osiers and Earth together; as is commonly the case of Fortifications erected in haste. At the approach of the Army, the neighbouring Inhabitants were strictly forbidden to carry any Provision into the Town. The Garrison at first made frequent sallies, in which they repulsed the *Turks* with a great slaughter: At length, on the 10th day of *June*, *Haly* himself comes with the whole Army, and having surveyed the Town, sends Letters to summon the Garrison to a surrender: But These tearing the Letters, without reading them, immediately sallied out, and maintained a close Fight from noon 'till night. On the third day after, to the southern side, nine Battering-pieces were planted against the Castle; and in the following night they fortified their Camp. The Cannon then fired upon the opposite Bastion; whilst many of the Enemies were in the mean time killed by *Radovanij*, who with fifty Musqueteers had ventured out of the Town. Then *Haly* throwing in Grenadoes, set fire to many of the Houses, and burnt part of the Walls, which were built of Clay and Straw. He next battered the Gate and the Wall of the Castle to the East. At length, having taken and levelled the Bastion, (in which *Michael* and *Gregory*, both of the name of *Bykshib*, lost their lives) on the 21st of *June*, in the Night, by the favour of the Moon, near the Corn-mills on the west side, he raised Platforms of Hurdles and Earth for the use of the Artillery, which in the morning Our Men in vain attempted to demolish. Then having filled the Ditch with a vast pile of Faggots, after long cannonading, by which a large Breach was opened, he made an Assault with his whole force, and was repulsed four times in one day, not without considerable damage to the Besieged; who nevertheless found means to burn about ten thousand Loads of Wood, which the Enemy had thrown into the Ditch: At the fifth Onset the Besieged, quitting the Town, retired into the Castle. The Enemy, taking possession of the Place, set up their Standards against the Castle, and encompassed the Dike. But the Garrison, in conjunction with the Townsmen, knowing how impossible it was to maintain themselves for any time in so streight a place, after solemn Prayers and recommending themselves and their Affairs to GOD, sallied from a secret corner upon the Enemy unawares, and driving them out with the slaughter of near eighty of them recovered the Town. In this Engagement, *Nassouf* Governour of



of *Kopban*, a Man of a monstrous stature and no less savage Mind, A. D. whilst by his vast Body he struck a Terror into Our Men, and was 1556. pleasing himself with the Execution, which through the favour of Fortune he dealt amongst them; was wounded by a Heiduke in the middle of the Belly with the stroke of a Sabre, which, being extracted with violence, drew out his Bowels as it were with an Hook along with it, and laid him dead upon the Ground. *Ameth* too was killed by a Musquet-shot. An Aga fell alive into the hands of the Garrison. The Heads of the Chief amongst the slain, to the number of twenty nine, were cut off, and for a Terror carried into the Castle and fixed upon the Battlements. Nor was it an unbloody Victory on Our side, *John Hagmasij*, *George Paladij*, *John Hotzbotbij*, *George Zekel*, and *Macedonay*, all Men of valour, being lost; besides a considerable number of Captains. *Radouanij* likewise received a Wound, but afterwards recovered of it. On the next day, *Haly*, nothing moved with the Disaster, batters the works on the West with four large Pieces, near the Redoubt of *Henyeij*, and draws a line without the Town; and then bringing the lesser Guns to play, tries to beat down the opposite Tower, and the Stone-Gate with the Buttresses: Next he finishes a Line of Circumvallation, leaving only two Apertures, through which he might advance to the Assault and retire again; one to the West, towards the Corn-Mills, under the Bank, which kept in the Water, out of the adjacent Marsh that supplied the Dikes of the Town and Castle; the Other, near the Redoubt of *Henyeij*; between which Apertures he with continual labour heaped together a quantity of Wood, in order to fill up the Dike. In that work five days were spent, 'till the Dike was left entirely dry: Which done, he raised a Battery over against the Castle and renewed the cannonading; which produced another engagement, wherein *George Kisdesij*, *Demetrius Thes-senij*, and *P. Petrudij* were slain. Then on the Eastern side, the Enemy emptied twenty thousand cart-loads of wood into the Castle-Dike, which Our Men set on fire, and entirely consumed. Upon this occasion, whilst the Enemy ran to put out the Fire, a sharp fight ensued, wherein on the Enemy's side near seven hundred Men were killed, and many likewise on Our side, and amongst the rest the Chevalier *Nicolas Czernel*, and *Balogh* an inferiour Officer. *Francis Kesa* too received a wound, of which he shortly after died. The same was in the night-time attempted on the Western side, where a large quantity of Wood was brought, and in like manner burnt: There four hundred of the Enemy were slain; and on Our part, *Lazarus Nagh*, *Martin Radovanij*, and *Valentin Thot*. When the way of Force failed of Success, *Haly* attacks the Besieged with Cunning, and with the kindest Promises exhorts them to surrender. Upon the refusal of his Conditions, he prepares force again; and filling up the Ditch with Loads of Earth, and leaving Baskets full of Rubbish on each side upon the opposite Bank, he raises three Rows of Platforms, covered on the top with Sacks of Earth; from whence, as from a rising ground, the Janizaries pour volleys of Musquet-shot into the Town; and, being covered with Falcines,



A. D. Facines, pester Our Men with great security: Upon this occasion 1556. *Gaspar Bathasegy* received a dangerous wound. At length, on the 12th day of *July*, Batteries were erected against the Castle, and such a furious discharge of Artillery made from thence upon the Besieged for five days together, that they began almost to despair of safety, and sent an Express to beg Succours of *Ferdinand* and *Thomas Nadaſdi* his Count of the Palace. But when with a contrary Discharge they had ruined the Battery at the Gate, they recollected their Courage, and, making a sally, set fire on a sudden to all that prodigious heap of wood, with which the Ditch had been filled. From that time the Great Guns and Musquets fired on both sides, 'till the 21st day of *July*; at which time *Haly*, who saw it impossible by any force to conquer the obstinacy of the Besieged, took occasion from the Siege of *Babotzka* to remove his Cannon by night towards the *Five Churches*; and the Defendants in the mean while, as if the Siege had been actually raised, set about the reparation of the Breaches. *Nadaſdi*, that he might call off the Enemy from the Siege of *Zigeth*, had incamped before *Babotzka*, a Castle situated upon the River *Rigne*; where a sharp Battle being fought, the *Turks* were routed with a great slaughter. On Our part were missing *Francis Steimenbrum* the Camp-master, and *Christopher Pollweiler*, Brother to that famous General *Nicolas*, who also was himself present at the battle, and had brought with him some fine Troops raised in the *Franche Comté* and *Alsace*. After the Engagement, as Our Forces were retiring towards *Canisa*, they lost near the *Drave* about two hundred of their Men, and amongst them *Nadaſdi's* own Brother. From thence *Haly* returns to the Siege of *Zigeth*, and incamps near the Wood of *Haxerduu*; where his Troops were harrassed by the Garrison with several slight Skirmishes; amongst which, a signal instance of Courage was shewn by *Mark Hortwath*, who, entering into a single Combat with an insolent *Turk*, cut off his head, and carried it back triumphantly into the Town. Nor yet did the Enemy sit idle, but tried the methods of Stratagem, tho' always without Success. From thence *Haly* advanced to the Castle; but was repulsed by a grand Sally made on a sudden by the Garrison. Nevertheless, as if he meant to continue the Siege, he drew Lines about that part, and renewed the Firing; and one while by Threats, and shewing the Heads of our Slain, another while by offers of *Soliman's* Mercy tried to bring them to a Capitulation. The Besieged instead of an Answer made a Sally, and always repulsed the Enemy with loss. On the next day, an Assault being given on all sides at once, the battle lasted for eight hours; and Our Soldiers made such a vigorous defence, that, tho' the Town was half-demolished, they could not be driven out of it into the Castle. The Bashaw therefore despairing of gaining the Town, on the 29th day of *July* withdrew from the Siege in a flying posture, having sent away the Artillery and Ammunition to the *Five Churches*. Two thousand of the Enemy are said to have perished in that Enterprize; and of Ours, by the nicest Computation, an hundred and sixteen. More than ten thousand Cannon-balls were picked up



up, and reserved for the use of the War. *Haly*, that he might not *A.D.* seem to have done nothing, when he had abandoned the Siege, before 1556. he retreated, partly burnt and partly demolished the Towns of *Babotzka*, *S. Martin*, *Gerefgal*, *Selye*, *S. Laurence* and *Kalmanchze*. All these mighty Attempts were defeated by the Arrival of the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*, sent thither by his Father the Emperor with *Sforza Pallavicini* and some choice Cavalry to the Relief of their distressed Friends. He with a small body of Troops drew up in order of Battle against the numerous Forces of the *Turks*, taking the advantage of a convenient spot of ground, parted from the Enemy by a Morass, which could not be passed without hazard. This boldness provoked *Haly* to such a degree, that, seeing a necessity laid upon him by fortune of either retiring ignominiously or engaging under a disadvantage, he had resolved to put all to the Chance of a Battle: And turning his Horse, he was upon the point of plunging into that dangerous Morass, when a certain Aga leaping from his Horse, laid his hand upon the Bashaw's bridle, and with a rude steadyness diverted him so opportunely, that all the *Turkish* Generals confessed it to be owing to the Aga's Interposition, that the whole Army was not destroyed. When the News of this Transaction reached *Constantinople*, the Bashaws, tho' they secretly commended the Fidelity and Prudence of the Aga, were unwilling that such a bold action should be recorded as unpunished; and thought it prejudicial to Discipline, that such an example of Liberty, however successful, should be delivered down to Posterity without a proper Chastisement; for which reasons they recalled the Man, turned him out of his Post, and continued him so long in a State of Disgrace, 'till they thought his Crime sufficiently expiated; and then, in no very long time after, advanced him to a much higher Post; that the Punishment might appear to have been inflicted, not so much for the Offence, as for the maintenance of Discipline. *Haly* was an Eunuch, but the Qualities of his mind compensated for the Defect of his Body. For the rest, his short Stature, bloated Body, fallow Complexion, sad Countenance, fierce Eyes, his Head sunk between his broad and prominent Shoulders, and two Teeth sticking out before like a Boar's Tusks, rendered him a very deformed figure. During his stay at *Zigeth*, Our Forces had by an unexpected Escalade taken the City of *Gran* (which is the name also of a neighbouring Castle) and carried off a vast Booty, with the Women and Children. The news of this being brought to him by a Messenger, who carried the mark of some prodigious misfortune in his frightened looks; the Bashaw ridiculed the Messenger's Consternation, not without the laughter of the By-standers; and making light of the loss of *Gran*, as what might easily be recovered, is said to have received him with These words: "What mighty mischance, Fool, what wonderful Loss do you tell me of? This, This was the deplorable Misfortune, when from hence (pointing to the seat of his Genitals) those Members were torn, by which I was a Man." At last, when a good part of his Army had been cut off in its retreat by the Ambuscades and IncurSIONS of the *Hungarians*, he retired broken and inglorious



A. D. glorious to *Buda*; where That General, who at first had raised such  
 1556. vast Expectations of himself, through vexation and shame for his in-  
 ~ auspicious Expedition, changed his hated Life for Death.

Some time before, on the 6th day of *March*, a great and lucid Comet, drawing after it a winding, fiery Tail, had appeared in the eighth degree of *the Balance*, and shone for twelve days successively: By which appearance the Emperor imagining his own death to be portended, had ordered all the necessaries to be immediately prepared for his Departure: And not long after, he wrote affectionate Letters to *John Hoyer* Bishop of *Osnabrug*, the President of the Chamber of *Spiers*, and to the Assessors, certifying them of his Resolution; and about the end of *August* repaired to the Castle of *Sudburg* built by himself in *Zeland*, in order to take shipping immediately for *Spain*: But first he dispatched Letters, dated the 7th of *September*, to the States of the Empire, signifying, that the Affairs of the Empire had been committed by him to *Ferdinand*, and exhorting them to pay their future obedience to Him. But as he knew very well, that, under God, the Electors, by whom he himself had been created Emperor, had the sole Right of Choice, and of accepting the Cession and Abdication, which without their consent would not take effect; he had fitted out a splendid Embassy, to be sent to them, and to be conducted in Chief by *William* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, *George-Sigismund Seld* Vice-chancellor of the Empire, and *Wolfgang Haler* his Secretary. But these did not discharge their Commission 'till two years after; either because, after *Charles's* departure from the *Netherlands*, the Truce between *Philip* and the King of *France* being broken, the minds of all people were held in suspense and uncertainty of the Event; or that in the mean time three new Electors had succeeded into the place of the same number deceased, and therefore it might seem an improper juncture for the holding of a Diet: For *Frederick* Elector Palatine had lately died (as we have said), and left *Otho-Henry* for his Successor, a Prince not very favourable to the *Austrians* upon a former account: But *John* Archbishop of *Triers* of the illustrious Family of the Counts d'*Ysembourg*, who died not long after, was succeeded by *John de Leien*; and in the room of the deceased Archbishop of *Cologne Adolph*, his Brother *Anthony* was elected: All which Persons, being newly promoted to their Dignities, found employment enough at home in the settlement of their Affairs. Therefore without waiting the departure of the Embassadors, *Charles*, taking leave of his Son *Philip* and the Duke of *Savoy*, who had come so far to wait upon him, on the 17th day of *September*, the Sun being in *Libra*, and the Moon in *Pisces*, at seven o' clock just after sun-set (for all these Particulars were accurately observed), he set sail from *Sudburgh*, with his Sisters *Eleanor* and *Mary*, Queens of *France* and *Hungary*. In the Fleet were sixteen *Biscayners*, and twenty *Flemish*, all Ships of the Line, with the Flag-Ship, in which he was carried, and many Transports and *Dutch* small Vessels; which were joined, first in the *British* Streights by seven *British* Men of war, then at *Portsmouth* by seven more, and again at the Isle of *Wight* by seven others.



others. From thence proceeding with a favourable East-wind he passed *A. D.* over into *Spain* without any Sea-qualms, and entered the Port of *1556.* *Karedo* in the Bay of *Biscay*. At which place he was received by a great crowd of Lords, and Deputies of the Nobility and Cities, who waited there to congratulate his happy Return. As soon as he touched the Land (as the Imperial Historians relate), he fell upon his Face, and kissing the Ground, said, "Hail my long wished-for Mother; naked I came out of my Mother's womb, and naked I return to You as to another Mother; and, to do all that lies in my power for so many Benefits bestowed upon me, I give and dedicate my poor Body and my Bones to You." And immediately he began to think of repeating, with the most solemn Formalities, the Abdication already made by him. This is performed in the following method: In the Cities, which have a Right to be of the Publick Council, two Heralds, dressed in Robes wearing the Arms of the Realm, mount a Scaffold prepared for the purpose; and, standing each over against the other, the one gives, and the other receives the Scepter, Sword and Helmet; and in a set form of words the Former begins thus: "To the happiness, I hope, of the whole Kingdom of *Spain* and the other Provinces, *Charles V.* Emperor, and lawful King of *Spain*, voluntarily divests himself of all Power, and appoints his Son *Philip* to be his Heir and to be King; so that all his own Rights of reigning, possessing and alienating are transferred upon Him, according to the antient Ceremonies and Laws, and with the same Authentickness, by which all other publick and private Rights are in the best manner usually transferred." Which having said, and delivered the Royal Badges which he wore, he departs; and presently the other taking the Scepter, Sword and Helmet, addresses himself singly to the People, and in the King's Name promises to do every thing, which may be conducive to the safety of the Realm and the People. This is every where in all the chief Cities solemnized with the loudest Acclamation. From thence the King went in a Chaise to the Palace of *Valladolid* in the Valley of *Oliveto*, where his Grandson *Charles* was then educated: Having staid there two days with the Child, when he thought he had sufficiently instructed him in the best Lessons of Virtue and Honour, he descended into another Valley near the Borders of *Portugal*, delightful for the excellent Temper of its Air, and the Beauty of its Hills, and watered with fine Springs and Rivulets; the same, in which that brave General *Q. Sertorius*, during his banishment under *Sylla's* Proscription, is reported to have fixed his residence, and where he is said to have been killed by the treachery of his Friends. In this Valley there is a Monastery of the Fraternity of *S. Jerom* of *Castille*, eight miles from the City of *Placentia*, and near the Town of *Scaradilla*, surrounded with very high Hills. Thither *Charles* retired, attended with no Guards, except twelve Domesticks, and contenting himself with one Horse, which he used for his Health. During his abode there, he heard the News of the Breach of the Truce: which he received with the deepest Concern, but comforted himself with this hope; that he foresaw the King's Affairs, which



A. D. which hitherto had been prosperous, would soon be distressed by the rashness of a Doting Pope and the Perfidy of the *Caraffaes*.

About the end of *October*, *John Sleidan*, when he had carried on the thread of his History thus far with exact fidelity and diligence, had an end put to his Writing and Life by the Plague, in the fifty first year of his age. He was born at *Sleiden*, in the Dutchy of *Fuliers* near *Dueren*, from whence he took his Name: A Person famous in this age for his Learning and Experience in Affairs; who had spent the greatest part of his youth amongst Us; and being long conversant in the family of *Bellay*, had acted and learnt many things of importance in the service of Cardinal *John du Bellay*: From thence, a sharp Prosecution being promoted in *France* against Persons suspected of Lutheranism, he retired into *Germany* and served the Free City of *Strasbourg*; and there, from the knowledge of those many things, which he either had born a part in, or had received from Men of credit, he set about the writing of his Commentaries. Not long after, *John Forster* of *Augsbourg*, a Man noted for his skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue, which he also illustrated by many elegant Pieces, after he had long taught at *Wittemberg*, died on the 12th day of *December*, aged sixty one years. Before him, on the 18th day of *August*, *Sebastian Corrado* born at *Arcetto*, a Castle formerly belonging to the *Boiardi*, now to *Julius Tieni* Marquess of *Scandia*, seven miles distant from *Reggio*, died at *Reggio* and was buried there in the Church of the *Dominicans*: He was the Principal Professor of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues at *Bologna*, and had formerly studied under *Baptist Eguazio*, and chiefly by his Instructions illustrated *Cicero*; and by that *Questorship* of his (for his faithful relation of it) and another published upon the same Author, merited an high reputation amongst the Learned, particularly *P. Victorius*, *Mark-Anthony Flaminio*, *Romulus Amaseo* and *Paul Mamutius*. Neither must we pass over *John Gelida*, born at *Valentia* (the native place also of *Lewis Vives* one of the most learned Men of the age, who died in the 41st year of this Century at *Louvain*, where he was Professor); who having studied Philosophy in his own Country under barbarous Teachers, removed to *Paris* then the most famous Mart of the world for Learning; where growing weary of that Sophistry, and those useless questions which spring from thence, agreeably to his sharp and acute judgment, he found it necessary to enter upon a far different method of Studies; and being better instructed in the Learning and Precepts of *James le Fevre d'Estaples*, who led the way to the revival of Letters, he attained in an advanced age to a purer knowledge of Both Languages, and applied himself to adorn his *Aristotle*; which he also explained to a numerous Audience in the *Cardinal's College*. From thence being invited to *Bordeaux*, he was made President of the College of *Guienne*; the Head Master thereof, *Andrew Govea*, having taken a journey in the mean while into his own Country to *John King* of *Portugal* in order to open a School at *Coimbria*; whither when he would have taken with him *Gelida* himself, together with *Patrick* and *George* two *Scotchmen* of the name of *Buchanan*, *Nicolas de Grouchy* and *William Guerente* both of *Rouen*, *Elias Vmet* of *Saintonge*,



*Saintonge, Arnold Fabrice* of the *Pays de Waes* and others; he could never prevail with *Gelida*, who was become accustomed to the French *Manners*, to return to his own Countrymen the *Spaniards*. He staid therefore at *Bourdeaux*; in expectation of *Gorea's* return; but upon His dying before the fixed time of two years in *Portugal*, *Gelida* was confirmed by the Senate and People of *Bourdeaux* in the Mastership, which in *Gorea's* absence, he had executed precariously, as a Depositary, with the greatest care and diligence: From thence he filled it with equal Credit for seven years; and at length, in this year on the 19th day of *February*, at the age of Threescore and upwards, he died in very low Circumstances, leaving a Wife and Daughter behind him; and tho' he was thought to have left many Pieces almost finished in his Study, yet we have no remains of his Ingenuity, except a few of his Epistles; and some others of *Arnold Fabrice*, which were published long after at *Rochel*, by the care of *James Busine* his Scholar; who performed this last office of Piety, rather to shew his Gratitude to a worthy Master, than that he thought them likely to answer the Expectations which were raised of so great a Man.

### The End of the Seventeenth BOOK.







## BOOK XVIII.

### ARGUMENT.

*The Truce broken by Our Countreymen at the instigation of the Caraffaes, and, to make some advantage of it, Doway attempted (but in vain) by Gaspar de Coligny, and Lens in Artois pillaged; a Manifesto being published against the Imperialists, wherein the motives of the War are justified. Francis de Lorraine Duke of Guise sent with an Army into Italy. Valenza taken. A Consultation held, whether they shall fall upon the Milanese then destitute of Garrisons, and upon Cremona, or march directly into the Kingdom of Naples. The Duke, contrary to the opinion of Brissac and the Biragies, leaving the Milanese behind him, and passing the Tanaro, proceeds streightways to the Duke of Ferrara his Father-in-law; and afterwards consults at Bologna with the Cardinal Caraffa, about the best method of invading the Kingdom of Naples. The Army being conducted through Fermo and Ascoli, Campli is taken by Storm. The Siege of Civitella, after many and vain assaults, broke up with loss. Mont-alcino in Tuscany attempted by a Stratagem of the Imperialists. Pienza surprized by Blaise de Montluc. The Lords of Correggio infested by the Duke of Ferrara, who sends his Son Alfonso against the Gonzagaes fighting at that time in the Emperor's service. In Lombardy, on this side of the Po, Brissac takes Chierasco, and attempts Cumi. A dangerous Rencounter between the Marquess di Pescara and Brissac near Fossano. Cosmo by a great and a prevalent Stratagem drives Philip to deliver the Territory of Siena to him. In the mean while, M. Anthony Colonna goes on in the Campagna di Roma. Paraica, a Castle of Frederick Conte, taken. Monte-fortino taken by Julius Orsino, and cruelly destroyed with Fire and Sword. The fruitless Siege of Piglio. Val-montone surrendered to Colonna at discretion, and burnt by the revengeful People of Monte-fortino. Palestrina surrendered, and given to the pillage of the Germans. In a Battle fought between Val-montone and Paliano, Orsino is beaten by Colonna, who, pursuing his advantage, lays Siege to Segni, surprizes Rocca di Massimo by the help of the Baron de Feltz, and takes Angorano and Felignano in the District of Ascoli by storm. A sharp Fight thereupon*



thereupon near Ascoli, but to the disadvantage of Our Troops. The Duke of Guise enraged at the Non-performance of the Promises, which had been made, leaves the Kingdom; and upon a message from the Pope, comes to Rome. Segni taken and burnt by Colonna. The Duke of Alva falls into the Campagna di Roma, and makes an Effort upon the City. Guise recalled by the King into France, after the defeat received at S. Quintin's. The Pope comes to an Agreement with Alva, by the intervention of Cosmo, and the Cardinals of Santa-fiore and Vitellozzo; and puts the last hand to the Treaty on the same night, that a prodigious Inundation of the Tiber happened. Florence too from the overthrowing of the Arno, and with Us Nîmes in Languedoc, suffered the like Inconvenience; and as far off in the East, at Sancian in China, such violent Shores of Rain fell that year, that they formed a Lake, (called from its figure, the Round-Lake) and swallowed up seven Cities.



WE enter now upon the Year one thousand five hundred and *A. D.* fifty seven, according to the Preface of that wise Prince *Charles*, a most fatal Year to *France*; wherein Our Affairs, brought to a secure settlement by the Truce, were, thro' the wicked suggestion of the *Caraffaes*, and the ambitious levity of certain other persons precipitated into manifest Ruin; and, from which Period of time, Our hitherto most glorious Realm fell under the Calamity of a tedious intestine War, and at length, by the means of the very Authors of this Rupture, lay exposed to the Depredation and Scorn of the *Spaniards*. The King solicited by the *Caraffaes*, after he had sent Embassadors to the Emperor still remaining in *Flanders*, and to *Philip*, to procure satisfaction for the injury offer'd to the Pope; had, at the close of the year, sent away *Francis de Lorraine* Duke of *Guise*, the first Prince of his Family in *France*, with an Army into *Italy*; that agreeably to the League lately concluded, he might assist the Pope against the Duke of *Alva*, who was already in Arms in the *Campagna di Roma*. And when he foresaw, that, by *Guise's* departure for *Italy*, the Truce would certainly be broken; that he might at least be some gainer by the renewal of the War, he had commanded the Admiral *Gaspar de Coligny*, Governour of *Picardy*, to make a sudden Attempt in the Enemy's Country. A certain Banker of *Lucca*, a profligate Fellow, after he had been ruined in his Substance, and lost to all Shame, thro' his extravagant courses; had betaken himself out of despair, as is commonly the case, to a solitary Life, in hopes of finding a hiding Place for his Conscience; and putting on a religious Frock, had fixed his abode upon a Hill, which overlooks *Dorway*. As he descended from thence every day into the Town to beg Charity; Nature being stronger in him than the consideration of his Circumstances or his Vow, he had curiously surveyed the Situation, Outworks, and Dike of the City, and marked the weaker Places; and had communicated his Observations to *De Coligny*: Who, tho' very unwilling to break the Truce, which he himself had sworn to; yet, when he saw Matters brought to such a pass, that by reason of the War between the *Spaniards* and the Pope, the



A. D. the two Sovereigns must necessarily come to a Rupture; he thought it proper to get the start of the Enemy, by some signal Enterprize. In the night-time therefore, on the 6th of *January*, whilst the Townsmen lay buried in Wine and Sleep, he planted an Ambuscade near the Town; but through a wakeful old Woman, who with her importunate Clamours at last raised the Guard, he was betrayed, and oblig'd to retire without Success. From thence *Coligny* went to *Lens*, a Town standing between *L'Isle* and *Arras*, (reputed to be the antient *Nimetacum*) which he took and sacked, and, after a licentious treatment, at last burnt; and having driven off an immense Booty, and made some other Excursions for a few days upon the Borders, returned to his own Frontier.

This was the first open Breach of the Truce: Which when the Imperialists charged upon Our Countrymen, instancing the insidious attempt upon *Doway*, and the cruel pillage of *Lens*; Our People on the contrary, laid the blame upon the War raised by *Philip* against the Pope, who had been comprehended in the Articles; adding other reasons, which were published in a Tract drawn up by *Charles de Marillac* Archbishop of *Vienne*; wherein, amongst other things, it is alledged, that *De la Marck* Seigneur de *Sedan* Marshal of *France*, a Prisoner some years ago, before his Release had been served with a Dose of Poison; of which he died shortly after his return home: That a Plot had been formed against *Metz* by the means of the Franciscans, who were suborned for that purpose, by *Charles de Brimeu* Count de *Megen*, Governour of the Province of *Luxembourg*, and by the Duke of *Savoy*: That secret Schemes had been laid for the surprisal of *Bordeaux*, by the Treasurer *Barlemont*: That lately, near *La Faire en Vermandois* upon the *Oyse*, a certain Engineer, *James de Flectias* by name, had been taken, who upon the Torture confess'd, that he had received a sum of Money from the Duke of *Savoy*, to inspect the fortified Places of the French Barrier; particularly *Monstreuil*, *Dourlens*, *S. Quintin's*, *S. Esprit* and *Mezieres*; and to take an exact description of their situation: That a Native of *French-Piedmont* had been villanously bribed to poison the Wells and Waters of *Mariembourg*: Lastly, That the Garrison of *Mesnil*, as if they could not find Subsistence at home, had made Inroads as far as *Abbeville* and *S. Esprit*; and They of *Chimay* and *Avesne*, as far as *La Capelle*, and *Rozoy* and *Aubenton en Thierache*; and, if occasion had offered, were ready no doubt to have invaded those Towns in an hostile manner: By these Arguments each Party excused itself.

And now *Guise's* Army had, in the midst of a most severe Winter, crossed the *Alps*: Through *Turin*, *Chivas*, and *S. Giacomo*, he came with the main Body to *Tricerro*, betwixt *Vercelli* and *Trim*, and passed the *Po* at *Casal de Montferrat*: Another Part, in such Vessels as could be found, fell down the River to *Pontestura*, a Town carefully fortified and garrisoned by the Duke of *Alva* above a year ago, ever since the taking of *Vulpian*, and commanded by *Emanuel de Luma*. The Garrison there sallying out, some Skirmishes happened; but always to the advantage of Our Troops, who were superiour in number. *Guise's* Army consisted



consisted of twelve thousand Foot, viz. seven thousand *French*, and five *A. D.* thousand *Swiss* and *Grifons*; four hundred Cuirassiers, and near eight hundred Light-Horse, under *Claude de Lorraine* Duke of *Aumale*, Brother and Lieutenant to *Guise*. The chief Officers were *James de Savoy* Duke of *Nemours*, Colonel of the *French* Infantry; *René de Lorraine* Marquis *D'Elboeuf*, another Brother of *Guise's* Colonel of the *Swiss* and *Grifons*; *Francis of Cleves*, *Francis de Vendôme* Vidame of *Chartres*, and *Claude de la Chastre*, then a Youth, but one who afterwards proved a great Example of military Virtue; and also *Gaspar de Nancy*, *Claude's* Cousin-German, together with others of the principal Nobility and Gentry: *Philibert Marfilly de Cipierre*, *Gaspar de Saulx de Tavannes*, and *Boniface La Mole* were *Maitres de Camp*. From thence, the Townsmen of *Forfulvi* (which besides retains the old name of *Valenza*) refusing to comply with the demand of Provisions; and the Garrison sending a haughty refusal, together with some Volleys of Musquet-shot, by which several of Our Men were wounded; the Duke of *Guise*, provoked with their Insolence, resolved to take revenge; and immediately raising a hasty Battery, from whence he could look down into the Town, plants his Cannon, and, continuing the Fire for five days, opens a Breach. Count *Alexander di Carpigna* and *Horace Spolverino da Verona*, were in the Place with three Companies of *Italians*, and two of *Grifons*; upon whose rejecting the summons for a surrender, an assault was given by the *Gascons*; whilst the *Swiss*, with the Cavalry, staid behind in the Camp for the Guard of the Artillery. Our Men, rushing on with loud repeated cries of the Pope's Name, carried the Town at the first Onset, and after a short Engagement, All who were in it, fell into Our hands. This happened on the 20th day of *January*. The Castle still held out, defended by the *Spaniards*, who also afterwards surrendered: All the Soldiers were disarmed and dismissed, and the Town-Walls levelled; but the Castle, by the interposition of the Pope, in whose name every thing passed, was preserved.

The news had not as yet come of the attempt upon *Dorway*, and the sackage of *Lens*; and therefore the Cardinal of *Trent* sends a Messenger to the Duke, to reclaim *Valenza* as taken during the Truce. To this *Guise* answered, that the Truce had been broken by the Imperialists, who fired upon his Men, and wounded several with Musquet-shot; besides that those were the Pope's Troops, and not the King's; and the Pope was at liberty, being unjustly oppressed by the *Spaniards* in the *Campagna di Roma*, to use hostilities towards them; that accordingly the Cardinal ought to treat with the Pope about it. Count *Alexander di Carpigna*, though wounded and taken Prisoner, being charged with the loss of the Place, with some others (who were afterwards tried by the Marquis *di Pescara*, and by his Orders executed); he, on the contrary, accused the *Grifons*, most of whom had revolted to the *French*; and certain *Italians*, who in a Fright threw themselves headlong, without fighting, from the Battlements. After the Duke of *Guise* had staid some days at *Valenza*, he advanced towards *Placentia*; leaving *Brissac*



A. D. with a few Troops in *Piedmont*, and *Lewis Birague* with a stout Garrison in *San-Giacomo*. The latter was very pressing, that since the Truce had been actually broken, they should go straightway to *Cremona*, which being provided with only a few Companies of *Spaniards* they should probably gain with ease; and That once taken, the Passes over the *Adda* ought to be guarded by four thousand *Grisons*, who were in the neighbourhood: That thus the Passage would be cut off from the *German Auxiliaries*, who were hired by *Philip*; which being done, and the Army led back again into the *Milanese*, That whole flourishing Province, then well-nigh destitute of Garrisons, and even *Milan* itself, where the Cardinal of *Trent* was then labouring under the utmost difficulties, would be reduced with little or no trouble: That this was the safest method of conducting the War, to unite that bordering Province to *Piedmont*, which the *French* already possessed, and then to advance farther; whereas, if otherwise they proceeded forwards, it could not be left at their backs without extream hazard. And indeed I remember the Cardinal of *Trent* himself (when at *Suriano*, a pleasant place without the City, he entertained *Paul de Foix de Carmain*, a Person of great fame, and comparable to the best of this age for Erudition and rare Probity of manners, as he was going to *Rome* in the name of *Henry III.* with a Retinue, in which I bore a part); that agreeably to his Eminency's humanity and candour, he openly and in my hearing said, that he gave hearty thanks to Almighty God for the fortunate Deliverances, which in the course of his whole life, in so many and great, honourable and arduous Affairs, in War and Peace, had befallen him; but chiefly for This, that, after the taking of *Valenza*, when the Terror of the *French* was spread through the whole Principality, and he himself was unprovided of Soldiers, Money and all other Necessaries, the Duke of *Guise* did not turn his Arms against him; for that it could not be doubted, but either by force or the natural course of things he would have reduced the whole Province in a moment under subjection to the *French*: But the Suggestions of his Brother the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who flattered himself with the most monstrous hopes, and those of the Cardinal *Caraffa*, who, blinded by Revenge and Ambition, hastened, in neglect of all other measures, the March of the Troops into the Kingdom of *Naples*, were the cause, that *Guise* did not acquiesce in those sounder Counsels.

Therefore crossing the *Tanaro*, and proceeding towards *Tortona*, the Duke descended into the Territories of *Placentia* and *Parma*, without the least molestation offered to his Army; because, although *Ottavio* had really made his Peace with the Emperor, he had not as yet shewn a disposition to Hostilities, and the Inhabitants every where throughout his Dominions readily furnished Our Troops with plenty of Provisions. Thus marching through the *Emilian Way* he repaired to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who about the beginning of *February* waited for him with a Body of Troops at the Bridge of *Nicia* (now commonly called *Ponte di Lenza*) in the District of *Reggio*. *Ferrara's* Army consisted of six thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse well appointed and ranged in order of Battle:



Battle: He himself, wearing a military Robe, and a Hat adorned with *A. D.* Jewels, to the value of a million of Crowns, stood dressed out for 1557. Ostentation in the front of the chief Nobility, and amidst a Blaze of sun-beams reflected from the glittering Arms of his Cavaliers. The Duke of *Guise*, as soon as he came within sight, alighted from his Horse, and in the King's Name resigned to him the Truncheon, as the Badge of his Office of Captain-General: The Other, sitting on horseback, received him, not as the King's Commander in Chief, I suppose, but as a Son-in-law. From thence they both proceeded to *Reggio*, where a fresh Consultation was held upon the Measures of the War, in the presence of Cardinal *Caraffa* the Pope's Legate to *Ferrara*, and of *John de Gabre* Bishop of *Lodeve*, the King's Embassador to the Republick of *Venice*. The Duke of *Ferrara* was of opinion, that the War should be carried on not far from home, and that the Army should be led to *Cremona*, which according to the League ought to be consigned into His hands; just as *Brissac* and *Birague* had before proposed: Others voted for marching against *Parma*; which also pleased *Ferrara*: But *Guise* opposed it, because *Ottavio* still wore the Royal Collar of Knighthood, and had not as yet renounced the King's Friendship. *Forquevaux* was present, the same who before the Battle of *Marignano* had conducted the German Auxiliaries into *Tuscany*; He declared for attacking *Siena*, which was held by a very feeble Garrison, and through the Quarrels of *De Burgos* and *Cosmo* might be easily carried; upon the taking whereof and the restoring the State to its Liberty, Our Affairs in *Italy* would not only be established, but an important foundation would be laid for the Conduct of the War afterwards in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But *Guise*, bewitched either by the Intrigues of his Brother, or by the vain Promises of the *Caraffas*, hearkened to no-body, but persisted in embracing *Caraffa's* Advice; contending, that without the least delay they should hasten directly into the Kingdom. The Duke of *Ferrara* therefore, foreboding no good from their ambition and rash counsels, although he himself was appointed by the League to be Captain-General, yet out of an apprehension, that if he led away the Soldiers to any great distance, his own Dominions would in the mean time be attacked by *Ottavio Farnese* and the Garrisons of the *Milanese* on the one hand, and by *Cosmo* on the other; notwithstanding the Cardinal *Caraffa's* insisting upon the League, resolved to stay at home, and content himself with furnishing Cannon, Powder and Ammunition according to his Obligations. *Guise* thereupon, taking leave of his Father-in-law, went with *Caraffa* to *Bologna*; where being received with a great appearance of Joy, when he saw, that none of those things which had been promised were made good, and that the Infantry was not yet drawn together, he made heavy complaints to *Caraffa*; who excused the Defect by the streightness of the time; but yet affirmed, that twelve thousand Foot were raising by *John-Anthony Tiraldo* in the *Marca d' Ancona*.

The Duke of *Ferrara*, leaving his Son *Alfonso* in the Army, took a journey to *Venice*, where he was honourably entertained by the Senate, who



A. D. who on the 8th day of *March* came out to meet him in the *Bucentaur*, 1557. and conducted him to his Appartment. Being thrice admitted to a secret Conference, he treated with the Doge and the chief Council, and in many words set forth the reasons, which had induced him to subscribe to the League; namely, the Obligation he lay under of supporting the Pope, who was then assaulted; the Injuries received from *Philip*; and lastly, the strict Affinity betwixt him and the King of *France*. When he demanded their Opinion upon the subject, he received no other Answer, than, That He himself, instructed by his natural Prudence and long Experience, saw very well what he had to do, and wanted no Advisers; and that They should remain constant in that Friendship, which they had hitherto maintained with him and his Father. From thence he returned to *Ferrara*; and, that he might not be unemployed, ordered his Son, with the Troops that he had, to reduce *San-Martino*, which in the absence of *Sigismund Gonzaga*, who had taken a turn to *Milan*, was held by some *Spaniards*. *San-Martino*, together with *Nugolara* and *Rollo*, being taken and strengthened with Garrisons, *Alfonso* marches to *Correggio*; and, having laid the adjacent Country waste (because the Lords of that District, when they might have observed a Neutrality, had lately entertained some Companies of *Spaniards*), he attacks *Guaftalla* a Town belonging to *Ferdinand Gonzaga*; but, being recalled by his Father, abstained from farther violence.

In a Consultation held by *Guise* and *Caraffa* at *Bologna*, on which Side the Kingdom should be invaded, three ways were proposed: The first was That through *San-Germano*, which formerly in the time of *Gonsalo the Great* had been unfortunately tried by the *French*, and was now very dangerous because of the extraordinary Fortifications added by the Duke of *Alva* to *Frusilone* and *Anagni*, through which the Passage lay: The second led through *Tagliacozzo* a populous Castle of the *Colonnaes* (which occurs on the Right Bank of the *Lago di Celano* to such as travel from *Abruzzo*); through *Vico-varo*, formerly the Castle of *Valerius*, or as others say, of *Varro*, and famous for the Birth of *Mark-Anthony Coccius Sabellicus*; and also through the Abbey of *Subbiaco*; which because of the roughness and unevenness of the Mountains and Vallies was exceeding difficult: The third appeared equally inconvenient, which led through *Città Ducale* to *Rieti*: The safer Rout therefore seemed to be That, which running by the Coast of the Upper-Sea, through *Fermo*, *Ascoli*, *Civitella* and *Giulia-nova*, proceeds to the *Tronto*; both because it was smoother, and because the Soldiers raised by *Tiraldo* had already rendezvoused in those parts: To this was added, that the Army marching this way might more expeditiously enter *La Puglia*, a fertile Province, abounding with all sorts of necessaries. When this Rout had been settled, the Duke of *Guise* with *Caraffa*, leaving *Bologna*, advanced to *Friuli* and *Ravenna*; and from thence proceeding through the *Marca d'Ancona*, reached *Faenza*, *Forli*, *Cesena* and lastly *Rimini*; where *Paul Giordano* the Head of the House of *Orsino*, and *Cosmo's* Son-in-law, by order of the Pope joined him: Then, the Army  
being



being sent forwards to *Gesi*, the Duke himself repaired to *Pesaro*, to A. D. treat with the Duke of *Urbino*; from whence he shortly after took Post 1557. Horses with *Caraffa* to salute the Pope at *Rome*.

In the mean time, at the noise of *Guise's* approach, the Duke of *Alva*, sending *Ascanio della Corgna* to inspect the places about *Naples*, which he had ordered to be fortified, recalls the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, whom he had left in the *Campagna di Roma*, and distributes them in Garrison through the Towns of *Abruzzo*. He himself by great Journeys went on the 11th day of *April* with a slender Retinue to *Sulmona*; from whence pursuing his way to *Chieti* and *Atri*, when he had confirmed the Minds of the Inhabitants, and commanded *Santa-fiore* to repair to his Charge of *Civitella*, he returned to *Sulmona*, in order to collect his dispersed Parties of Horse and Foot into one Body. *Charles Loffredi* was already in *Civitella*, a Youth of extraordinary Courage; who had been left there by his Father *Alfonso* Marquess of *Trevico* with twelve hundred *Italians* and two Companies of Townsmen: But when the Inhabitants, at the report of a Siege, were beginning to waver, *Santa-fiore* comes luckily up, with *Francis Portio* and thirty Light-horse, after he had by travelling night and day with difficulty escaped falling into Our hands: For by this time Our Troops had advanced beyond *Fermo* and *Ascoli*, and joined Those of the Pope.

When they were all assembled, *Tiraldo*, who bore the chief military Command, on the 17th day of *April*, with fifteen hundred of his own Men, and about five hundred of Ours, marches to *Campoli*, a Town divided into three parts, at the distance of three miles from *Civitella*. The Townsmen being summoned to surrender by the Duke of *Guise*, (who professed himself to be sent on purpose to establish not only Them, but the whole Kingdom in its Liberty) and accompanying their refusal with manifest Tokens of an hostile Intention, Our Troops immediately laid Ladders to the walls and mounted to the Assault, on that side, which faces the New Citadel; from whence being repulsed with loss, they renewed the Fight with more fury; and at length, by the joint efforts of their Comrades on all sides, gained the Market; where, without regard to Age or Sex, they defiled every place with Blood and Lust, not sparing even the Virgins dedicated to GOD. A Few, who had escaped into *Nocera* (so they call the third Division of the Town) after the first rage had evaporated, were treated with more humanity. A prodigious Booty, exceeding two hundred thousand Crowns (as *Alexander Andrea* relates) fell into Our hands; great part of which, having been a long time buried, and never known to the Inhabitants, was now discovered upon the demolishing the Houses and undermining the Walls; besides a vast quantity of Provision for the refreshment of the Soldiers. *Campoli* being taken, Our Troops made Excursions as far as the Gates of *Civitella*, much about the time, that *Santa-fiore* by *Alva's* orders entered the Place. *Teramo* shortly after capitulated, and the Ecclesiastical Forces infested the *Valle Siciliana*, *Colonnella*, *Corteguerra*, *Corropoli* and *Giulia-nova* with continual Ravages. Frequent Skirmishes happened near *Civitella*, through the Sallies of the Garrison under the



A. D. direction of *Charles Loffredi*. At length, on the 24th day of April, 1557. on the arrival of the Duke of *Guise* (who had staid a long time in the neighbourhood of *Fermo* in expectation of the Papal Forces) and the Marquess of *Monte-bello*, the City was invested; because it looked better to maintain the Army in the Enemy's Country, to the great ease of the Confederates, than to sit at home unprofitably at the expence of their honour. Eight days were spent in viewing the Place, and conveying the Artillery and other things necessary for a Cannonading; which being past, the Guns were planted against that part which jets out between the East and the South. *Civitella*, a Town of the antient *Caraceni*, stands upon an high Hill inaccessible on the northern side, and through one of its Gates looks down into the *Adriatick* Sea. At the bottom of the Hill it formerly had a Citadel defended with five Bastions, which a little before the arrival of *Charles VIII.* in *Italy* had been destroyed by the Townsmen, that they might not be exposed to the Depredations of an insolent Garrison. Towards the West, where it is more sloping, it overlooks the River *Librata*, which rising not far off out of the *Apennine* Hill near *Cerqueto*, intersects the Valley with its winding Streams (from whence it formerly bore the name of *Viperata*) and discharges itself into the Sea near *S. Egidio*. A little below is the *Salino*, which, leaving *Turtureto* on the left hand, runs away towards *Giulia Nova*. The Cannon played upon that part, which faces the South-east; and when by the continual firing a large Breach had been opened, it appeared exceeding difficult to climb up to it; because the Ascent was both very steep, and through the immoderate Rains very slippery; which, as it perplexed Our Men, was no less convenient to the Besieged; who laboured under a want of Water, and except one single Spring, which the Marquess *di Trevico* by extending the Wall had included within the Town, and a few Cisterns, had no other Supply. During the Duke of *Guise's* delay in giving the Assault, no time was lost by the Besieged; who laboured incessantly night and day upon the repair of the Breach; especially the Women, who nothing frightened equalled the Men in Courage; and tho' many of them were killed, the rest came on with so much the more alacrity; and even wearing the Arms of Men, that the Garrison might appear the more numerous, ventured boldly abroad in the sight of Our Army. There were in the Town four smaller pieces of Cannon, which the Marquess *di Trevico* had caused to be brought thither from *Aquila* before the Siege. These *Santa-fiore* removed now to This and now to That part, with so much dispatch, because of their lightness, that the whole Town within seemed to be surrounded with Artillery. By the firing of these Guns in return, Our Troops were cruelly infested, the wheels of their Carriages being generally broken by them, and the Carpenters employed about them slain: For the prevention of which inconveniency, the Duke of *Guise* changing the Batteries, and removing the Guns to the side facing the Hills, where the Citadel stood, ordered two Galleries to be made of Beams and Planks laid across, which were pushed on by Wheels, and are vulgarly called Cats; after the fashion of Those, which serve



serve for covering the Ordnance from the Rain. Thus two thousand *A. D.* Musqueteers, covered as it were with a Shell, advanced to the bottom 1557. of the wall about the first watch: But on that Quarter, which was steep, and guarded with two prominent Bastions, the Enemy had drawn a Ditch within. When *Santa-fiore* had run to sustain the Cannon, which played upon the Castle; the Duke of *Guise* about midnight gives an Assault on the side where the Ditch was, and was warmly received by *Angelo Morro*, *Virgilio Florio*, and *Tullio of Civitella* the Captain of the Youth. They had designed to keep themselves close within the Walls, and letting the Enemy enter, to admit them between the Wall and the Ditch, where being hemmed in on every side in a disadvantageous place they might be safely engaged: But *Santa-fiore* would not suffer it; for fear, that, if Our Troops should once set their foot within the City, the Defendants would be dispirited and give way, whilst the *French* taking fresh courage from thence, might gain That by the Fault of others, which they could not accomplish by their own Strength: He sent therefore *Riccio di Cardino* with express orders, that on the contrary they should set themselves to prevent the Enemy's entrance at the Breach. He with about sixty Musqueteers, whilst the rest deliberate, descends to the Breach, which one of Our Soldiers had already passed, and, beating him back by a stab in the breast with an Halbert, led the way to the others to shew themselves Men. The Dispute upon this occasion was very hot, but to the disadvantage of Our Troops; who could not stand the fury of the Enemy fighting from the higher ground, and casting down not only artificial Fires, but such massy Stones, as even destroyed Those, who were climbing under the shelter of the Galleries. *Guise* therefore, after a very great loss, orders a Retreat to be sounded, and calls off his Soldiers. More than two hundred of the *French* were missing, and as many wounded; amongst the rest *Cupigny*, who lying half buried amongst the Ruins with his Leg broken, made such a crying out, as moved the Besieged to regard him, and take him into the City. Whether astonished at this Mischance, or stirred with Indignation against the *Caraffaes*, because the Promises had not been performed, *Guise* fell into a Passion, and expostulated very sharply with the Marquess of *Montebello* about the Pope's Conduct: From complaints they proceeded to quarrelling, and after mutual reproaches separated in Disgust. *Anthony Caraffa*, for his part, leaving *Guise* in the Camp, went by Post-horses to *Rome*; that, when he should have acquainted the Cardinal with the whole Affair, they might together make a guess at what we could do for them, and provide for themselves in good time.

At this juncture *Anthony Doria*, a Man eminent for Military Skill, and especially in Maritime Affairs, came to *Sulmona*, and from thence took a turn with the Duke of *Alva* to *Chieti*, in order to review the Troops ordered to rendezvous in those parts. They found there three thousand *Spanish* Veterans, under *Sancho de Mardones*; eighteen hundred *Germans*, led by *Gaspar Baron de Feltz*; four thousand *Germans* more, which had lately arrived from *Lombardy beyond the Po*, under *Alberick de Lodron*;



A. D. Lodron; about eight thousand, mostly *Calabrians* and *Sicilians*, under 1557. *Hannibal Gemari*, the Counts of *Nicoleta* and *Seminara*, *Salvatore Spinelli* and *Cecco Loffredi*; three thousand other *Italians*, whom *Alva* had ranged under thirty *Neapolitan* Cavaliers, as under so many Centurions; besides six thousand Foot, which he had distributed up and down *Abruzzo*, and placed in Garrison at *Chieti*, *Atri* and *Civitella*. Amongst the Light-armour, commanded by *Joseph Cantelmo* Count *di Popoli*, were fifteen hundred Horse; and seven hundred Cuirassiers under the Camp-master *John Portocarrero*. *Alva* supported by these Forces, when at first he had designed, breaking down the Bridges, to incamp at the *Pescara*; as soon as he saw the Duke of *Guise* employed in the Siege of *Civitella*, resolved of his own accord to march directly against the *French*; being superior in Infantry, and not weaker in Horse: Whereupon, leaving at his back the Towns of *Chieti* and *Atri*, which wanted, he knew, but small Garrisons, he drew from thence the Marquess *di Bucchianico* and the Count *di Matalone* (because perhaps he could not trust them) with their Men; and in their room placed, in *Chieti*, *John-Baptist di Tolfa* (Father to *Francis*, who in the Assault of *Ostia* had received a dangerous wound), a General of tried fidelity and valour ever since the days of *Lautrec*; and, in *Atri*, *Tiberius Brancaccio*. Therefore on the 10th day of *May*, leaving the *Pescara*, whither he had caused a great quantity of Artillery and Ammunition to be conveyed by sea from *La Puglia*, he made his next stage at *Atri*, and the following day incamped on the bank of the *Umano*, in this order: First stood the *Spaniards*, and *Feltz's Germans*: In the middle marched the *Italian* Infantry; and *Lodron* with his Body closed the Rear: The Light-armour rode about partly in Front, and partly in the Flanks; and the Cuirassiers were posted in the last Division. As they were ranged in this form, *Alva* had a mind to try their Courage; and ordered a sudden Cry to Arms, as if the Enemy had been at hand: When he had proved the Alacrity of his Soldiers, he himself was inspired with the more vigour to attempt the raising the Siege of *Civitella*.

On the other hand, *Guise*, in order to get the start of the Enemy, pressed the Siege home; and, having at last with much ado beaten down a Tower of antient and solid workmanship, the remains of the demolished Citadel, and opened a Breach of above sixty Paces in breadth, resolved to storm the place on That side, which, tho' vastly high, was not defended with any Outworks; and because he had persuaded himself, that the Enemy had by Intrenchments drawn thereabouts within the wall, prepared a last Resort for themselves, he sends forwards five hundred Musqueteers covered with large Wool-sacks, to possess the Top of the Hill, and there to throw up some hasty Works for their shelter; with this view, that they might fatigue the Garrison by their continual Vollies of Musquet-shot night and day, and at length compel them to surrender. But the Attempt was defeated, by a shower of stones and other heavy missile weapons, and by an incessant fire of the Artillery; which put the Duke of *Guise* himself, as he alighted from his Horse, in peril of his life, and absolutely hindered Our Men from reaching



reaching the summit of the hill. To this was added another Disaster, that *A. D.* in a Sally made by *Santa-fiore* in the night about the same time, many of 1557. Our Soldiers were killed and wounded; and the Wool-sacks, Mattocks, Spades, Mallets and other necessaries for a Storm, taken. A report in the mean while being spread of *Alva's* approach, and representing his Army as much more numerous than it really was; *Guise* detaches three hundred Light-horse and an hundred Cuirassiers, to get more full and certain intelligence of the Enemy. The Cuirassiers took up their Quarters at *Turtureto*; the Light-horse at *Giulia-nova* a Town standing on a rising ground upon the Banks of the *Umano*, not above ten miles distant from the Sea, and in a Country abounding with Wood and Provision. *Alva* from thence conjecturing, that This place had been pitched upon by *Guise* for his and the Army's retirement, in case he should be obliged to abandon *Civitella*; thought it proper to be beforehand with him; and sends *Popoli* and *Garcias de Toledo* with three thousand Spanish Foot, two hundred Cuirassiers and six hundred Light-horse to intercept Our Party: These setting forwards with perfect silence, on the same night that Our Troops were known to have arrived, crossed the *Umano*, and came to a Bank of the River *Tordino*, which empties itself into the Sea not far from *Giulia-nova*; and there dividing the Forces, *Popoli* by agreement fetches a long circuit to the Left-hand with the Light-armour towards a place fit for an Ambuscade; and *Toledo* advances to the Right towards *Turtureto*, in order to assault the Town on that side, at the same time that *Popoli* should probably have reached the appointed place; with This Design, that if Our Men, roused by the first noise of the Assault, should fly out of the Postern, they might fall headlong into the Snare laid by *Popoli*: But the Enemy's contrivance was in vain, through *Toledo's* too precipitate approach; which being discovered by the Scouts, Our Troops immediately got ready their Arms; and forty of them, whilst the rest were arming, sallying out of the Town, met by chance with the same number of *Popoli's* Party, who had not as yet arrived at the place of Ambush; with whom maintaining a close Fight in a narrow lane they at first came off superiour, taking Prisoners *Peter Henriquez* a Colonel of Spanish Infantry, *George de Lanoy* Captain of a Troop of Horse, *John-Baptist da Capua* and *Andrew Robert*: Which done, the rest began to turn their backs; less fearing the shame of flying, because they were covered by the darkness of the night: But upon *Popoli's* coming up, the Fight was renewed; yet in such a manner, that in the mean while Our Troops, which had staid behind in the Town, had time enough for gathering up their Arms and making a safe retreat to their Friends. After the departure of the French, at the very break of day, the Spaniards entering as Enemies into the deserted Town of *Giulia-nova*, pillaged it: And thither *Alva*, who thought that the Duke of *Guise* would presently fly to the succour of his Men, came also with the whole Army in Battalia, and spent some days there. By this miscarriage (which Our People magnified above the truth to the Townsmen of *Civitella*) when the Garrison nevertheless were nothing terrified, but persisted in their Resolution; *Guise*, by the advice of *Peter Strozzi*, who had lately come with the Duke of *Paliano* into the Camp, (since the Army was reduced



*A.D.* to almost half its number, and was unequal to the Duke of *Alva's*) 1557. agreed to break up the Siege; and, having sent away the Cannon and most part of the Baggage two days before, on the 15th of *May*, gives orders for a general Decampment. He himself, in order to secure the Retreat of his Men, staid in the Rear with a choice Body of Horse; having laid Ambuscades in proper Places, to intrap the Besieged, if haply they should sally forth. Nor was the Duke's surmise groundless; for They venturing out, at first without *Santa-fiore's* Leave, but afterwards with *Santa-fiore* himself, fell into the snare, and therein lost twenty five Men; which was a greater damage than they had sustained during the whole Siege. Thus the Siege of *Civitella* was deserted on the 22d day from its Commencement, after eight hundred Discharges had been made of the Artillery against the City: For so they were computed by some curious Persons.

Whilst things passed on heavily and unsuccessfully with the *French* and Papal Troops in the Kingdom of *Naples*, no time was lost in *Tuscany*, and in *Lombardy within the Po*. For *Cosmo* foreseeing, that though the War was undertaken only for the Pope's sake, the Truce would not hold long, had very early sent *Bernard Grazini* into *Germany* with a sum of Money, that he might raise three thousand Foot, to be commanded by Count *John d'Arco*; and *Philip* had also given him a Commission for levying four thousand, which he was to conduct into the *Milanese*. *Cosmo* had mustered likewise two thousand Foreign Soldiers, whom he had disposed amongst the Garrisons of *Prato*, *Pistoia*, *Mugello* and *Arezzo*; whilst *Chiappino Vitelli*, and *Gabriel Serbellon* kept a flying Camp upon the Frontiers, that, if Our people made any movement, they might be ready upon every Emergency. And now the *Germans* had reached *Casal Maggiore*, having scarcely obtained Provisions of the Cardinal of *Trent* for a few days; and were preparing, on the receipt of their Pay, to proceed through the *Val di Taro* to *Pontremoli* and *Pietra Santa*: And the Cardinal *de Burgos*, Governour of *Siena*, by the means of *Alvaro di Sandi*, the chief Director of the War, had recalled six hundred Foot from *Cremona*, and *Porto-Ercole* and the neighbouring Places. On the other side, *Blaise de Montluc* (who after the sorrowful Obsequies of his Son, and the taking of *Ostia* by *Strozzi*, had gone from *Rome* to *Montalcino*, in order to succeed Monsieur *de Soubize* on his departure out of the Province) got intelligence, that *De Burgos* had laid a plot for surprising *Montalcino*; but, not having the clew of the secret, he set himself with all his power to obtain it. Whilst he was musing upon this Affair, a certain Native of *Siena* comes to him, and privately discovers the Enemy's design to assault the Town at a particular place, which he named; that accordingly *Montluc* should be upon his Guard on that side. The place being examined, and the adjoining Houses narrowly searched by *Hierom Spammocchi*; in a Cottage, which had not been inhabited for a long while, there were found a great number of Ladders well fitted for Service. About the same time, *Febo Turco*, a double kind of a Man, came to *Montluc*, and promised to inform him of the Day when the Enemy would come. When *Montluc* therefore had set a day to the Garrisons



Garrisons of *Grosseto*, *Chiusi* and *Montichiello*, for their attacking the *A. D.* Enemy in the Rear, during the Assault, whilst he himself should encounter them by a sally in Front; then appeared the Falshood of *Febo* the Informer; who being thereupon apprehended, escaped afterwards by breaking through the Walls of the Prison; and, repairing to *De Burgos* at *Siena*, acquainted him with the discovery of the plot. Thus every thing being well laid, as they themselves thought, the Enemy were in no pain about Us; when *Moreto* of *Calabria*, who held *Monte-pescali* upon the Sea-coast, surprizes *Chiusdino*, and strengthens it with a tolerable Garrison from *Grosseto*, under the Command of *Asdrubal di Medicis*. *Sandi* presently posts thither with thirty Companies of Foot, five hundred Horse, and three brass Cannon: And *Montluc* too hastens the same way with a flying Party, to relieve the Besieged, if it were possible. He came first to *Monte-pescali*, and then advancing nearer within six Miles of *Chiusdino*, he sends Lieutenant-Colonel *Saint Genis d'Avançon* with thirty Musqueteers, and as many Cuirassiers loaded with Gun-powder; who, whilst he himself amused the Enemy with slight Skirmishes, got clear into the Town, all but five Cuirassiers, under the Conduct of Monsieur *Charry*. From thence *Montluc*, with exemplary diligence, returns to *Mont-alcino*; and the next day, whilst *Sandi* still lay before *Chiusdino*, bringing out a large piece of Ordnance and a Culverine, he attacks a Tower in the Neighbourhood maintained by sixty Soldiers. These, after the Firing, surrendered in the Evening upon Terms of Life. On the following day some other adjoining Castles, which incommoded Us, were reduced. These things being done, the Officers were of opinion, that they should attack *Buonconvento*; because they thought, that, after the taking of *Chiusdino*, *Sandi* would go to *Monte-pescali*. But when *Montluc* had repaired thither to view the Place, having in the mean while detached *Mario Santa-fiore* (who, with his Brother the Prior of *Lombardy*, had lately been reconciled to the King) and *Serres* Lieutenant to *Montluc*, to make Excursions as far as *Siena*; it fortunately happened, that they fell in with a Regiment of Foot, and routed it; upon which, the Cardinal *de Burgos*, who doubted the Fidelity of the Citizens, fell into such a fright, that he immediately wrote to *Sandi*, to return forthwith to the City, neglecting every other consideration: Which was the cause, that *Moreto's* Lieutenant and *Saint Genis*, although they had no prospect of defending *Chiusdino*, obtained of *Sandi* to be dismissed upon honourable Terms. He therefore, as he had been commanded, departed with so much expedition, that he hardly gave *Montluc* time to carry back his Cannon: Which affords *Montluc* an occasion of boasting in his Commentaries, that he prevented the danger in Time, and refused to comply with the other Officers, who promoted the attack of *Buonconvento*. *Sandi* had already recovered *Pienza*, where our Men under *Faustino da Perugia* narrowly escaped being entirely cut off, through the delay of *M. Santa-fiore*, who, to favour the escape of the Garrison, should have engaged the Enemy. For about thirty Light-Horse were taken there of *Montluc's* own Troop, and That of



A. D. of *Nicolas Orfino da Petigliano*; and amongst them *Monsieur de Gourgues*, 1557. a stout Man, and one who afterwards gained a considerable Reputation in an expedition to the *Indies*. The rest, under the protection of *Bartholomew da Pesaro*, retired to *Montichiello*. When *Sandi* afterwards, in a dark night, with Torches carried before him, marched towards *Rocca di Baldocco*; *Montluc* conjecturing the design, prevented him; and arrived first at the Town with the Prior *Santa-fiore*, having order'd *Trechasteau* with his Regiment to follow without Baggage. Thus *Sandi*, being disappointed, gave over the project. In the mean time *Mantel* and *Carillo*, the Governours of *Porto-Ercole* and *Buonconvento*, fell into Our hands, with twenty private Soldiers: For the exchange of whom with some of Our Countrymen, detained Prisoners at *Pienza*, when a Treaty had been often set on foot to no purpose; *Montluc* resenting the delay, entered into a scheme for the recovery of *Pienza*; in the Wall of which Town (as he had learned from *Faustino da Perugia*, the former Governour) there was a Place, through which the Common-Sewer ran, very easy to be entered by an Escalade: Which being passed, another Wall remained behind, which the Soldiers advancing might in like manner easily mount by scaling Ladders. In the Night-time therefore, he marches thither with his own Men, and the Regiments of *D'Avançon*, *Trechasteau*, and *Luffan* (who died shortly after); resolving, if he could not succeed by Stratagem, to compass his ends by Truce. Three hundred Men were furnished from *Chiusi* by the Duke *di Somma*, who, unable to bear the Pride and Treachery of the *Caraffaes*, had returned from the Duke of *Guise's* Camp: *Bartholomew da Pesaro* had brought an hundred from *Montichiello*: *De Blacons*, and the Baron *de Clermont* (who at the request of the *Sieneſe* had been summoned by *Guise* into the Camp from *Grosseto*) were sent with part of *Petigliano's* Troop, to block up the way between the Town and *Montepulciano*, and to intercept the succours coming from *Cosmo*. The Garrison, who had been informed of the thing, kept themselves close within, under perfect silence, prepared to fly upon Our Troops upon the first occasion. Whilst the rest delayed, the Captains *Trappes*, *Castel Sagrat*, *Les Ausillons*, *Coffeins*, *Bidonnet*, *La Mole* with a few more, entering the Place, were repulsed by the Ladders being broken, and remained between the two Walls, without effecting any thing to the purpose: At break of day, *Montluc*, vexed that an Enterprise undertaken for the deliverance of the Captives should have given occasion to a further loss of Men, prepares force; and when he drew near to the Bastion, and was come up to the very Gate, finding the Wall to be weak, as not being above the thickness of a single Brick, plucks it away with his own hands; and, ordering Ladders to be brought, prepares for an assault: Upon which, the Garrison falling into a Fright (because the Prisoners within had taken Arms) and flying this way and that way, he made himself Master of the Town: In it were taken *Peter-James della Staffa* Colonel of Horse, and his Lieutenant-Colonel and Standard-Bearer, with some of the Garrison. This Action, which passed on the 29th of June, *Montluc* extols above measure;



measure; and says, that it gave him a high Reputation throughout *A. D.* all *Italy*. *Adriani* on the contrary speaks slightly of it, and reports 1557. the place to be very weak, both in its Situation and the number of its Garrison; as being taken at a time, when, the Soldiers having been drawn out of it, the *Spaniards* administered every thing with negligence, out of their concern, that the Sovereignty of *Siena* had been transferred by *Philip* upon *Cosmo*: Of which we shall say more hereafter.

In a different Quarter, the Duke of *Ferrara*, by the help of His Troops, and the benefit of Our protection, had alarmed all his Neighbours; especially the Lords of *Correggio*, whom he harrassed for their Attachment to the Imperial Interest; and at length compelled them to enter into a Treaty, and to give Hostages for their good behaviour: But when *Hieronimo*, one of the Brothers, had refused to subscribe to the Treaty, and contended that his Brothers could make no Agreement without His consent; the Town of *Correggio* itself was seized by the Marquess *di Pescara's* assistance; and the Hostages, who had returned home upon their Parole, being retained by concert (in order to excuse their perfidy) a fresh Rupture ensued. *Lewis Borgo* of *Milan*, with about eight hundred Foot, commanded in the Place. *Alfonso* therefore, the Duke's Son, entering their Territories with an armed Band, lays every thing waste; and with two thousand *Swiss* lately arrived from *Ancona*, and one thousand *Gascons* sent by the Duke of *Guise* out of the *Campagna di Roma* (taking also *Cornelius Bentivoglio* with him, and drawing off the Garrison and the Cannon from *Bressello*) he first receives *Nugalora*, a Town of *Francis Gonzaga's*, upon his voluntary surrender, to submission; then takes *Luzzara*, another Castle of the *Gonzagaes*; and lastly, attacks *Guaftalla*, from which, by his Father's advice, he had before abstained. But in the mean time, the Cardinal of *Trent* and the Marquess *di Pescara* had placed a good Garrison there, and, with the consent of *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, had begun to fortify the place, though strong of itself, with new Works. However, *Alfonso* advances thither, and having seized and obstructed the Passages of the *Po*, closely invests the Town; though, during his preparations, Succours had been introduced by Count *Broccardo*, with a quantity of Gunpowder, which the Garrison exceedingly wanted. The Town being then more streightly pressed, the Cannon began to play, but without success, through the unskillfulness of the Directors: At length, through the frequent changing of the Batteries, the Besieged were almost driven to the point of surrendering; when *Alfonso*, for fear of *Pescara*, whose near Approach was currently reported, drew off his Artillery, and abandoned the Siege, not without a diminution of his Credit, throwing the blame of the miscarriage upon *Bentivoglio*.

Nor was any time lost in the mean while by the Marshal *de Brissac*, who, after the taking of *Valenza* by the Duke of *Guise*, drawing out the Forces, had formed a scheme in the beginning of *April* for the attack of *Valfenera*, a Fortrefs in the County of *Asti*, between *Villa-nuova* and *Carmagnole*, begun formerly by *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, and strengthened afterwards by *Alvaro di Sandi* with good Outworks, and a stout Garrison,



A. D. Garrison, consisting of four Ensigns of *Italians*, three of *Germans* and 1557. two of *Spaniards*. But *Brissac* happening, when every thing was ready for the Siege, to be seized with a sharp Fit of his familiar Distemper the Gout, was unwilling nevertheless to lose so fair an opportunity; and therefore commissions *Paul de Thernes*, that, with his Troops, making eight thousand Foot and six hundred Horse, besides a great number of Pioneers (who followed in the Rear of sixteen pieces of Cannon well appointed and furnished) he should undertake the Expedition. He therefore, having advanced the Trenches as far as the Ditch, after a violent Cannonading gives the Assault; and, tho' repulsed, sheltered the Soldiers so commodiously, that they could not be annoyed by the Cannon from above: He then fell to mining, and by his diligence so terrified the Besieged, that, although *Pescara*, who was then busy in raising a Fort for the Defence of *Val di Lumellina*, encouraged them to make a stout resistance, and promised to come shortly to their Relief; yet, the *Germans* having for some time before been discontented for want of their Pay, and now openly mutinying, the *Spaniards* were forced to accept of no very honourable Terms; *viz.* That they should be dismissed, leaving their Arms, Colours, Cannon and Ammunition. The Place, having been very inconvenient to Us, and interrupted the Communication betwixt the Garrisons of *San-Damiano* and *Cisterna*, was afterwards demolished by *Brissac's* Command. With the same Success, in the beginning of *May*, *Brissac* attacks *Chierasco*, a Town standing high, but otherwise conveniently situated, near the Conflux of the River *Stura* and *Tanaro*, held by four hundred Men, a Garrison no way equal to the defence of the Place. When it had been cannonaded, after a third Assault, upon the refusal of the Townsmen, through their hatred of the *Spanish* Yoke, to take Arms, it was at last taken by Force; and ordered by *Brissac* to be carefully fortified. He had not the same good fortune in the Siege of *Comi*, which was held by *Menicone*, a brave Officer, with a strong Garrison. This Town, secured by its Situation and a good number of adventitious Soldiers, and besides by the harmony of the Townsmen, faces *Savigliano* and *Argentaro* on one side, and *Saluzzo* on the other. The Cannon being planted, when by the continual firing night and day, and the repeated expensive Assaults given by Our Men, no advantage was gained, through the brisk defence of the Garrison and Inhabitants; they changed the method of the Siege, sinking Mines, and employing a vast number of Pioneers, by whose labours the Walls were for the most part thrown down and the Bastions overturned. But when still the Garrison resisted valiantly, and in emulation of them the Townsmen, animated by the presence of the Women, (who with their daughters ran chearfully and undauntedly to the repair of the Breaches) did the like; *Brissac* changes his method once more, and, by drawing Lines closely about the Town, resolves to force them to a Capitulation by Famine. But when *Pescara* began to approach with five thousand Foot, and a great number of fresh Cavalry, which setting out from *Asti* marched through unbeaten Roads on the right hand of *Carmagnole*; and when a supply of



of Provision had been introduced; *Brissac* then, seeing his Army decreasing every day, at length raises the Siege, and returns home. In 1557. his retreat, learning, that some new Recruits of the Enemy headed by a number of Nobility were following *Pescara*, and lay hard by, he immediately advances that way; and, laying an Ambuscade in a Wood, through which they were obliged to pass, surprised them unawares, and either disarmed or took many of them prisoners; narrowly missing *Francis Gonzaga* Count of *Nagolara*, who by the help of *Julian Carvajal* a Spaniard escaped: A great load of Booty was taken by Our Men upon this occasion. *Pescara* having mended the Breaches of *Coni*, and placed a stronger Garrison in it, comes to *Fossano*; where venturing to engage with *Brissac*, his superiour in force, he maintained a very sharp and hazardous Battle; and at length, through By-ways, the better to deceive Our Ambuscades, escaped safe with his Troops to *Asli*: Next *Brissac* attempts *Fossano*, which was held by *John-Francis da Costa* Count della *Trinita* and a stout Garrison of Spaniards, but without Success, Our Forces being unable to cope with the situation of the place, the new raised Works, and the strength of the Soldiery.

At this time a great Accession was made to the Fortunes of *Cosmo* Duke of *Florence*; by *Philip's* transferring upon him, against the consent of the Spaniards, and (what is more wonderful) against the good-will of himself the Donor, the Possession of the *Sieneſe* Territories, in the same manner as it had been conferred upon himself by his Father the Emperor. In which Affair, we are at a loss which to admire most, whether the Prudence and Ingenuity of *Cosmo*, or his Felicity, through which his newly erected Sovereignty in *Tuscany* (which, tho' hitherto prosperous enough, yet had been tossed with many vicissitudes), now at last by this Increase received both an Improvement and an Establishment; or all that Civil War, which had raged in its Bowels, being quite banished, and laid asleep in a moment: For the Truce betwixt Us and *Cosmo* still continued; and *Montluc* took diligent Care, that it should not be violated: Only between the Spaniards, who held *Siena* and the maritime Places, and Our Troops, a War was carried on; which then by the Delivery of *Siena* came to an end, and was removed far enough from the Territories of *Florence* into the Provinces bordering upon the Sea; where the Spaniards, on the account of the Posts which they still retained there, and the French, annoyed one another with continual Excursions. How this matter was brought to a conclusion, because it is highly memorable, it may be worth the while to explain more at large. *Cosmo* had frequently before pressed the Imperialists, that either the Money lent for the Emperor's service might be repaid, or that instead of it the District of *Piombino* might be consigned to him. This had once been done and then retracted, and *Piombino* even taken from him in a disrespectful manner, of which he had for a time dissembled his Resentment. But he had ever since been dealing by his Ministers with the Emperor and afterwards with *Philip* for some satisfaction; and when he had afterwards expended vast Sums in the *Sieneſe* War, he had conceived hopes of obtaining from them not only the Lordship of *Piombino*, but the



A. D. the whole *Sieneſe* Territory. Which Thought of His however, that he might not make his Fidelity and Services to be ſuſpected by the *Spaniards*, he prudently concealed, frequently renewing his Petition, and mentioning *Piombino* only; in expectation, no doubt, of a convenient opportunity, when he might declare his ſecret Intention, and gain what he ſo ardently deſired. As he was looking about him, and catching at every Proſpect of Succeſs, it happened luckily, that *Bongiammi Gianfigliacci* his Embaſſador at *Rome* fell into a Converſation with the Pope, about the means of composing the Troubles of *Italy*; in which the Pope ſaid, that he did not ſee any other method, than, that the Poſſeſſion of *Siena* with its Diſtrict ſhould by common conſent be delivered into His hands; for that the *French*, being weary of the Expence, would eaſily agree to it; nor would the *Spaniards* violently oppoſe it, provided the *French* would abandon *Tuſcany*; and that hopes had already been given him by *Philip's* Miniſters of obtaining it, if it could be done with *Cosmo's* good leave, and ſatisfaction were made to him for the Charges of the War, and the Debts owed to him by the *Spaniards*. *Gianfigliacci*, although he was well acquainted with *Cosmo's* Deſigns, having liſtened attentively to this Diſcourſe, made no Reply; but preſently ſent an account of the whole to *Cosmo*; who, tho' moved with a due Concern at it, yet, as he was a perfect Maſter of Diſſimulation, ſent Orders to *Gianfigliacci*, that he ſhould not ſhew the leaſt mark of uneaſineſs, but purſue the ſame Diſcourſe with the Pope, and ſhew out the ſecret that way, as far as poſſible. About this time *Francis Paceco*, who had been diſpatched into *England* to *Philip* with the Propoſals of Peace, returned to the Duke of *Alva*, and among other Inſtructions brought This alſo from the King, that, if no other method of Concord could be entered into, ſince he was ſo very deſirous of giving over the War againſt the Pope, He and the *Caraffaes* might agree for the Territory of *Siena* upon the beſt Terms; but he ſhould endeavour that *Cosmo's* conſent might alſo be had. For Thus he judged it conducive to his Intereſt, that, if he could not retain the Dominion of *Siena*, the Favour ſhould be beſtowed rather upon ſome new Dependants, than upon the Duke of *Florence*, already powerful enough, and bound to him by many Obligations; that ſo, by diſtributing the ſeveral Parcels of *Italy* into many hands, he might preſerve a Paramount-Sovereignty over the whole. When *Cosmo* had learnt this from his Kinſman *Alva*, he deſired him not to be over-haſty in the matter; but that, in conſideration of the Difficulties propoſed, he would allow him ſo much time as ſhould be neceſſary for the explaining of thoſe things to *Philip* by his Embaſſadors; that he might divert the King from a Counſel pernicious to *Italy*, and detrimental to his own Friends: Which Indulgence he eaſily obtained from a Perſon, who favoured his Intereſt. He immediately therefore writ at large to *Alfonſo Tornabon* then in *England*, and gave him notice, that he would ſhortly ſend his wife's brother *Lewis de Toledo* to *Philip*: In the mean time he charges him, to preſs *Philip* frequently to give ſome ſecurity for that great Debt; which he did the more earneſtly, becauſe at that juncture he knew the King ſtood in the utmoſt



utmost need of his Aid and Friendship, *Brissac* on one side making daily *A. D.* Progresses in *Piedmont*, and *Guise* on the other side invading the Kingdom, 1557. which was ready of itself to revolt; whereby, the Affairs of the *Spaniards* declining in *Italy*, *Cosmo*, to which ever side he should lean, would be of great importance either to the Support or the Ruin of them. Which opportunity he greedily laid hold of, and gave *Lewis de Toledo* Instructions, " That, " artfully deploring the State of *Italy*, after he should have explained " the Distress of his Circumstances in the *Milanes*e and *Tuscany*, he " should crave Pardon for *Cosmo* and himself, if in His Name he took " the liberty to expostulate with his Majesty, and complain of undue " Returns made to his Merits: That his Master had omitted no pains " or Service, that lay in his Power, whereby he might contribute to " the Maintenance of *Philip* and his Father's Grandeur, throughout all " *Italy* and particularly in *Tuscany*, and to the preservation of a general " Obedience and Regard to them: That hence he had plunged " himself into vast Debts; and his Subjects, from whom he had " borrowed the Money, being involved with him, were frequently " calling upon him to make good his Engagements; and that he could " not desert them without the infallible Ruin of his Fortunes; or, if " that danger were not in the case, certainly not without the most " scandalous Wickedness: That *Philip* ought therefore not to wonder, " if he often assaulted his ears with importunate Sollicitations, and " Demands of Satisfaction: For his affairs were now reduced to such a " Pass, that he must necessarily be paid not by Words, as had been hitherto " done, but by Deeds; unless he would be content with the Ruin of " himself and *Philip's* Affairs also; there remaining no longer any room " for dissembling: That nevertheless *Cosmo* heard, that, without any " regard had of Him, his Merits, or the Debts which he had contracted for His Majesty's Service in *Tuscany*, Proposals had been made " in the Royal Council for delivering the *Siene*se Dominions to the " *Caraffaes*, and that a Commission had been directed to the Duke of " *Alva* for that purpose: Which tho' he could hardly believe to have " been seriously meant by *Philip*, yet he was apprehensive, that what " was now done perhaps only for shew, to keep the *Caraffaes* in good " humour, might hereafter be found to be really necessary: He begged " therefore in the most humble manner, that *Philip* would consider " what a bad provision he would make for his future Interests, if a " set of Men, by nature fierce and proud, full of Resentments for a " pretended Injury, and moreover Exiles and vindictive, should be " exalted by him to that most flourishing, tho' small, part of *Tuscany*: " For without all doubt, the *Caraffaes*, remembering less the fresh " Obligation, (which they will look upon as extorted from the King " against his will, if it be granted to them at this time) than their " old Affront, will employ all this additional strength to revenge the " Injury: *Cosmo* certainly, who has always followed the Imperial Party, " and has therefore provoked the King of *France* to be his Enemy, " must be considered by them as an Accomplice: So that he has " reason to fear (what *Philip* perhaps in confidence of his Power may " VOL. II. 2. X neglect),



A. D. 1557. " neglect), lest They, becoming bolder by this accession, may revenge  
 " the Quarrel upon Him; and turn upon Him That violence, which  
 " they either dare not or cannot exert against *Philip*. And who can  
 " tell, whether They may not hereafter so far influence the King by  
 " their Calumnies, as to deprive *Cosmo* of his Favour? which since  
 " many even now attempt, when by reason of their Joint Interests there  
 " can be less room for suspicion, what may not he afterwards expect,  
 " when, the *French* being driven out of *Tuscany*, the Cause of that  
 " Relation and Union shall cease? Therefore, although *Philip* as a Su-  
 " perior may condemn that Danger, he ought not to neglect his weaker  
 " Friend *Cosmo*; to whom, tho' all his Debts were paid, no sufficient  
 " security can be now given, if he must have Those for his Neighbours,  
 " whom for the sake of *Philip's* services he has hitherto pursued as  
 " Enemies: That accordingly he could not safely restore what he held  
 " in the Territories of *Siena*, if they must be delivered to the *Caraffaes*:  
 " Which yet he both now was, and always should be ready, upon the  
 " payment of the money, to surrender, provided they may still remain  
 " in *Philip's* power, and that he may enjoy Him for a Neighbour,  
 " whom he has always cultivated as a Patron; and that This was the  
 " utmost of *Cosmo's* Desires: But if *Philip*, tired of the expence, was  
 " resolved to part with the State of *Siena*, it could not, without the  
 " most flagrant Affront to him, be conferred upon any other Person  
 " than *Cosmo*. For otherwise, this consequence might be fairly deduced,  
 " that the King either suspected his Fidelity, or set so low a Value upon  
 " his Aid and Service, as to regard the uncertain Affection of weak  
 " Persons more than His Resentment: That this Thought was an ex-  
 " traordinary Affliction to him; and therefore he intreated, since his  
 " Circumstances would not any longer suffer him to fluctuate in a Sea of  
 " Uncertainty, that *Philip* would openly and plainly declare his In-  
 " tentions, whether he was desirous of having *Cosmo* his Friend for the  
 " future; and, if so, what security He proposed to give him; for that  
 " he should take his Measures from the King's Answer." At the  
 " same juncture that *Lewis* of *Toledo* was hastening to *Philip*, *Cosmo* by  
 " *Gianfigliacci* pressed the Pope, that he would bend his mind to Peace:  
 " That for his own part he was ready to close upon any Terms what-  
 " soever, provided a sufficient Caution were given him by the King of  
 " *France*, and the safety of his Sovereignty provided for: But how that  
 " could be done on the part of the King, whom *Cosmo* had just reason  
 " to believe his Enemy, the Pope best understood, and it was not his  
 " business to say any more about it. The Pope thereupon said, " I ap-  
 " prehend very well the drift of these Words; and as I have evidence  
 " enough of the Most Christian King's Affection to *Cosmo*, I will ven-  
 " ture to promise for him, and to offer the most advantageous Terms,  
 " which shall be strengthened by the honourable Band of Affinity."  
 " To This *Gianfigliacci*, instructed for the purpose by *Cosmo*, replied;  
 " That this was what his Master extremely wished; but it was a matter  
 " of such a nature, that, 'till he could be sure of it, he could not de-  
 " termine at all about it: That *Philip's* Emissaries were in every corner,  
 " and



“ and it would be hardly possible to prevent their getting a Scent of *A. D.*  
“ the Thing: There was need therefore of Silence and Dispatch, that 1557.  
“ a business of such importance might not be concluded by Starts, but  
“ out-right and at a Heat: That *Cosmo* desired the Pope’s Inter-  
“ position in the affair; that to Whom he already owed so much, he  
“ might be farther indebted for This Favour also.” When the King’s  
Agents at *Rome* received the News from the Pope, they immediately wrote into *France*, and gave an account of the Treaty with *Cosmo*: “ That he had been long deluded by the Imperialists and was  
“ now unworthily treated by *Philip* and his Ministers; for that he had  
“ scarce been able to obtain Provisions in the *Milanese* from the Cardinal of *Trent* for his *German* Mercenaries; and he every day received  
“ fresh Indignities, either by Word or Deed, from the Cardinal de  
“ *Burgos*, the Governour of *Siena*: That therefore he desired the  
“ King’s Friendship, but yet upon honourable Conditions: Thus the  
“ Pope had given him hopes, that one of the King’s Daughters should  
“ be bestowed in marriage upon *Francis* his Eldest son; which if the  
“ King approved, there was no doubt, but he would immediately desert  
“ *Philip*, and come over to the King: That the Pope, through whose  
“ Mediation the whole Affair must be transacted, (for so *Cosmo*, for the  
“ greater secrecy, had desired) intreated the King, to send a proper Person  
“ with full Powers, who might undertake for the Performance of such  
“ Promises as the Pope had made, and should farther make.” The  
Court hesitated very little; and the King immediately pitched upon *Charles de Marillac*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, who had already distinguished himself by an Embassy to *Constantinople* and other considerable Negotiations; and who was then supported by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, tho’ he afterwards made unsuitable Returns to his Patron: He, taking a journey to *Rome*, carried Letters to the Pope, in which the King returned him thanks, and gave him full powers to finish the Business, for the sake of which he had sent the Archbishop of *Vienne*; who was instructed to execute in the King’s Name whatever Orders the Pope should draw up. In a moment, Our Partisans growing wanton with a false joy, spread a report about the City, that through the Pope’s interposition *Cosmo* had agreed with the Most Christian King. They thought too, that the dispersing the Rumour would contribute to the dispatch of the Business; for, the thing being detected, *Cosmo* could not any longer shuffle, but must immediately, abandoning *Philip*, lest he should be quite destitute of a Protector, join himself to the King. Nor was *Cosmo* ill pleased to hear of it, tho’ he outwardly feigned himself solicitous for its concealment, because he hoped it would serve as a fresh spur to expedite his Business at *Philip*’s Court: And just so it happened: For *Philip* having heard *Lewis de Toledo*’s Instructions, which after a long Preamble of Excuses he explained to him, was at first struck with the unusual freedom of them: By-and-by, when the News came of the report current in *Rome*, weighing every particular in his mind, he came to this determination, that there was a design on foot in good earnest to draw off *Cosmo* from his Friendship; which if done in the present state of things, his *Italian* concerns would be exposed to the last danger.  
In



A.D. In this opinion he was confirmed by the Condition and Dignity of 1557 the Person, who was reported to have the chief direction of the Treaty. Then again from *Cosmo's*, and especially *Toledo's* Discourses, he guessed, that *Cosmo* was seeking an honourable pretence for abandoning his Friendship: For what could these words mean, *That his Concerns would not any longer bear, that he should continue in Suspence?* and his begging, *that I would declare plainly, by Deed and not by Words, whether I would have him for my Friend?* and, *if I would, on what terms I was ready to give him Security?* and lastly those concluding words, *that he would take his Measures from my Answer*, what do they argue less, than a Mind hurried different ways and ripe for a Revolt? By these reasons *Philip*, not so much induced, as forced, whilst he was unwilling at such an unseasonable Juncture to alienate *Cosmo* from him, at length took a resolution, contrary to the advice of almost all his Ministers, of delivering the State of *Siena* into *Cosmo's* hands. *John Figueroa* at first proposed pretty hard Conditions, which being (with an air of boldness, as it seemed) rejected by *Cosmo* as not honourable enough, *Philip* conceived from thence a stronger suspicion, that *Cosmo* had a mind to desert him. Since therefore he had foreseen that, he enjoined *Figueroa*, that when he came to *Florence*, if *Cosmo* did not admit those Terms, he should not immediately depart, but stay a while there, to make his observations, till he should receive farther Orders from *England*. At length an Agreement was concluded upon these Articles: "That *Cosmo* and his Children  
" should receive the Territory of *Siena* as a Grant from *Philip*, in the  
" same manner as He himself had received it from his Father, excepting  
" *Porto-Ercole*, *Telamone*, *Monte-Argentaro*, *Orbitello*, and the Castle  
" of *Piombino* which *Philip* reserved to himself; and that thus all the  
" Moneys lent formerly by *Cosmo* to the Emperor, and since expended  
" for the use of the War, for which *Philip* stood indebted to him,  
" should be understood as discharged." A League was also settled by which, "Each Party should assist the other, in the defence of the  
" Principality of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples* on One side, and  
" of *Tuscany* on the Other; for which purposes *Cosmo* should furnish  
" four hundred Horse and four thousand Foot; and *Philip* four hundred  
" Cuirassiers, six hundred *Italian* Light-horse, ten thousand Foot; and  
" at present, for the recovery of the Places held by the *French*, four  
" thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, with six months Pay." It was impudently added by the *Spaniards*, on purpose to insult the miserable  
" *Sieneſe*, That the free Exercise of the Government should be left to the  
" State and the Magistracy;" as if either *Philip* concerned himself for the Liberty of *Siena*, or expected, that such a Condition would take place. Thus *Cosmo* by deluding the King and the Pope, and making an advantage of Our Credulity, the Popular aversion to the *Spaniards*, and the Emulation of each Nation, after long Patience, obtained the Sovereignty of *Siena* as the Reward of his singular Prudence. The Cardinal de *Burgos*, without whose Privy this Affair had been transacted, took it heinously ill; yet not daring to contradict *Philip's* Orders for quitting *Siena* without delay, since he had no other way to disturb the



the Negotiations, he spirited up the *Spaniards* to mutiny, and to threaten, that they would not depart, 'till their Arrears were paid. At length after long and perplexed Disputes, *Philip*, to win *Cosmo*, by setting off his involuntary Grant with a better Grace, repeated his Commands to *De Burgos*, that he should obey, and to *Figueroa*, that he should see the thing executed: Whereupon, on the 19th day of July, the Spanish Garrison departing, the City was delivered by *John de Figueroa* to *Lewis de Toledo*, who, after taking a solemn Oath of Fidelity according to the Articles, received it in *Cosmo's* Name: And immediately *Chiappino Vitelli* entered the Place with four Companies of *Germans*, and *Frederick Montalto* took the charge of the Citadel. Soon after *Ferrand de Sastre*, with a Regiment of *Spaniards* in *Cosmo's* Pay, was sent to receive *Buon-convento*, opposite to *Montalto*, in the Name likewise of *Cosmo*. Then the Truce, which *Montluc* observed with *Cosmo*, was extended to those places, of which *Cosmo* had taken possession; that we might have no other War to prosecute but with the Maritime Places, held by the *Spaniards*. *Charles Deza* was reciprocally sent with some *Spaniards* to re-enter into the Castle of *Piombino* lately rebuilt by *Cosmo*; excepting which, and a City of his own name built by *Cosmo* in the Island of *Elba*, and its Harbour (which by the Covenants were to remain in his hands), the whole District of *Piombino* was by *Bernard de Bolea* at the Command of the Duke of *Alva* restored to *James Apiano* the Lord of it.

*Cosmo*, having gained *Siena*, that he might make a shew of regarding that impudent Article of the *Spaniards* (who, when they had delivered up the Commonwealth into the hands of a single Man, would seem still desirous of its Preservation) regulated the Magistracy at first in such a manner, as if the People still lived in a free City; maintaining the Election of the Supream Magistrates, and again taking away all the Arms, for which a very diligent Search was made. He then proceeded to mix the *Sienese* with the *Florentines*, and granted the same Privileges to the antient Families amongst them (if any remained there after the loss of the City's Liberty), as to the *Florentines*; that so, by degrees, they might grow into one Body, and be accustomed for the future to bear the Yoke of one and the same Master. These things being done, *Philip* supposing himself secure of *Cosmo*, and returning with his whole mind to the Pursuit of the War against Us, drove at This Point; that he might pacify the Pope, and revenge himself of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who taking up Arms at a time of such Distress had fiercely attacked both Him and his Allies. By *Cosmo's* Mediation the thing was often attempted with the Pope; but upon the opposition given by Cardinal *Caraffa*, who was ever averse to pacific Counsels, nothing else remained but to carry the War against *Ferrara*, under the chief Conduct of *Ottavio Farnese*, whom the Duke of *Guise* had at first thought fit to spare; to which War *Cosmo*, bound by a fresh obligation, engaged to send his Quota of Troops.

About that time *John Walter* a Commander of six thousand Foot, which *Alva* (as we said) had ordered to be raised in *Germany*, arrived



A.D. in the Port of *Naples*, having descended by the *Trentine Alps* into *Italy*, 1557. and taken Shipping at *Genoa*. In vain did the Cardinal of *Trent*, the *Marquês di Pescara* and *Castaldo*, who were in pain for *Correggio* now closely invested by the Duke of *Ferrara*, endeavour to retain them at *Milan*: For *Lewis de Barrientos* and *John-Paul Bevet*, whom *Alva* had sent to conduct them forwards, could never be induced to yield, that they should do otherwise than pursue their journey with the utmost expedition towards the Kingdom. Out of fifteen Companies, into which the *Germans* were distributed, *Alva* would have eight remain in the Camp; the seven others he assigned to *Mark-Anthony Colonna*, who with four thousand *Italians* and six Pieces of Cannon had been detached to manage the War in the *Campagna di Roma*: At his first approach, *Pratica*, a Castle of *Frederick Conti*, between *Frusilone* and *Supino*, was taken by him, after a slight Rencounter, in which some *Spaniards* were missing; the Place being surrendered by *George da Terni* and *Ottavian da Ascoli*, who held it with two Companies of *Italians*. From thence *Colonna*, placing a Guard of an hundred Foot in *Pratica*, returned to *Anagni*, and was employing the time in the Fortifications of *Frusilone*, when, upon the Army's being recalled by *Alva*, he was left unequal to the Papal Troops. Therefore distributing the Infantry amongst the adjacent Towns of *Anagni*, *Frusilone*, *Fumone*, *Acuto*, *Monte-fortino*, *Pratica*, *Terracina*, *Guigliano* and *Sommo*, he retained only four Companies against any sudden Emergency, which he posted at *Veruli* and *Alatro*. When in the mean time the Garrison of *Rocca di Papa* had been reduced to the last distress for want of necessaries, and were too far distant to receive either Succours or Provisions from *Colonna* (as the Place stood between *Anagni* and *Val-montone*, which Towns *John-Baptist Conti*, revolting lately from *Philip*, had drawn along with him; and besides as *Carvi* and *Genezzano* were held by the Papal Forces, and they were every day infested by the People of *Velletri*), they at last capitulated. *Julius Orsino*, laying hold of that opportunity, since he saw the Enemies keep themselves close in Garrison, takes the field with a Body of Troops, in which were three thousand *Italian* Foot, two Companies of *German* Veterans lately sent for from *Mont-alcino*, and the Papal Cavalry with six Great Guns; and leads his Troops directly to *Monte-fortino*, from whence *Francis Brancaccio* had lately been drawn off by *Popoli*, and where *John-Antonio da Piacenza*, with *John Ceccolella* a Man in high favour with the Townsmen, had been substituted by *Colonna* in his room. The Townsmen at first making a stout resistance, repulsed the Papal Troops with the loss of *Cecco Conti* son of *John-Baptist*, and *George da Terni*; but a Quarrel arising, as usual, between the Garrison and the Inhabitants, the latter with the highest imprudence surrendered at discretion to the Enemy; who, remembering the slaughter of the Men of *Velletri*, which had been committed by Their Treachery, exercised all the cruelties of Fire and Sword upon them, without regard to Age or Sex, even setting fire to the Church, into which the Women and Children had fled for refuge. They a little while before, having sent Deputies to the Inhabitants of *Velletri*, with assurances of their readiness to pay their



their bounden Duty to the Pope, had perfidiously waylaid and defeated *A. D. Vicino Orfino's* Regiment, which at their request had been sent towards 1557. them; which was the Cause that the Conquerors took such a severe Revenge upon them. The Garrison met with better Quarter, being dismissed with their Arms, flying Colours, and Beat of Drum. From thence *Julius Orfino*, flushed with Success, returns to the Siege of *Piglio*, which he had before unfortunately attempted; thinking it of importance to his Reputation, and that, This being taken, he should easily be able to reduce *Alatro*, *Veruli* and *Bauco*, Towns destitute of Garrisons: Which coming to the knowledge of *Mark-Anthony Colonna*, who clearly saw, by the loss of *Piglio*, in what danger *Anagni*, *Ferentino* and *Frusilone* would be left; he thought it necessary by all means to prevent it; and, placing *George Dria* in *Anagni*, he himself repairs to *Acuto*, a Castle strongly situated betwixt *Piglio* and *Anagni*. *Piglio* lies extended along a narrow Vale; covered, on the side of *Acuto*, by a craggy Mountain of difficult access; on the opposite side, subject to a very high Hill, at the bottom of which there is a gentle Descent; from whence the Papal Forces, having no better conveniency, were obliged to play their Batteries. On the same day, that *Orfino* encamped before *Piglio*, *Mark-Anthony Colonna* possesses himself of that almost inaccessible Hill, and cuts off many of *Orfino's* Soldiers, who had no apprehensions of an Enemy. Which when *Orfino* thought to be done by the Inhabitants of the adjoining Villages, through their acquaintance with the Country, taking no notice of the Mischance, he the next day sent a Summons of Surrender to *John-Charles da Cuccaro*, who commanded in the Town with his own Regiment, and about three hundred Vassals of the *Colonnaes*: Upon whose refusal, he planted seven pieces of Cannon, which made a violent and continual Firing; 'till *Colonna* with all his Forces, which at a distance appeared more numerous than they really were, shewed himself from the high Hill, and by his Presence animated the Besieged, and terrified the Assailants. Then the Cannonading was renewed, and a large Breach made in the Wall. But when by the means of *Pompei Colonna* and *Mario d' Abenante*, whom *Mark-Anthony* had sent to the Besieged, he was certified of the defensibleness of the Place, if Succours could be introduced, he detaches two hundred choice Men under Captain *Tasso* of *Genoa*. Thus the Garrison's Courage being confirmed, when there remained no hopes of taking the Town, *Orfino* the next day orders the Cannon to be drawn off; and, leaving the care of conveying them to the *Germans*, he himself departs from the Siege. In vain did *Colonna's* Troops try to intercept the Artillery, meeting with a very warm reception from the *Germans*. The Guns then being deposited in *Paliano*, *Orfino*, without performing any other Exploit, returns to the City.

But *Colonna*, re-inforced with *Walter's* Regiments sent to him by the Duke of *Alva*, and besides with two Companies of *Italians* and an hundred and fifty Horse, and also furnished with seven Pieces of Ordnance, marches in his Turn out of *Anagni*, whither he had retired; and at the first Assault takes the Tower, which stands at the bottom of

*Paliano*,



*A. D. Paliano*, as he did *Garvignano* by Capitulation: In order to make  
 1557. head against him, *Matthew Stendardo* advances with the Infantry and  
 part of the Cavalry; and whilst he staid at *Palestrina*, having sent for-  
 wards *Leonard Rouero* with an hundred Horse and an hundred and fifty  
 Foot, a sharp Rencounter happened between Him and *Pompei Colonna*,  
 who had been detached thither by *Mark-Anthony*: But when *Rouero*,  
 whilst he was struggling with *Vincenzo di Ligoro*, had received a dan-  
 gerous Wound from *John-Baptist da Reggio*; and *Cecco da Urbino*, *Rouero's*  
 Lieutenant, had been taken prisoner by *Gabriel Moles*, and twelve  
 Troopers besides with a good number of the Foot; the Papal Soldiers,  
 being almost destitute of Officers, left the field. On the Enemy's  
 side *Anthony da Capua* was killed, and some others wounded. *Stendardo*  
 thereupon retired to *Val-montone*, where leaving three Regiments under  
*Francis Colonna*, *Papirio Capizucchi* and *Angelo da Spoleto*, he repaired to  
*Palestrina* with the Foot. To the former Place *Mark-Anthony Colonna*  
 came soon after with his Army, and the next day orders Batteries to be  
 directed against That side, which faces *Anagni*: But as soon as the  
 Firing began, the Garrison, despairing of safety, surrendered. About  
 the Evening, the Inhabitants of *Monte-fortino*, who were in the Enemy's  
 Camp, being greedy of Revenge, whilst the Soldiers were pillaging the  
 Town, set fire to the Houses; and notwithstanding all *Colonna's* pains  
 to extinguish it, the Flames spread through the whole Town: From  
 thence the Camp was advanced to *Palestrina*, into which Place, *Sten-*  
*dardo*, before he went away to *Rome* with the remaining Foot and Horse,  
 had introduced five hundred Soldiers, who had been dismissed without  
 Arms from *Valmontone*, and had committed to them the care of the  
 Castle and of the Town below it: But at the first approach of the  
 Enemy the Castle was surrendered; and the Town abandoned to  
 the Soldiery, especially to the *Germans*, who delighted in Plunder.

These things being done, because the time of Harvest drew near, *Colonna*  
 proceeds by *Alva's* Order towards *Paliano*, to lay the adjacent Country  
 waste, and spoil the Corn: And when by his Spies he had learnt, that a  
 Resolution was taken to convey a large stock of Provisions into *Paliano*  
 from *Rome*; and that three thousand *Swiss* lately raised by the Bishop of  
*Terracina*, at the Pope's Command, in the Canton of *Underwall*, were ap-  
 pointed for that service (under one *Veltz*, a brave and wealthy young man,  
 but little acquainted with military Affairs) together with two hundred Horse;  
 he sent a particular account of his Intelligence to the Duke of *Alva*;  
 who immediately detached away seven Companies of *Spaniards*, and as  
 many of the Baron *de Feltz's* *Germans*, with some Horse-cuirassiers:  
 The Horse, taking the Rout of *Sora*, did not arrive in time: But the  
*Spanish* and *German* Foot keeping close to the Bank of the *Lago di*  
*Celano*, when they came to *Capistrello*, turned off to the right-hand, and  
 by the Craggs of *La Serra di S. Antonio* and *Filettino* towards *Anagni*  
 descended into the Plain, and there joined *Mark-Anthony*; who, upon  
 the arrival of this Re-inforcement, resolving to lose no time, decamps,  
 and at a convenient Pass posts himself in the middle of the way,  
 through which the Auxiliaries were to come. Which being observed,

*Julius*



*Julius Orsino* and the *Marquels di Montebello*, the Pope's Generals, halted *A. D.* between *Val-montone*, *Paliano* and *Segna*; and, for the greater expedition 1557. sent back part of the Provisions to *Rome*; ordering the Cannon also to be conveyed back to *Segna*; through a fatal error, as appeared by the Event. For if they saw a probability of Fighting, for what more necessary use did they reserve the Artillery? The next day *Colonna* advances, and charges the Baron *De Felz*, that with his Men and the Field-pieces, he should choose a commodious Post, as near as could be, over against *Orsino's* Men. He, dragging the Great Guns by the help of a good many Labourers through a Ditch full of water, seizes an Eminence, fenced on the side, where the Papal Troops were approaching, with a natural Trench: And not far from thence, *Salina*, mounts another Hill, almost adjoining to the former, with four hundred *Spanish* Musqueteers; who, observing the Papal Troops to be stretched along the Ridge of an opposite Hill, drew them down to an Engagement, and fought for some time in the intermediate Valley. At the beginning, the Valley was gained by *Orsino* with the help of about a thousand *Italians*, the first Fury of the Musquets being spent to no purpose: Then again *Orsino's* Party was repulsed by *Felz's*. From which Success the Baron conceiving hopes of a more considerable Victory, presses *Colonna*, who was in the Rear with the Cavalry, to mend his pace; for that things were come to such a point, that, if the opportunity, which then offered itself, were not neglected, there must certainly be a decisive battle on that day. *Colonna*, tho' he saw the hazard, because of the necessity of descending thither, and then mounting the Hillock and passing cross a Vale and a Ditch (the Passage of which, as the like had been lately fatal to *Peter Strozzi* at *Marciano*, he had good reason to be apprehensive of); yet trusting to the Bravery of his Men, at *Felz's* pressing Exhortations he prepares for a Battle, distributing his Troops into four Bodies; two of which, consisting of Foot, he placed in the Front, *viz.* the *Spaniards* on the Right-hand opposite to the *Italians*, and *Felz's* Soldiers on the Left over against the *Swiss*: *Walter's* Men composed the third Body, to whose care the Artillery was committed. The Papal Troops on the other side, having possessed the Ridge of the Hill, with a Wood at their backs, divided themselves into two Bodies, in one of which were the *Italians*, and in the other the *Swiss*, facing the *Spaniards* and *Germans*: The Cavalry stood behind, as a Reserve for the support of the Foot at all Events. Thus the Armies being ranged on both sides fell on with violent Fury. At the first Onset the *Spaniards* could hardly sustain the Impression of the *Italians*; but upon the sudden coming up of *Colonna*, and the disorder occasioned amongst the Papal Cavalry by the discharge of the Field-pieces, the *Spaniards* taking Courage again rallied, and repulsed the *Italians*, whose Powder and Strength were both spent: And then, the *Germans* bearing hard upon them, and *Colonna's* Horse at the same time flanking the Pope's already scattered and straggling Cavalry, the *Italians* gave ground, and at last fled into the adjoining Wood. The *Swiss* still remained, extended along the Hill, which they possessed:



A. D. but as the Skirmishers, who were planted in the middle, by the  
 1557. looseness of their Ranks afforded an Opening in Flank, they were  
 assaulted with such surprizing Fury by *Feltz's* Troops, that, after no  
 very long resistance, They likewise fled into the neighbouring Wood.  
 The Marquess *di Montebello* likewise, when he saw it impossible to  
 maintain a fight conveniently with the Horse in so streight a place,  
 after considerable damage suffered from the Artillery, marched towards  
*Segna*, whither he had before sent away the Cannon: But in his Re-  
 treat he intangled himself with the routed and flying Infantry, and  
 again confounded his Ranks. The *Swiss-Cuirassiers* held the Enemy  
 the last in play, but after a long dispute They also were put to flight:  
 Four hundred of them were made Prisoners, seven Colours taken, and  
 very many killed: *Julius Orsino*, when he had often in vain endeavoured,  
 by going about the Ranks, to rally his Men, receiving a deep wound  
 in the Thigh, fell into the hands of the Enemy; of whom scarce any  
 one happened to be slain. *Dominick da Massimo*, Colonel of Horse, was  
 desperately wounded, and a few others. The chief credit of this  
 Victory was owing to *Gaspar Baron De Feltz*, who had first encouraged  
*Colonna* to adventure, *George Madruccio* his Lieutenant, and to *Salina*,  
*Mosquera* and *Martin de Godoy* two Spanish Officers.

*Colonna*, judging it best to pursue the Advantage, immediately de-  
 taches *Feltz* with his Men and three Great Guns, to take *Rocca di*  
*Massimo*, which *John Orsino* the Lord of the Castle, trusting to its  
 mountainous and inaccessible Situation, held with a Garrison: He  
 himself marches to *Segna*, where the Remains of the routed Army had  
 collected themselves. The Marquess *di Montebello* too had betaken him-  
 self to the same place with the Cavalry and the Field-pieces. *Segna*  
 being once taken, and the Country thereabouts laid waste, he had  
 entertained certain hopes of gaining *Paliano*, which was then held by  
*Flaminio da Stabbia*. But *Feltz*, a Veteran Commander, who had  
 learned the first Lessons of War under the Marquess *di Marignan*, a Man  
 no less cunning than valiant; when he could not induce *John Orsino*  
 to surrender, nor yet had any hopes of succeeding by Force, because  
 the Guns could not be raised for the battery of the Castle, attempts  
 the thing by a Stratagem; and drawing Lines about the Town, that  
 the Besieged might not know what was doing, and leaving the  
 Guns themselves at the bottom, he ordered their Carriages loaded with  
 Beams in the shape of Cannon to be drawn through the opposite Wood,  
 and a great noise to be made of Oxen and their Drivers, which echoed  
 through the Valley below; and of Whips, and Beasts groaning as it  
 were under the heavy Burthen and climbing with difficulty up the steep  
 places; so that the Besieged really believed the Guns themselves to  
 be dragged up the Hill: Which being a thing by no means expected,  
 from the Height of Confidence they fell into the Depth of Despair,  
 and presently demanded a Parley. *John Orsino* accordingly, taking a  
 Pass of Safe-conduct, went out with seven of the chief Officers to treat  
 with *Feltz* upon Articles: But, whereas the simple Man had cautioned  
 only for himself, and not for his Attendants; when, disrelishing the  
 Pro-



Proposals, he desired to be sent back into the Town; he himself was *A. D.* allowed to return, but the rest, for whom he had imprudently taken 1557. no security, were detained. Thus, deprived of his Friends, when he had again by Messengers requested of *Feltz*, that he might be suffered to repair to *Colonna*; he obtained leave upon this Condition, that he should first confer with *Feltz* himself: To whom being come, he could not get to be dismissed, 'till by a writing under his hand he had bound himself to agree to the Terms, which should be proposed by *Colonna* for the surrender of the Place. Thus *Orfino*, a Regiment being ordered to conduct him by a round-about way, was suffered to go to *Colonna*: But, by a shorter way, *Feltz* dispatched an Express to *Colonna*, acquainting him with what had passed between them, and admonishing him, since *Orfino* had unadvisedly laid himself already under an Obligation, that he should not grant any Conditions at all. Thus, *Orfino* being thrice deluded by the Baron *De Feltz*, *Rocca di Massimo* was surrendered to the Discretion of the Enemy, who sacked it in a barbarous manner. *Colonna* then, as he had proposed, advances to *Segna*:

As the Duke of *Guise* had encamped in a Plain at the bottom of *Nereto* and *Corropoli*; the Duke of *Alva*, who lay at *Giulia*, was so infested by the immoderate Heat of the weather, and by a cloud of Flies and Gnats, that he found it necessary to decamp. Therefore possessing himself of *Turtureto*, a convenient Place for Water, Food, Forage and temperate Air, he took post upon a Bank of the *Librata*, over against *De Guise*; who observing it, crossed the *Tronto* and marched to *Monte-Brandone* and *San-Benedetto* in the neighbourhood of *Ascoli* and *Fermo*, where he offered *Alva* Battle: But the latter, knowing the *French* to be superior in Horse, and not willing to commit the whole to the chance of one Battle, always avoided coming to an Engagement; thinking it better to conquer without danger. At length when *Guise* had retired, upon the arrival of three thousand Foot from *Spain* under *Ferdinand de Toledo*, and a thousand from *Sicily* under *Sancho de Londono*, *Alva* dismisses the Provincial Bands, especially those, which had lately arrived from the Country of *Otranto* under the Marquess *Di Torre-maggiore*. Then, having commended the Inhabitants of *Civitella* for their Fidelity and Courage in the defence of the Town, and rewarded them with Privileges and Immunities, he marches to *Angorano* with the Marquess *Di Trevico*: When the Townsmen had returned an haughty and abusive Answer to his Summons, he immediately orders the Artillery to be planted; and, tho' they repented afterwards, and begged in vain for gentle usage, the Town, when taken, was first pillaged and then burnt, with the slaughter of most of the Garrison; thirteen of whom were hanged, and amongst them *Thomas di Jacusso*; who having formerly reproached *Ascanio della Corgna* with perfidiously deserting the Pope, had from that time been threatened with a Gibbet by *Della Corgna*, who upon the taking of *Angorano* made his word good. From thence *Trevico* proceeds to *Maltignano*, retaking in his way *Rocca di Morro*, three miles distant from *Ascoli*, which he ordered to be undermined and blown up. There taking with him ten Companies of  
*Italians*;



A. D. *Italians*, two hundred Horse and some pieces of Cannon, he invests 1557. *Filignano* in the neighbourhood of *Ascoli*, a Fortrefs situated on high ground, but in a narrow Opening between two Mountains, and defended by fifty Soldiers; for the Inhabitants were all fled. A Breach being made, the Papal Garrison, tho' they made a stout resistance, could not sustain the Assault of the Enemy, but were almost all cut to pieces; being treated with this severity by *Trevico*, because they had dared to maintain a Place, which was not tenable.

In the mean time the Duke of *Guise*, enraged at his ill success, reproached the *Caraffaes* for not having performed their Promises; and, openly accusing the Levity of his Brother the Cardinal for having rashly given credit to them, thought seriously and spoke often of his return into *France*: Which they fearing, omitted nothing in order to divert him from a resolution so fatal to their Interest, by fresh Promises of Auxiliaries, Provision, Ammunition and Money; for the security of which they offered their Sons as Hostages; and accordingly the Marquess *Di Cavi*, son to the Duke of *Paliano*, was delivered into the hands of *Strozzi*; who, having received a late Obligation from the *Caraffaes*, by the Election of his Brother *Laurence*, through their means, into the College of Cardinals, manifestly favoured their ambitious Designs, and was preparing to carry his Hostage with him to the King. Whilst these things were in agitation, Letters came from the King, wherein the Duke of *Guise* was commanded to stay, and to gratify the Pope in every thing that he should require; in consequence of which he marched to *Macerata*. The Quarrels then being tolerably composed on each side, *Guise*, who had conceived hopes of performing some considerable Exploits, which might tend to the King's Glory and his own Reputation, recalls the *Swiss* and *Gascons*, which he had lent to his Father-in-law the Duke of *Ferrara*. The latter therefore, being deprived of this Assistance, kept himself close from that time in his own Territories, distributing his Troops, which by the immoderate Heats of that Summer were extreemly fatigued, into *Modena*, *Reggio* and the County of *Carpi*. Thereupon the Marquess of *Pescara* (who had been as it were besieged in *Fossano*, and had not been able to join *Nicolas Madruccio* in his march from *Milan* with the *German* Recruits) setting forwards with the Foot by a difficult and longer way through *Nice* and the Mountains of *Provence*, and leaving the Cavalry at *Fossano* under *Cesar Maggi*, passed the *Po* near *Guastalla*; taking with him eight hundred *German* Horse, which the Cardinal of *Trent* had lately raised: Then entering the Countries of *Bresello* and *Carpi*, he laid every thing waste with Fire and Sword, in revenge for the Injuries received by the Lords of *Correggio*: He used the same Ravages in the Countries of *Reggio* and *Modena*, committing Depredations rather like a Captain of *Banditti* than of Soldiers. *Sandi* too was ordered to join him with the Troops, which he had in *Tuscany*.

From a different Quarter, *Cosmo*, in order to satisfy the just Resentment of *Philip*, having first raised Troops at *Pescia*, and sent a quantity of Artillery from *Pisa*, had decamped from *Barga*; making  
a shew



a shew of descending into the *Val di Carfagnana*, which reaches to the *A. D.* Duke of *Ferrara's* Frontiers, and of besieging a Castle of his called *Castel-nuovo*. But he was soon after recalled by the Duke of *Alva*, and received his Orders by *Sancho di Leyva* to fall into the *Campagna di Roma*, in which he made very slow Motions; minding only, how he might appear ready to obey *Philip's* Ministers, without really offending any one of those, with whom *Philip* was at war, and how he might in the mean time serve his own turn.

From *Macerata* the Duke of *Guise* detaches *Cipierre* with four Troops of Light-horse, seven Ensigns of *Gascons*, and the Great Guns damaged in the siege of *Civitella*, to *Ascoli*, whither *Alva* (as he conjectured) after the taking of *Maltignano* would probably advance. *John-Anthony Tivaldo* commanded in *Ascoli* with twelve Companies of *Italians*, which he had raised upon the spot, and with which he had taken *Campoli*. There some few Skirmishes happened at first betwixt them: Afterwards, when the Garrison (having laid Ambuscades amongst the Vineyards about the Town in proper places, fenced as it were with a natural Trench) made a sally; *Alva*, who had resolved to view the Town, seizes the opposite Hill with three thousand *Spaniards* and part of the Cavalry, and sends out some Musqueteers and Light-horse; who engaging with Our Men, maintained a very long and various fight upon a Bank of the River *Verde*, commonly called *Marino*. At length the Papal Troops retired to a Bridge laid over the *Castellana* in the Road to *Civitella*; which River encompasses the City on that side, and falls into the *Tronto*, that washes another side; so that the Town, almost surrounded by these two Rivers, exhibits the form of a Peninsula. The Enemy pursuing, received considerable damage by the Cannon discharged from the Castle, which overlooks the Bridge. This was allowed, even by the Duke of *Alva* (as the *Spanish* Writers say), to have been a great and memorable Skirmish, not much inferior to a set Battle, above two hundred being slain on each side; But the greater loss, as they report, was on Our's. Among the Prisoners was *Roque de Chasteigner* Seigneur *De la Rochepozay*, a Person not less famous for his Valour than his noble Birth; who on that day omitted no part of a brave Officer. The Inhabitants of *Ascoli*, frightened with this Disaster, and fearing the Event of the Siege, notwithstanding the dissuasions of the *French*, sent away betimes their Women, Children and pretious Moveables through the *Roman* Gate. But *Alva*, who saw it to be too great a Work to be finished in a few days, and that *Guise* was not so far distant, but that he might in a short time bring Succours to the Besieged, returned to his Quarters at *Maltignano*; thinking it a sufficient Prize, that he had gained a prospect of forcing the *French* to retire out of the Kingdom, and, by removing the War into the *Campagna di Roma*, of forcing the Pope without Blood and Hazard to agree to a Peace. In like manner *Guise*, tho' heartily vexed, that, for want of the promised Auxiliaries, he had done no remarkable Feat; yet did not account his continuance upon the Borders of the Kingdom to be altogether useless; because *Alva* in the mean time was wholly



*A. D.* employed with his Troops in the defence of those Frontiers. But the 1557. Pope, when he heard of the slaughter of the *Swiss*, seeing *Segni* every day more closely besieged, and *Paliano*, by the Roads being on all sides blocked up, already labouring under want of Provision, sends for the Duke of *Guise* to *Rome*; who passing through *L' Ombria* proceeded to *Tivoli*, and disposed his Army in the adjacent places.

*Alva* fearing, lest by *Guise's* approach *Colonna's* Attempts should be obstructed, leaving the Marquis *Di Trevico* in *Abruzzo* with a competent Force, marches to *Popoli*; where, about the beginning of *August*, meeting with an honourable reception from the Lord of the place, after he had divided the Army into several Bodies for their more convenient marching, he descended by the way of *Lago di Celano* into the Valley of *Orvieto*; and, collecting his Forces together at *Sora*, came to *Banco* on the 14th day of *August*, having sent *Santa-fiore* and *Della Corgna* before to support *Colonna* in the Siege of *Segni*: But *Colonna*, being ambitious of Glory, (which divided into more hands becomes less) prevented them; and, when he knew of *Alva's* Preparations, thought it behoved him to be so much the more diligent; and whereas he had begun the firing three days before, and for want of Powder had afterwards intermitted it for two days, now receiving a supply from *Anagni* he renewed the Cannonading: That the Besieged had opened a very deep Ditch behind the Breach, and in it had got together combustible matter and artificial Fire-works, with Redoubts erected on the sides and flanked at each end with six pieces of Cannon; and moreover, that an hundred Men armed with Coats of mail were so placed, as that after a thundering Storm of Artillery they should attack the wounded and half-burnt Assailants: All this *Colonna* had received notice of, and was in the utmost anxiety about it: He had granted to the *Germans* indeed, that they should give the first Assault; but the *Spaniards*, resenting that They should be precluded from this Honour, impatient of delay, without expecting the Signal, towards the evening march up to the Breach; which having gained, and perceived, tho' rather too late, their Error, they took counsel from their Danger. Accordingly they raised a great shout, according to custom, as if they would immediately descend into the Ditch: Upon which the Besieged discharged their Cannon and lighted their artificial Preparations; which, taking fire before the Enemy had leaped down, vanished without doing any execution. In a moment the *Spaniards* jumped down, and, supported by the *Germans*, give the Assault: And thus a most wealthy City was in a minute's time taken, sacked and cruelly burnt: Hardly one Townsman or Soldier escaped their Fury: But much greater was the Rage of Lust, vented promiscuously upon the Women, which from the neighbouring Villages and Towns, *Anagni*, *Veruli*, *Ferentino* and *Alatro* had in vast numbers flocked thither as into a secure place; and, when the City was taken, had fled into an Abbey of Religious Virgins; who were also basely deflowered with the rest. There was hardly any thing saved out of the Flames, but a little Corn and fourteen Great Guns, which were sent away to *Anagni*.  
With



With so horrid and miserable a Spectacle, they say, *Colonna* himself, who *A. D.* had in vain laboured to restrain the Soldiers, was vehemently disturbed; 1557. but much more the Pope, of whom *Alexander Andrea* relates, that when he knew of the Massacre of *Segni*, he deplored his Calamity at a Meeting of Cardinals; and imagining the *Spaniards* would next attack *Paliano*, and the Vatican itself, and use the same cruelty towards Him, repeated these Words, *That he desired to be with Christ, and with that thought intrepidly expected the Crown of Martyrdom*; as if the cause of God were concerned upon this occasion, and he had not been brought into this peril by the quarrelsome rashness and ambition of his own Relations. *Segni* being taken, *Colonna* encamps at *Paliano*, and posts his Troops near *Ponte di Sacco*, between *Segni* and *Valmontone*: Then he sent an account of his motion to the Duke of *Alva*, who immediately commanded the main Army to join him.

About this time *Alexander Placidi*, deputed by the Cardinal *Santafiore*, comes into the Camp, in order to treat of a Peace. Privately he was instructed to acquaint *Alva* with the News of the defeat received by the King at *St. Quintin en Vermandois*, (of which we shall speak hereafter) that he might insist upon better Terms with the Pope. During this Negotiation, *Alva* had secretly sent forwards the Captains *Mosquera* and *Palazzo*, to the very Walls of *Rome*, to inspect diligently, on which side the City might be most conveniently entered: They reported, that by bringing up the Cannon to the greater Gate, and knocking off the Locks and Bolts, he might find a safe admittance into the City. *Alva* therefore, who desired to force the Pope to equitable conditions, took a resolution to treat of a Pacification within the City itself; and the same moment that *Placidi*, without concluding any thing, took leave of him, he himself, with the whole Army, sets forwards early in the Morning, and about Noon comes to the Town of *Colonna*; where, without laying out any Quarters, he orders the Soldiers to refresh themselves. The rest of the day being spent in this sort, he calls together the Captains, and acquaints them, that, upon the invitation of Friends, he was going to the City in an amicable manner; and accordingly requires them to promise, that, when they should come to the Place, the Soldiers should abstain from Injury and Outrage, and wait, till, Quarters being first assigned, they should receive Orders from the Officers for entering. This Engagement being taken, leaving the Baggage behind, and enjoining every one to put a white Shirt over his Arms, he decamps in the second Watch, in such Order, that He himself led the Van-Guard with the light Armour, the *German* and *Spanish* Infantry followed next, and the Horse-Cuirassiers closed the Rear. The night happening to be somewhat rainy, and therefore dark, it fell out, that, the Papal Officers having no notice of his march, he approached by the Morning-twilight to the Walls of the City: And because he doubted, whether the Duke of *Guise* had not either himself departed from *Monte-rotundo* towards *Rome*, or detached thither part of the Troops which were at *Trivoli*, he in the same night had sent out a choice Squadron of Horse with a thousand Musketeers,



A.D. 1557. queteers, to beset the ways, which the Auxiliaries were to take, and to hinder their Passage. *Placidi*, who was now returned to *Rome*, had informed the Cardinal *Caraffa*, that, when he was setting out, he saw the Enemy's Army in motion; but that he could not tell, whither they designed to bend their Course: Whereupon *Caraffa*, fearing lest *Alva* should advance to *Tivoli*, in order to fall upon the French Cavalry lying there in great security, in which their principal Strength consisted; immediately dispatches an Express, to admonish Our Men of their danger, and order them to call in all their stragling Parties. He himself, who distrusted the affections of the Roman Populace, and knew that many, especially of the Gentry, were secretly inclined to the Party of the *Colonnaes*, could by no means be induced to suffer the people to take Arms; apprehending, that, agreeably to the inconstant humours of the Vulgar, the People might turn Those Arms against the Pope and the *Caraffaes*, which They themselves should have put into their hands: Therefore rightly conjecturing, on what side the danger chiefly lay, he went round the Wall with his Troops by the Light of Torches. It happened luckily, that, three hours before Day-break, *Ascanio della Corgna*, who had been sent before by *Alva*, fell in with four Troopers, who were abroad in quest of Booty, and knew nothing of the Enemy's design. From whence suspecting, that they had been sent out for Intelligence, and that the news of *Alva's* approach had already reached *Rome*, he halted a while, 'till *Alva* could come up, and the Ladders were brought. It was known also, that, in the same night, *Strozzi*, who was at *Tivoli*, had towards the Evening made a Motion with four hundred Horse, and ten Companies of *Gascons*: But of Those, who had been sent by *Alva* to cut off our Auxiliaries, no Tidings could be heard; because, being misled by false Guides, they had lost their way all night. Whilst *Alva* was tossed with these Anxieties, and expected the Baron *de Feltz* with the Artillery, the Day broke upon him; and, when he perceived the City to be in perfect Silence, and that no Centry appeared upon the Walls; supposing that all within were prepared for a defence, and drawn up in order of Battle, and that his schemes were discovered; the prudent Man was unwilling to commit his Fortune to the hazard of a doubtful Engagement: Fearing, if the Event did not answer, that he should lose his Reputation, and expose his Affairs, which were now in a state of security, to imminent danger. Therefore commanding his Troops to retire a little, and rest a while in the open Field, he returned to *Colonna*, from whence he had come. Thus ended the Duke of *Alva's* attempt upon *Rome*, which happened upon the 26th day of August. Nevertheless, many People give another Interpretation to it; saying, that *Alva* refrained from the Assault, being satisfied with striking a Terror into the Pope, in hopes of inclining him to more reasonable Terms; and for another reason also, because he saw the *Germans*, flushed with the late Sackage of another City, eager again for Plunder; and that, notwithstanding all the Pains of the Officers, the Gates being once open, a Door would at the same time be necessarily opened to Pillage and Violence: Others think, that *Alva* came thither by Agreement,



Agreement, not without the Privy of the Pope; that He, who was *A. D.* weary of the *French*, and the War too, and had already shewn Marks 1557. of disaffection to Us, might have an honourable pretence for abandoning Our Friendship. For immediately upon his hearing of the new League made by Cardinal *Caraffa* with the King, he is reported to have said, "That They were hard Terms for Friends; and that he " could agree upon much more favourable Conditions with a King, who " was his Enemy". But the truth of it is, that *Alva* really designed to make himself Master of the City, where he understood there were only a few regular Troops; and that the Populace out of hatred to the Pope, and the *Caraffaes* his Relations, at the approach of the Army, (for so *Colonna* had promised both himself and *Alva*) would presently make an Insurrection, and receive the Enemy within the Walls.

About this time the Duke of *Guise* was recalled by the King, and the Pope permitted (with the releasement also of his Hostages) to provide in the best manner for his own security. Therefore upon *Guise's* demanding leave to return into *France*, when the Pope refused to consent, and the other alledged the pressing necessities of his Prince; after many and bitter quarrels, they say, the Pope, forgetting the favours received from the King and the Duke himself, answered, that *Guise* had taken little care of the King's Interest, less of the Interest of the Church, and least of all of his own Reputation and Honour.

*Alva* being returned to the Town of *Colonna*, distributed the Army amongst the adjoining Places, *Alatro*, *Veruli* and *Bauco*. He himself repaired to *Genazzano*, and resolved to take *Paliano*, as the chief strength and first cause of the War. During the necessary preparations for the Siege, He and the Cardinal *Caraffa* held frequent Conferences at *Palestrina*, and at *Carvi*, a Castle standing between that Town and *Genazzano*, and at length through the hearty labours of *Cosmo* by *Averard di Medicis*, and the interposition of the Cardinals *Santa-fiore* and *Vitellozzo*, a Treaty was concluded upon these Terms: " That *Alva* in the name of the " Catholick King shall do Homage; and the Pope shall reciprocally " receive the King into Favour, and renounce the *French* Alliance: " The King shall restore to him an hundred Castles and Towns, " which in this War have been taken from him, the Fortifications " being first destroyed: All Estates, usurped and confiscated, shall " be restored: There shall be a pardon on both sides for all Offences, " Injuries and Damages, which have been occasioned by the Rupture; and no body shall suffer any molestation, for having fought " in either Army: *Paliano*, in its present condition, shall be deposited in the hands of *Bernard Carbone*, a Kinsman of the *Caraffaes*, as " Sequestrator; who shall bind himself to each Party by an Oath, that " he will observe what shall be agreed between them; and shall hold " it with a Garrison of eight hundred Men, 'till with the consent " of both Parties it be otherwise determined." This was what openly passed at *Carvi*, on the 14th day of *September*: But privately at the same time and place it was agreed, " That *John Caraffa*, in the



A.D. 1557. "room of *Paliano*, should receive a proper Compensation, at the discretion of the *Venetian* Senate, which had interposed its mediation":

This was the wealthy City of *Rossano* in *Calabria*, which with the Title of a Principality was granted to him: "Upon the Receipt of which Compensation, the Sequestratour being removed, *Paliano* was to be dismantled; and *Caraffa* should resign all his Right therein to the King, who might bestow it upon whom he pleased, provided the Person were not a sworn Enemy to the Pope, nor under an Excommunication"; which Article was added, on purpose to exclude *Mark Anthony Colonna*, (of whom, and of the Count *da Bagni* not the least mention was made); and was so much the more easily granted by *Alva* to the morose and inexorable old Man, because of the apparent nearness of his End, after which *Philip* would be at liberty to dispose of *Paliano* at his pleasure.

On the same night that the Articles were transacted, the *Tiber* by a prodigious Inundation overflowed its Banks; so that many Bridges being beaten down, and Houses, Churches, and Bastions of the Castle *di S. Angelo* shattered, by the Violence of the Waters, the City itself seemed to float; a vast number of Horses, Oxen, Asses, and such sort of Cattle being drowned; and the poor People, who dwelt in the lower parts, hardly escaping the danger in Boats hastily put together. There was also a vast quantity of Merchandise, valuable Household-Stuff, Corn, Wine, and Oyl spoiled; so that the damage is thought to have exceeded a million of Ducats. Little less was the Desolation at *Florence*, occasioned by a continual Rain for two days, which swelled the *Arno* above its Banks; the like to which had not been remembered since the Deluge, which above two hundred and twenty four years ago almost drowned the whole City: The same happened at *Mugello* and *Casentino*: From whence, the Mills being every where born down and broken by the Force of the Waters, there ensued in both Places a great Dearth and Scarcity of Corn; which they were forced to fetch from *Tivoli* to *Rome* (for, since the conclusion of the Treaty, the City was left at Liberty) and from *Pisa* to *Florence*. With Us also, in *Languedoc*, at the City of *Nimes*, on the 11th day of *October*, there happened such violent Storms of Thunder and Lightning, followed by unusual Showers of Rain, that the antient Monuments, Statues, and Buildings, which People flock to see there with a sort of astonishment, were almost defaced, and the whole City disfigured with unsightly Ruins. The same Face of things was visible in most parts of *Europe* in the same year; and, as if there had been a certain secret Conspiracy amongst the heavenly Host, in the remotest Parts of the East also. For in *Sançian* a Province of *China*, through the continual and rapid Showers, such a large and violent Flood of Waters rolled down from the neighbouring Mountains into the Plains below, as made a Lake, from the form of it called the *Round Lake*, in which seven Cities were swallowed up, with a great many Towns and Villages. A vast number likewise of Black Cattle and Sheep, and even of Men, perished;



perished; one Boy alone, by the rare favour of Fortune, being saved in *A. D.* the Trunk of a Tree from the Desolation.

After the settlement of the Treaty, *Alva* deputed the Bishop of *Aquila* to carry the Articles into *England* to *Philip*; whilst he himself, having sent his Son *Frederick* before, repairs to *Rome*, in order to do Homage, according to the Conditions: Having accordingly entered the City in the Evening, he performed an honourable Submission the next Morning; and, after a stay there of three days, amongst the Feasts and Acclamations, which rung for the Peace all over the City, he returned to *Naples*; where putting his affairs into order, and leaving three Companies of *Germans* under *Ferdinand Lodron* (Brother to *Alberick*) whom he had preferred to the Post of *John Walter* lately deceased, he embarked the rest of the Troops at *Gaieta*, in order to employ them against the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was harrassing the Lords of *Correggio*; and he himself, though, by reason of a storm, not 'till some time after, overtook them at *Genoa*; from whence, the Winter beginning to approach, he marched to *Milan*. But the Duke of *Guise* having embarked His Troops at *Civita Vecchia*, pursued his Journey by Relays of Horses into *France*.

### The End of the Eighteenth BOOK.







## BOOK XIX.

### ARGUMENT.

*The Cardinal of Trent removed from the Government of the Principality of Milan, and succeeded by John de Figueroa, the Marquess of Pelcara being passed by. Philip turns his Arms against the Duke of Ferrara, and makes Ottavio Farneſe the Chief Commander of the War. The Sieneſe, who were left at Mont-alcino and the other places, being exhausted of every thing, transfer the whole Sovereignty to the French. Marquess Albert of Brandenburg, lately the Terror of Germany, dies deſpically in the utmoſt poverty. The Decrees of the Diet of Ratiſbon. A Treaty at length concluded at Francfort in relation to the Territory of Catzenellbogen. In the Conference of Worms it is propoſed, that the Peace given to Religion ſhall be underſtood to extend only to Thoſe, who embrace the Confession of Augsbουργ, and not to others. The Original of the War of Bremen, raiſed by Chriſtopher of Brunſwick Archbiſhop of Bremen. Mary Queen of England, at the inſtance of her Husband Philip, declares war againſt the King, and the Queen Regent of Scotland at the ſame time does the like againſt England. Embaſſadors arrive in France to conclude the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scotland with the Dauphin. A War upon Our Frontiers. The Army on a ſudden encamps at S. Quintin, which place Gaſpar de Coligny, the Governour of the Province, had undertaken to defend. Anne Montmorency having, under the Conduct of D' Andelot Brother to Coligny, introduced a ſmall Re-inforcement, in his return ſuffers a bloody Deſeat, and is himſelf with many other Lords made priſoner. The Town of S. Quintin itſelf, after a hot Diſpute, is taken by Aſſault. Then Caſtelet and Han are ſurrendered. Chaulny in vain attempted by Stratagem. Ferdinand Gonzaga's Death, Temper and Manners. The Expedition of Nicolas Baron De Pollweiller, with the Troops of the Duke of Savoy, againſt the County of Breſſe. The Duke of Guiſe comes to the King at S. Germain's. An Inſurrection of the Populace at Paris, occaſioned by a ſecret Meeting of the Proteſtants at the Houſe of Bertomier: Some of the latter put to death. An Ediſt againſt Clandefſtine Marriages. A ſevere Law againſt the murder of Children born in Fornication. Another concerning Biſhops and Pariſh-Prieſts;*



*Priests; Another relating to the Presidial Courts and their Jurisdiction. The Death of famous Men; John-Baptist Ramusio, Nicolas Tartalea of Bresciano, Peter Nannius, Salmon Macrin. A new spotted Disease, more especially rife in Spain, called in Italy (where it also raged in a contagious manner) Petecchie.*



Y these Successes, not only the Fortune of France was A. D. broken, but the ruinous Circumstances of Philip in Italy 1557. were repaired. For he was before in a very ill Situation in Lombardy, where the Marquess di Pescara, after the Loss of Valsenera and Chierasco, had been long pent up in Fossano, not daring even to stir abroad; and at last, when he had spent his Provisions, and in vain implored the Aid of Cosmo (the Country too being disaffected), had departed from thence, in a manner more like a Flight than a Retreat, leaving his Cavalry there, which Brissac held as it were besieged: To this might be added another Misfortune, that the Chief Commanders were generally at variance with each other; and as lately John de Luna and Francis Taverna had accused Ferdinand Gonzaga to the Emperor, so now Castaldo and Hierom da Correggio traduced the Cardinal of Trent to Philip, charging him with Avarice in the Administration of the Province; whereas he might perhaps be guilty of too great Supineness, Luxury and Profusion; but Avarice certainly could never be the Vice of a Man, accustomed as he was to a generous way of living, and who of all things had the least fondness for Riches, any farther than they were requisite to supply his large Expences. This was thought to be done by Castaldo, out of hopes, that, the Cardinal being once removed from the Helm, the Marquess di Pescara (whom, for the memory of that victorious Marquess di Pescara under whom he had first served in the Army, he secretly favoured) would be appointed his Successor. In the first place therefore, the Cardinal was forbidden to meddle with the Finances; and, his Authority being thus diminished (since the Nerves of business lay in the hands of others), he obtained leave from Philip to depart from Milan, and was succeeded in the Chief Government of Lombardy, contrary to Castaldo's expectation, by John de Figueroa the Commander of the Castle.

Things being compromised between the Duke of Alva and the Pope, the Cardinal Caraffa was sent to Philip, and Augustin Trivultio into France, changing their Stations with each other: The Pretence was, that those powerful Princes might be brought to Terms of Peace, by the Mediation of the Pope; but in reality Caraffa only considered, how, without the Pope's privity, he might desert the French Alliance, which seemed to be deserted by Fortune, and secure his private Interest: Accordingly nothing was done on either side towards a Pacification. Philip therefore, being now free from every other Care in Italy, pressed home the War against the Duke of Ferrara, appointing Ottavio Farnese his Captain General: To the same purpose Alvaro di Sandi marched out of Tuscany with about a thousand partly Germans and partly Spaniards,



A. D. and two hundred *Neapolitan* Horse of the Heavy and Light-armour, in 1557. order to join *Ottavio*: And seeing, that, of the three thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, which *Cosmo* was by the League obliged to furnish for that Expedition, no more than sixteen hundred Horse, divided into eight Companies, under *Sigismond de' Rossi* Count *di San-Secundo* and *Francis Montacuti*, appeared; he made heavy Complaints of *Cosmo* to *Figueroa* and *Ottavio*, and threatened to write to *Philip* about it. Nor were *Sandi's* Complaints groundless; since *Cosmo* discovered every day evident marks of Favour towards the Duke of *Ferrara*. For the latter, being deserted by the *French*, had by *Hercules* Count *di Tassone* and afterwards by *Hippolyto Pagano*, solicited *Cosmo*, that some method might be contrived for effecting his Reconciliation with *Philip*, giving hopes of contracting an Affinity with him in that case. To this it was owing, that *Cosmo*, who by reason of his fresh Obligation was obliged to comply with the *Spaniards* in the prosecution of their just Quarrel, and did not dare openly to contradict them; yet carried himself with all the Dilatoryneſs imaginable in that Affair, and thus by weakening their Forces rendered all their Attempts abortive. At last, that he might not seem to be quite deficient in his Duty, he sent seven Troops of Light-horse into the Camp under *Aurelio Fregose*, who deserting the *French* side had lately engaged himself in *Cosmo's* Service. Besides, there was a very visible difference between *Figueroa* Vice-roy of *Milan* and *Sandi*, whose Glory the former envied, and upon that account was very negligent in furnishing Auxiliaries to the War. *Cosmo*, who always interposed as Umpire, nourished these Animosities betwixt them with extream Caution and Prudence, and thereby retarded the Progress of a War, which he did not like. *Ferrara*, in order to avoid the impending Storm, keeping his Troops close in Garrison, stood waiting the Event of things, till by the means of *Cosmo's* Remissness the Anger of the *Spaniards* might evaporate. In the mean time *Ottavio*, on the 1st day of *October*, made his first march with the whole Army to *Ponte di Lenza*, and with four Pieces of Cannon sits down before *Montecchio*, a Castle in the District of *Reggio*, held by two hundred Men; who immediately capitulated, and upon leaving their Arms were dismissed. It was resolved to fortify the Place, that it might serve as a Receptacle for the Infantry, and for the Corn, which before could not be conveyed thither from *Parma* without Danger. Then *S. Polo* was surrendered, and four neighbouring Castles of small repute. From thence *Paul Vitelli*, Commander of the Foot, was detached with five Ensigns of *Tuscans* and some Cannon, to reduce *Canossa* a Castle erected on an Eminence. A Breach having been made by the Artillery, an Assault was given, which the Garrison sustained, but at last capitulated: Then the Castle of *Varano* in the *Val di Lunigiana*, not far from *Fivizzano*, was taken. The Army halting, whilst the Officers attended to the fortification of *Montecchio*; at the Sollicitations of *Hierom da Correggio*, the promised Auxiliaries came from *Milan* under *Cesar Maggi*; and having crossed the *Po* and supplied the Town of *Correggio* with a stock of Provisions, joined *Ottavio*. These consisted of two thousand Foot,

part



part *Germans* and part *Spaniards* (for the *German* Horse were shortly after *A. D.* disbanded) four Ensigns of Horse-cuirassiers, and as many Troops of 1557. Light-horse. *Ottavio*, thus re-inforced, by *Sandi's* advice attacks *Scandiano*, fourteen miles distant from *Montecchio* and seven from *Reggio*, and upon planting three Pieces of Cannon takes it; and, being thus master of the Hill-Country about *Reggio*, proposes to fortify *Scandiano*, and to furnish it with Provisions from *Parma*. The Duke of *Ferrara* had erected three Forts, at *Stellata*, *Sassuolo* and *Vinale* in the adjacent Country: And, care being first taken to strengthen *Mozza-della* and *Chiarucolo* in the Road, *Ottavio* passed every day with four thousand Foot and six hundred Horse from *Montecchio* to *Scandiano*. *Alfonso* taking advantage of these Motions, marches with *Cornelius Bentivoglio* out of *Reggio*, to see if he could not surprize the Enemy, who convoyed the Corn, and fight with some of them at least, if he could not engage with them altogether. He incamps therefore at *Rivalta* upon the River *Crofolo*; where observing the Van-guard, led by *Aurelio Fregose* and followed by *Alvaro di Sandi*, to have passed, he falls upon the Rear, which he ply'd with a Train of small Field-pieces; but the second Division coming up, in which were five Ensigns of *Germans*, and the Horse-cuirassiers, and then the Third, in which was the *Italian* Infantry under *Paul Vitelli*, occasioned a very sharp Battle; which lasted from the beginning of the Evening 'till two hours after Sun set, and ended to the Disadvantage of the *Ferrarese* Troops: Tho' several were dangerously wounded amongst the Enemy, viz. *Sigismond de' Rossi*, *Francis Montacuti*, *Peter Martelli*, and two *Spanish* Captains. *Alfonso* retired to *Rivalta*, as if he meant to take up his Lodging there; which was very inconvenient to the Enemy, who, in the darkness of the night, their Ranks too being disordered, had no place of retirement: But *Alfonso* fearing, lest at the coming on of the next day he might be surrounded by the whole Army, late in the night left his Post, and removed with his Forces to *Reggio*; by which means the Enemy took possession at last of *Rivalta*. It had been proposed likewise, to lay Siege to *Bresello*; and the Duke of *Ferrara*, by some Friends of his in the Camp, had heard of it: But about this time it happened opportunely, that *Blaise de Montluc* (for whom, at his request, the Duke of *Guise* had obtained the King's Leave of returning out of *Tuscany* into *France*) was then at *Ferrara*; and, undertaking the Defence of the place, by his Presence and his Diligence (as he writes himself) obliged the Enemy to change their Resolution. But here by the way one must observe a defect in his memory, who says, that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* commanded the Army upon that occasion, and that the Duke received his information from *Hercules* Cardinal of *Mantua*, Brother to *Gonzaga*; whereas it is manifest, that *Gonzaga* had four Years before been removed from all publick Direction of Affairs in *Italy*, and at this Juncture, in obedience to *Philip's* Commands of a long date, was gone into the *Netherlands*, where he was the principal Adviser of the Siege of *S. Quintin*.

After



A. D. 1557. After the Fight of *Rivalta*, since the Winter drew on apace, and the Soldiers especially the *Italians* decreased in number every day, and all things besides were in confusion in the Camp; and since on one side *Figueroa*, out of hatred to *Sandi*, and on the other side *Cosmo*, in favour of the Duke of *Ferrara* (tho' he had indeed about that time sent *Ferdinand de Sastre* with a Battalion of *Spaniards*, and *Cesar Cavaniglia* with another of *Italians*) furnished Succours very slowly; *Ottavio* distributed the Soldiers amongst the neighbouring Garrisons; whilst *Sandi* complained to *Philip*, that the Dilatoriness of their proceeding was owing to *Cosmo*, who plainly favoured the Duke of *Ferrara*, and, to serve his own turn, was endeavouring to bring about an Agreement with our Blood-shed in contempt of the Royal Majesty. Upon this Head *Cosmo* had treated with the Duke of *Alva*, when the latter came to him at *Leghorn*; and had represented, that the only way for *Philip* to settle his Concerns in *Italy*, was by laying aside his however just indignation against *Ferrara*, and composing those Differences amicably. For that all the *Italian* States, being worn out by the War, had proposed to themselves this advantage from *Philip's* Victories, that they might for the future enjoy their so long wished-for Repose: But if one War rise continually out of another, it was to be apprehended, that their Benevolence might be lost, and they might build their Hopes, Affections and Counsels upon desperate measures. By these Arguments *Cosmo* had persuaded *Alva* to prevail with *Philip*, that Peace might be granted to *Italy*, to which a Pacification with the Duke of *Ferrara* would be extremely conducive: For when He should be reconciled, not one Prince or State in *Italy* would be left, to favour the *French* Interest.

At the same time, the *Sieneſe*, who had ventured and suffered every kind of thing for Liberty, when their Treasury was no longer able to furnish the necessary Charges of the War, growing weary of a Commonwealth, by the advice of *Ambrose Nuti*, voluntarily transferred the whole Power and Authority upon *Blaise de Montluc* and *Boniface la Mole*; surrendering *Mont-alcino*, *Grosseto* and *Chiufi*, with all the Territories belonging to them, into the hands of the *French*: And took care, that authentick Instruments thereof should be carried to the King by *Julius Vieri*; imagining that the King, being now concerned not for Another's Property but his Own, would exert himself with greater Care and Vigour.

At the Entrance of this year, in *Germany*, *Albert* Marquess of *Brandenbourg*, Son of *Casimir*, when lately by the interposition of certain Princes he had obtained leave from the States of the Empire, that he might return home and plead his Cause, died on the 8th day of *January*, at the Palace of his Kinsman *Charles* Marquess of *Baden* at *Pforzheim* in the *Black Forest*, of a Distemper contracted by the Irksomeness of his Fortunes and the Intemperateness of his Living: An egregious Example of the Inconstancy of Human Affairs and of the Divine Vengeance! since He, who was once surrounded with so many thousands of Armed men, and filling all things with the Terror of his Name had laid all *Germany* open to Depredations, now upon a Change



Change of Fortune, being deserted by his Friends, and grown despicable *A. D.* to his very Enemies, ended his days in extream Misery. 1557.

On the 13th day of *March*, which fell in with the Vernal Equinox, the Diet, which had been commenced in the former year at *Ratisbon*, broke up. It had been there decreed, that a Conference for a friendly composition of Religious Controversies should be held on the 14th day of *August* at *Worms*: That a double Supply of eight months should be granted to *Ferdinand* against the *Turks*: That Peace should be strictly maintained in Religion and Secular Causes, and lastly that the Chamber of *Spiers* should be restored.

Not long after, in the month of *April*, died *John* Count Palatin of *Simmeren*, President of the Imperial Chamber, the Father of that *Frederick*, who two years after succeeded *Otho Henry* in the Electorate; a Prince of considerable Learning, who managed his Trust with the highest Commendations for Justice and Prudence.

Soon after, the Controversy between the Houses of *Nassau* and *Hesse*, which had been depending for above fifty years, concerning the County of *Catzenellbogen*, was amicably concluded by a Sentence of the Delegated Princes and Judges, *Otho Henry* and *Augustus* Electors, *William* Duke of *Cleves* and Others; the Landgrave of *Hesse* by their Award retaining that County, upon the payment of six hundred thousand Florins to *William* Prince of *Orange*, and restoring to him the County of *Diez* for an hundred and fifty thousand.

When the time of the Conference drew near, the Divines of the Upper *Germany*, who followed the Confession of *Augsbourg*, at a previous Meeting amongst themselves settled their private Differences; and, the 1st day of *August* being fixed for the *Saxon* Ministers to discourse with them, before the Conference should begin with the Papists, they did not all come together 'till late, in the beginning of *September*. Here *Julius Pflug*, Bishop of *Naumbourg*, the President of the Conference, demanded before all things, that the Allies of the *Augustan* Confession should openly express their Disagreement with the *Zuinglians*, *Osiandrist*s, *Synergists* and *Adiaphorists*, and their Detestation of those Sects: For that Peace had been granted by the Imperial States only to Those of the *Augustan* Confession, with whom alone this Conference was appointed; and the Emperor knew, that many of them had Instructions for that purpose: Therefore, that some fruit might be reaped from this Conference, their Error should be at once condemned by common consent; after which there would be less difficulty in all other Matters. The Deputies and Ministers of the younger *Saxon* Princes assented, and amongst them *Erasmus Sarcer*, *Erard Sneff*, *Victorinus Strigel*, *John Stoeffel* and *Joachim Molins*; and, producing their Instructions, professed, that they separated their Confession from the Errors of those Persons: But *Philip Melancthon* declared for a preceeding Examination and Explication of those Doctrines, and that the *Zuinglians*, *Synergists* and *Adiaphorists* ought not to be condemned before the Tryal of their Cause; as did *John Brentzen* also with regard to *Osiander*. When the Papists refused to proceed farther, 'till the Dispute



A. D. should be referred to the Emperor; *Ferdinand* ordered them to go on 1557. with the Colloquy, and declared it sufficient, if, in the Explication of each controverted Article in order, it were noted, what Points seemed fit to be condemned by common consent. But, whereas the Bishop of *Narumbourg* still refused to proceed, unless he might first be assured of the Faith of Those, with whom he was to treat; after the Divines had in the beginning imparted to one another some Papers concerning Original Sin and the Rule of judging to be established in the Church, the Assembly broke up abruptly; and all the blame of dissolving the Conference was laid by Our People upon the Division of the Protestants, who suffered in their Reputation upon that account.

Whilst these things were in agitation amongst the Divines, and *Germany* was every where in a state of Tranquillity; a Quarrel, almost amounting to a War, broke out in *Saxony* upon this occasion. *Christopher* of the illustrious Ducal House of *Brunswick*, Archbishop of *Bremen*, (who had enjoyed that Dignity ever since the 11th year of this Century, having been chosen Coadjutor by *John Roden*, when the latter, attacked by *Magnus* Duke of *Saxony* and the Count of *Oldenbourg*, and despised by his Subjects for the meaness of his Birth, could not defend himself by his own Force against such powerful Princes) had contracted immense Debts by his dissolute way of living, and his War against *Marques Albert*: When he was pressed by his Creditors, and saw no way for explicating himself out of his Difficulties, he persuaded the States of his Country, that a Sixteenth of all Estates and Effects should be levied upon the Inhabitants. This appeared hard and odious to the last degree; since many were unwilling that an account should be taken of their Worth. When an Assessment therefore was making by Officers appointed for the purpose, and particularly, with more than ordinary severity, amongst the Inhabitants of the District of *Ursatz* in *East-Friseland*; with whom, for some Instances of Disobedience, the Archbishop had an antient grudge; These, calling to mind their former Liberty, refused their Quota. The Prelate taking an occasion from hence, by the means of *Henry Sultz*, invites *Christopher Wrisberg*, a Man of noted boldness, into his Service; and gives him Money, and a Commission to raise Soldiers. At first the Archbishop was unwilling, that the thing should be done in his own Name; and the Soldiers and Captains, when questioned about the cause of their taking Arms, answered, that the Archbishop was indebted to them for late Services, and that, if he did not give them satisfaction, they would make war upon him. These having at the beginning wandered through the Dutchy of *Lunenbourg*, fell into the Territories of *Bremen*, and again, after many Insolencies, came at last into *Friseland*, and attacked the Canton of *Ursatz*. Of such of the People, as were capable of bearing Arms, fifty were killed at the first Onset, and three hundred fell into *Wrisberg's* hands; the rest, betaking themselves to flight, retired to the States of *Bremen* (who were now in Arms for the Defence of their Borders) and implored their Assistance. This happened about the time, that the  
Dukes



Dukes *Henry* and *Erick* of *Brunswick* were marching to *Philip* with some *A. D.* Recruits. As soon as they knew of *Wrisberg's* Irruption into the 1557. District of *Ursax*, they turned aside on the 2d day of *May* towards *Verden*, in order to fall by that way upon *Wrisberg*. The Archbishop, terrified with their approach, begged a forbearance of Violence: But they nevertheless proceeded; and, having refreshed the Soldiers at *Verden* set out from thence about the third watch of the night with the utmost expedition; and came to *Rodenberg*, which they took by Capitulation. Thereupon the Archbishop's tumultuary Army dispersed, and in the flight *Wrisberg*, the Firebrand and Incendiary of the War, falling into the hands of *John Berner* a Man of Quality, was delivered to the Duke of *Brunswick* and committed to prison. *Sultz* too, being taken, was laid in chains at *Lunenbourg*. This done, *Brunswick* on the 11th day of the same month returns to *Verden*; and calling together the States of the Province, admonishes them, that since the Archbishop was unfit for the Administration of his Affairs, and had hitherto misbehaved himself, they should depose him, and shut him up in some Monastery; where, being employed in none but Holy Functions, he might spend the remainder of his life in Innocence: That the chief Lords, during *Christopher's* Life, should administer the Government, and in the mean time should defray the Charges of this rash and expensive Expedition: For it was not probable, that without their Permission and Assistance (if not Advice) the Prelate would have taken Arms for the oppression of his Subjects, and in order to ravage the Estates of his People, whom he ought rather to defend from Force and Injury. To which they answered, that they would cite the Archbishop to plead his Cause, and strictly admonish him to abstain for the future from evil Counsels; but that in the present State of things they could not remove him from his Ecclesiastical Benefice and the possession of his Revenues: For what related to the Charges of the War, when the Cause should be heard in a Session of the *Saxon* Princes and States, they would do what should seem just and equitable. Thus, Peace being restored to the Province, the Army was drawn off, and conducted by *Erick* to *Philip*, who was then besieging *S. Quintin*. Afterwards, at a Convention of the States summoned to meet at *Halberdstatt* on the 28th day of *June*, in a full Council of Lords, *Christopher* was accused of having disturbed the publick Peace; and, not content with vexing his own Subjects, of having done considerable damage to the Borders of his Neighbours. But when he excused himself, by saying, that he had taken Arms against the People of *Ursax*, an untameable Race of Men, who had always unfaithfully and with difficulty paid the annual Tribute due by a League concluded with them above thirty two years past, and who were waiting an opportunity for rebelling; and, that for these reasons he thought himself at liberty to repress their Contumacy by force; and was extreamly sorry, if his Neighbours had suffered any thing from thence; which had never been in his intention: When he had said this, the Misery of the afflicted Prelate touched the Hearts of the Audience, who accepting the Excuse took his Cause into their



A. D. their favourable Consideration: Whilst he was afterwards considering  
 1557. of surrendering his Diocese to some Prince, who should pacify his  
 Creditors, reserving to himself a competent Pension; and when with  
 that view he had taken a journey to *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenbourg* at  
*Berlin*; in his return, at *Tangermundt* upon the *Elbe*, he was choaked  
 with Blood by the sudden bursting of a vein, on the 22d day of  
*January* in the following year, aged seventy three years, and was suc-  
 ceeded by his Brother *George* little younger than himself.

With Us, after the vain Attempt upon *Douay* and the Pillage of  
*Lens*, when, the Truce being broken, things seemed to tend on both  
 sides to War, a great many difficulties occurred; since Our Forces,  
 by the absence of the chief Flower of the Nobility and Soldiery, which  
 had followed the Duke of *Guise* into *Italy*, were very much weakened;  
 and the Constable *Montmorency*, who was always averse to the War  
 (which he foresaw likely to prove detrimental to *France*), found himself  
 obliged, with what Forces he could muster, to defend the Frontiers  
 against the Enemy's Assaults. Therefore about the end of *January*,  
 all the Horse-cuirassiers (which compose the principal Strength of the  
 Realm) were ordered to draw together in *Champagne*, where the Enemy  
 seemed likely to design an Irruption: And the Duke of *Nevers*, and  
 his Lieutenant-General the *Sieur De Bourdillon*, omitted nothing, for  
 the perfection of the Fortresses begun upon that Frontier; and for  
 strengthening *Rocroy* (which was commanded by *De Charry*) with new  
 Works and Soldiers, in a more especial manner, because of its im-  
 portance for the Defence and Supply of *Mariembourg* and *Maubert-fontaine*.  
 For, standing in a barren place, surrounded on one side with vast  
 Marshes and a clayey Soil, and on the other with Thickets and horrid  
 Rocks, it was almost inaccessible, and extremely difficult to be besieged:  
 The Fortifications themselves consisted of four spacious Bastions, and an  
 old Citadel, which served for a fifth: To each of which, according to  
 custom, particular Names were assigned, viz. the King's, the Dau-  
 phin's, *Montmorency's*, *Nevers's* and *Bourdillon's*: Besides which, it was  
 encompassed with a deep Ditch and Trench, full of a lower sort of  
 Bastions; and with a Covered-way made of Chalk, and consequently  
 impregnable against the force of Rain. Whence it fell out, that by  
 reason of the conveniency and security of the Place a multitude of People  
 flocked thither to fix their habitation. In the mean time the Enemy  
 managed every thing with great silence; and, when they had lain  
 by all the Winter and most part of the Spring, on the 4th day of  
*April*, before the main Armies on either side had rendezvoused, the  
 Garrisons of *Charlemont*, *Philipville*, *Givais* and *Avesnes*, taking the field  
 at the same time, formed a Scheme for seizing *Old Rocroy*; after which  
 they proposed to destroy the New Fortifications; which was a very  
 easy thing to be done, since the Rampart was not as yet raised to the  
 height of three feet. Our Men, at the sight of the Enemy, supposing  
 them to be the Fore-runners of a Company of Foragers, immediately  
 sallied forth; but, having in their Progress discovered an Ambuscade,  
 halted, and, before they could be surrounded by the Enemy, retired in  
 safety



safety to their Comrades. Whilst the King and *Philip* were thus employed, *Mary* Queen of *England*, through the persuasion of her Husband, A. D. 1557. by one \* *William, Norroy* King at Arms (who in a strange habit had passed into *France*) on the 7th day of *June*, when the King was at *Reims*, declared war against him. The Herald received a Reprimand at first from *Montmorency*, because he had entered the Realm without either a Pass or the Badges of the Queen's Arms, and was told that he deserved Death. However, he was afterwards introduced by him to the King; where when he had discharged his Errand upon his knees, the King in the presence of the chief Lords, and the Embassadors of the Pope, King of *Portugal*, *Venetian* State and the Duke of *Ferrara*, declared, That he did indeed accept the Challenge, but desired them to take notice, that he had satisfied all the Conditions of the Peace between the *English* and *French* to the best of his power; and had faithfully cultivated the Queen's Friendship, as he had constantly done and should ever do with All persons: He hoped therefore, that God would avenge the Breach of the League, and that This War (as most Others, particularly of late, had been) would be detrimental to the *English*. But when the Herald would have proceeded farther, the King stopped him, adding, That he came from a Woman; but that, if his Sovereign were a Man, He should have used a far different Strain: He ordered him therefore to be gone forthwith out of the Kingdom. *Norroy*, retiring from the King's presence, was conveyed to the *English* Embassador's House; and, being presented by the King with a Chain worth two hundred Crowns, returned with the Embassador into *England*.

The King, having accepted this Denunciation, immediately sent an Express into *Scotland* to the Queen; requiring the *Scots*, in pursuance of the League, that they should declare War against the *English*, since *Mary* not only furnished her Husband *Philip* with Auxiliaries, but had first denounced War against Him. The Letters were read in a Council of Lords assembled at † *New-Bottle* Abbey, just after the Embassadors sent into *England* had returned without a Confirmation either of War or Peace: Here the Regent, summing up the various Inroads of the *English*, Prizes carried off, Goods reclaimed and not restored; requires the *Scots*, that they should proclaim War, and wipe off that disgrace from their Country, whereby they would at the same time assist the *French*. When the Queen could not persuade the Nobles, that, before they themselves were attacked, they should begin a War; she contrived this Device, by *D' Oysel's* help, in order to induce them, even against their will, to take Arms. Near the Mouth of the River *Ay* she orders a Fortrefs to be erected, against the sudden Incursions of the *English*; in which she might safely lodge, and upon occasion draw out from thence the Artillery and other Necessaries of War; in order to save the labour and time of conveying them from distant parts

\* Gul. Noreus fecialis. *T'huannus*.

† Neobutellum cænobium. *ibid.*



A. D. of the Country; besides the difficulty of Carriage, and the hindrance of  
 1557. Business: For she judged, that the *English* would infallibly hinder the  
 Works, and not endure, that a Fortrefs should rise so near to *Berwick*:  
 That from hence an opportunity would offer for making war, the  
 blame of which might be cast upon the Enemy: Which actually  
 happened: For the *Scots*, provoked with the Interruption given by  
 the *English* to the Fortifications, came easily into the Regent's Proposal  
 for a War, and on a certain day, a Proclamation being published,  
 assembled in great numbers at *Edinburgh*. Which done, *D' Oysel* him-  
 self, without expecting an Order of the Council for the Conduct of  
 the War (for fear that, if Delays were used, the *Scots* might repent of  
 their Resolution), detached some Ensigns of *French* with a Train of  
 Artillery, which he had brought with him, cross the *Tweed* to besiege  
*Wark* Castle. The Nobles took this heinously ill, complaining that  
 they were led about at the pleasure of a Foreigner, who arrogated more  
 to himself than any of their Kings had ever attempted: For their  
 Monarchs had never used to make war, 'till every thing had been first  
 laid before the Council, and maturely weighed. By a Decree therefore  
 they commanded *D' Oysel* to bring back the Artillery, threatening him,  
 in case of disobedience, with the Pains of High-Treason. This the  
 Regent and *D' Oysel* reciprocally resented; because the former thought  
 her own Majesty, and the other the King's, whom he represented, to  
 be affronted: No other more present Remedy could be found out,  
 than, that the Queen, who was now marriageable, should be forthwith  
 married to the Dauphin; for thus the Authority of the *Scottish* Parlia-  
 ment, since the Queen would be in the power of her Husband, would  
 be diminished; to which purpose they writ to the King. He im-  
 mediately sent Letters to the Parliament; for the hearing of which an  
 Assembly of the States was appointed to be held at *Edinburgh* in the  
 month of *December*: Therein, after a long commemoration of the  
 ancient Leagues and mutual intercourse of Good offices, the King de-  
 manded of the *Scottish* Parliament (which consists of three Orders), that  
 since the Dauphin about the end of *December* would enter upon a  
 proper age for matrimony, they would send sufficient Plenipotentiaries  
 into *France*, who might put the finishing hand to the Contract, and  
 bind the hitherto confederated Nations by This as it were indissoluble  
 Knot. When they had all obediently appeared at the Assembly, eight  
 persons were chosen without Tumult for the conclusion of the Match,  
*viz.* three Ecclesiasticks, *James Beton* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, *Robert*  
*Reed* Bishop of *Orkney*, and *James Stewart*, the Queen's Base Brother,  
 Prior of *S. Andrew's*; of the Lords likewise three, *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl  
 of *Cassilis*, *George Lesley* Earl of *Roches*, and *James* \* Lord *Fleming* of  
*Comernald*; two also of the lowest Order, *George Seton* and *John*  
*Areskin*, both Knights, because they were Provosts, the one of *Edinburgh*,  
 and the other of *Mont-rofs*. These meeting with a Storm at Sea, and  
 being dispersed here and there, after the loss of two Ships, arrived in

\* *Flaminius Comerlandie regulus. Tbuanus.*



France not far from *Boulogne* in the beginning of the next year. A. A. D. War being kindled between the *English* and *Scots*, various Excursions 1557. and with various Success were made during all that Winter; but one especially remarkable at the Foot of a Mountain in *Truot-dale* between the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Andrew Kerr*. Here a sharp and obstinate Battle was fought, which at last ended to the advantage of the *English*, many brave Men being wounded on both sides, and *Kerr* himself taken Prisoner.

In the mean time things were managed with Us in the securest manner, and Preparations rather made for Defence than Offence; and at length it began to be visible, that this War, so rashly undertaken, would end in Disgrace and Ruin. But whereas the Duke of *Savoy* with *Arfchot*, *Mansfeldt*, *Egmont*, *Meghen* and *Barlemont*, had in the beginning of *June* repaired to *Port de Givais*, in order to muster an Army thereabouts; Our People conjectured, that the Enemy intended to invade *Champagne*; and were more particularly in pain for *Mezieres* and *Rocroy*, because, these being taken, the Communication would be cut off from *Mariembourg*, commanded by *La Loffe*, against which place the Enemy's Designs seemed more probably levelled. The Duke of *Nevers* therefore, Governour of the Province, imployed his whole diligence in providing these two places with all sorts of Necessaries for sustaining a Siege; and for *Rocroy*, *La Fontaine*, *Montpensier's* Lieutenant, was made Governour of it with *Montpensier's* own Troop of Horse; to whom was joined *Gilles de Borviere* with the Light-armour and eleven Companies of Foot. When the King, upon the representation of *Saint Heran* (who had been sent by *Montmorency* to view the Fortifications of the Barrier) distrusted the Strength of the place; *De Nevers* on the contrary writes to the King, and desires him to be easy upon that Head; for that the Town was so strong, that, if the Enemy should lay siege to it, he should not in the least scruple to shut himself up there with his Men; and that he had even resolved to do so. *Le Bourg d'Attigny* was pitched upon for the Rendezvous of Our Troops; and the Rhingrave with his Forces and some Carbinicers, who at last with much difficulty found a safe passage through *Lorraine*, had already arrived there. After the Enemy had maintained many Skirmishes with Our Soldiers near *Mariembourg*, having brought with them a good number of Ladders and other fit Instruments for making a sudden Assault, they marched directly to *Rocroy*, which they had flattered themselves with the hopes of taking in the space of six hours. When they came within sight, (this happened on the 25th day of *July*) Our Men, being certified of their approach, sallied forth without the least delay, and after many Discharges of the Artillery, and a long and obstinate Fight (in which *Borviere* Captain of Light-horse, and the Captains *Auger*, *Jacques* and *Bois* gave notable proofs of Valour) the Enemies, having lost many of their Men, gave over the Attempt, and encamped at a Ford, called *Le Gul de Housu*, between the Village of *Nimes* and *Hauterive*.



A. D. 1557. The Duke of *Nevers* then, sending out the Captains *Sainte-Marie* and *La Lane* for Intelligence, learnt, that in the Enemy's Camp were about forty Companies of Foot, and no more than fifteen Pieces of Cannon; but that new ones were continually arriving from *Malines*, and others every day expected; and that the Enemy intended to attack *Rocroy* for the present, letting *Mariembourg* alone to another opportunity: But this Information proved false, the Army soon turning aside to *Chimay*, and bending their course by the way of *Gläion*, *Trelon* and *Monstreuil*, to *La Chapelle* and *Vervins*, which last Town they took and pillaged. At last they came to *Guise*, where *De Vasse* had shut himself up, and which they were thought to have a mind to attack. Then Our People gained certain Advice, that there were in the Enemy's Camp thirty five thousand Foot and twelve thousand Horse, the most part *Germans*: They expected also eight thousand *English*, which landing at *Calais* were to join them, as it afterwards appeared, at *S. Quintin*. *De Nevers* had about eighteen thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, consisting in like manner mostly of *Germans*, with whom Our Troops, having followed the Enemy through the Country of *Thierache*, at length met at *Pierre-pont*. *De Nevers* for his part, with the Prince of *Condé*, the Rhingrave, *Joachim de Chabanes* *Marquês de Curton*, and *De la Roche du Maine* came to a Village, called *Nôtre Dame de Liesse*, famous in the opinion of its Inhabitants for its Sanctity; not far from the Seat of *Marchez*, formerly built with a royal Magnificence by That Monsieur *De Longueval*, who with *Martin de Rossem* undertook a memorable Expedition into the *Netherlands*, and now possessed by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*. The 28th of *July* was appointed for the day, on which the Constable *Montmorency*, *Gaspar de Coligny* the Admiral, and the Marshall *de Saint-André* (who were at Court) were to come in order to a Consultation. Various were the Sentiments of People; whilst some, who out of kindness to the Authors blindly favoured this rash Commencement of a War, were ready with their Speeches to extenuate the Fears of Danger, and to say, that no Enterprize could be executed this Summer by the Enemy, who had been so backward, because of the Difficulties of the Country and other Obstacles, in taking the field: That they had mustered an Army only to make a shew of their Power, and to retard Our Projects, that we might not effect any thing in the mean time: That they had fallen from the hopes of succeeding upon the Borders of *Champagne*, which they designed to invade; and now only sought an honourable opportunity of retiring. Others on the contrary (and so thought *Montmorency*) were of opinion, that it was not rashly done, but with Design, that the Enemy leaving the Frontier of *Champagne* had presently descended towards the Limits of the next Province *Picardy*: For that from thence it appeared, the Enemy had some important Siege thereabouts in view, which, taking the advantage of Our unprepared condition, they would forthwith execute. For to what purpose such a numerous Army, but in order to some considerable Enterprize? especially when they know the weakness of Our Force: Nor should any one flatter himself



himself, that they had been hitherto retarded by Difficulties; but rather *A. D.* certainly, that they had assembled so late, on purpose to fall upon us <sup>1557.</sup> unawares.

Nor was *Montmorency* deceived in his judgment. For when *Coligny* Governour of *Picardy*, apprized by *De Senarpont* and *John de Toutteville*, had admonished his Unkle, that the Enemy was preparing to fall upon that Frontier; News came immediately, that the Duke of *Savoy*, having after three days quitted *Guise*, of which he was thought to intend the Siege, and sent his Light-armour before, had invested *S. Quintin*, formerly called *Augusta Veromanduorum*. This (as *Julian Goffelini* says in his *Life*) was done by the Counsel of *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, whom *Philip* had lately sent for out of *Italy*, that he might use the Advice of such an experienced General in his most important Affairs. For thus he declared his Opinion, that the Army should in the first place march to *Guise*; supposing that We, looking upon the Siege as seriously designed, would presently draw off the Garrison from *S. Quintin*, in order to strengthen *Guise*, which is the nearest Town to it: And that then, *S. Quintin*, being left bare of a Garrison, should be immediately invested; which whether neglected out of an opinion of its Strength, or weakened by the late Draught of the Soldiers from thence, might with little Hazard, and great Honour to the Conqueror, be taken; and that, if Our Troops should venture to its Relief, as they would come from far, they might be engaged with certain hopes of Victory. *Peter Brueil de Bretagne* commanded in the Place, and with him was *Charles de Teligny de la Sale*, the Dauphin's Lieutenant, with the Dauphin's own Troop of Horse, and a small Garrison, by no means equal to such a Force. *Coligny* therefore having communicated the Design to his Unkle, sets out from *Pierre Pont* on the 2d day of *August*, with his own Troop, and those of the Earl of *Arrau*, *Jarnac Chabot*, and *La Fayette*, and three Troops besides of Light-horse, (having sent forwards Captain *Tenelles*, a Man well acquainted with the ways, with his own Troop of Light-armour, to march on the Right-hand) and comes to *La Faire* upon the *Oyse*; fetching this compass, because the other Roads were full of the Enemy's Parties. From thence he proceeded towards *Han*, taking with him the two Cohorts of *Rambouillet* and *Saint-André*; for *Cormont's* and *La Lane's* Cohorts could not arrive in time. When he came to *Han*, he received Letters by *Vaupergue's* hands from Captain *Brueil*, certifying him of the miserable state of the besieged City: That there was a general Consternation, and, if Relief were not immediately sent, the Townsmen would think of surrendering: He was then admonished by *Vaupergue*, that, if he hastened thither without halting, he might be introduced with his Men; but if he made any delay, what to day was easy to be done, would be no longer feasible to morrow. *Coligny* therefore, under his Guidance, leaving most of the Baggage and the Tenders behind, with a flying Party sets out for *S. Quintin*, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasion of *Jarnac* and of *Cenami Lusarches*, *Coligny's* own Lieutenant, who thought the Publick Honour concerned, that the Governour of



A.D. the Province should not be exposed to manifest Danger. The *Faubourgh de l' Isle*, which reaches beyond the *Somme*, had been deserted by the Garrison, because it could not be maintained by a small number of Men: This *Coligny* thought necessary to be immediately recovered. A Sally therefore being made, and the Houses burnt, which had been seized by the Enemy; from which, as standing upon higher Ground, one might look down upon the opposite lower part of the Town; the *Faubourgh* was retaken and a strong Guard put into it. Then after surveying the Place, encouraging the Townsmen, and picking out such of them as were capable of bearing Arms, making a search for Instruments fit for digging, and settling the means of forging new ones, an Inventory was at last taken of the Corn, and the Care of the Artillery committed to *De Languetot*, an indefatigable Man, who drew out an exact account of what Powder, Balls, and other necessary Stores there were in the City. Care was also taken of the Mills. Commanders were then distributed over the respective Wards of the City; and the Captains moreover requested, that, if they had any Advice to communicate, they should boldly open their minds to him: For that he did not doubt, but very many were there, who having been formerly shut up in Sieges must have observed many things, which might otherwise escape the most skilful Commanders: And that he would receive such Hints with cheerfulness and gratitude. The next pains were bestowed upon repairing the Bastion, which projected near the *Faubourgh de l' Isle*, and the other Fortifications; for the expediting whereof, Nights as well as Days were spent in cutting down such Trees, as hindered Our Prospect, and afforded a safe Access to the Enemy. After the recovery of the Suburb by that fortunate Sally, although *Coligny* judged it a hazardous thing to keep it with so small a number of Soldiers (lest, if it should be attacked, and Our Men beaten out of it, the Enemy might follow close upon their heels, as they should retire into the City, and gain the City at the same time with the Suburb); yet he determined, that it should be neither obstinately maintained, nor immediately abandoned; because as long as Our Men could keep it without running a hazard of the Whole, so long the Enemy's Advances would be thereby retarded. After this, *Coligny* gives orders for another Sally, that he might be better apprized of the Enemy's Posts and Stations, and on what side Succours might most safely be introduced. It was given in Charge to *De Teligny*, that he should send out a certain number of the Dauphin's Troop, with a most earnest prohibition from *Coligny* (who happened then to keep his bed with a violent Head-ach), that he should not go out himself: These were commanded to make an Excursion beyond the Village *De Raincour*. But when the foremost of them had fallen amongst the Enemy, and were retiring, *Teligny*, who could not bear to see his Men repulsed, ordering *De Cuisseux* (to whom he left the chief Direction) to stand still with sixty Horse without the Gate of *St. John*, himself contrary to his Instructions ventured forwards; and met with the same ill fortune which his Men had already underwent, being wounded in many



many places and stripped; no body interposing to help him, either *A. D.* because the danger was not perceived, or that it had been so ordered. 1557: *Coligny* being informed of the thing by *Jarnac* and *Lusarches*, as soon as he was eased a little of his Pain, advances himself; and understanding that *Teligny* lay not far off half-dead, in a resolution to snatch him alive or dead out of the Enemy's hands and to have him in his Own, he attacks the Enemy; upon whose repulse, *Teligny*, mangled as he was, was carried off into the City: Where, when with repeated Intreaties he had asked *Coligny's* pardon for not obeying his Orders, "You must ask now Forgiveness (says *Coligny*) not of Me, but of God; whose Mercy, since Your Death is at hand, You stand most in need of." However, he lived above an hour longer, and left Us a very great Loss in his Death; that Troop of Horse, which he commanded, being destitute of an excellent Commander, and doing duty afterwards with less Vigour: For he had an extraordinary stock of Courage and Ingenuity, Diligence and Fidelity, joined with a long experience of Military Affairs. Three days passed after this, in which the Enemy did nothing of consequence, except that they advanced their Trenches nearer to those houses, which by the late Sally of the Garrison they had been forced to quit, with a view of attacking the Suburb once more. A second Account was then taken of the Corn, and all persons summoned by a Cryer to Labour, under severe threatnings: Such as refused to work were driven out of the City; and in one night near eight hundred useless hands of both Sexes were sent out, by the Gate which leads to *Han*, to the great ease of the City. The Enemy then fell to the Attack of the Suburb; which *Coligny* having before expected, had taken care, that all things, which might be of use to the Enemy, should be withdrawn into the City; boring and supplanting the Houses every where, that, the moment Our Men should quit them, they might catch the Trains of Wild-fire and be blown up: Which also succeeded well, in bringing off Our Men without Damage, and in setting fire to almost the whole Suburb, except the Abbey *De l' Isle*, which remained untouched by the Flames. Then the Gate, through which Our People had retired into the City, was fortified. And since in two Towers, which enclose the Gate, a vast quantity of Gunpowder was found to be lodged, it was resolved to remove it from thence, lest upon the Playing of the Artillery on that side it might take fire, and draw a considerable part of the Wall along with it. But what was done on purpose to avoid the Danger, had like to have involved them in a greater. For, whether from some flying Sparks out of the flaming Suburb, or from a piece of Cannon discharged at random, whilst *Coligny* was patrolling about the City according to his custom; that Powder caught fire, and opened a large Breach; destroying about forty Men, and amongst the rest five Gentlemen of *Coligny's* Retinue: For the defence of this Breach, *Coligny* himself with only seven of his Attendants kept watch for an hour and an half, in case the Enemy should attempt any thing: But, the Conflagration of the Suburb dazzling their sight, and the Noise hindering the Crack from being heard, they made not the least motion:



*A. D.* motion : And in the mean while Our People with the utmost diligence 1557. and alacrity repaired the damage, so that the Wall was made much firmer in that part, than it had been before, through the dextrous and faithful Pains of *John Varlet Gibercour* the Mayor of the Place. After these things, *Montmorency*, who received intelligence from *Coligny* of all that passed, being solicitous of relieving the Town comes with the Army to *La Faire*; and from thence sends forwards the Marshal *De Saint-André* with three hundred Horse-cuirassiers, and the Prince of *Condé* with part of the Light-armour (which he commanded in chief), and likewise *D'Andelot* *Coligny's* Brother with eight Companies of Foot, to *Han*; that they might hold the Enemy in play, and prevent their spreading up and down the Country, and be the readier to favour every opportunity of introducing Succours. *Vaupergue* had been dispatched by *Coligny*, to convey the Succours by a Place, which *Coligny* himself, from one of the highest Towers of the City, had marked out to him. In His Company therefore *D'Andelot* setting out with two thousand Foot, advances to That part, where the Stations were the thinnest, as being laid out for the Quarters of the *English*, who were shortly expected: But (whether the thing was discovered by some *English* Prisoners, who had served in Our Cavalry, and by this information redeemed their Life of the Enemy, or whether it was owing to *Vaupergue's* Error) *D'Andelot* with his Men fell foul amongst the Enemy's Quarters; altho' he might safely have passed by an Ascent between two of their Stations, as it afterwards appeared, if he had not been deceived by the Guide. Thus, the Avenues being closely guarded on that side, he was intercepted and routed, and after the loss of most of his Soldiers saved himself by flight. This Mischance struck a wonderful Consternation into the Townsmen, who seeing themselves destitute of hopes of Aid, began to flag, and to perform their parts of Labour with less Vigour. The Dread was increased by the arrival of the *English* under the Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lords *Clinton* and *Gray*; who, after a vain Attempt by the way upon *Ardres* (into which place *Sansac* had thrown himself), being come into the Camp, took up all that Tract, through which the Auxiliaries from *Han* had any hopes of finding admittance. In order to comfort the People, *Coligny* went frequently to the Town-house, and bad them take courage; giving them hopes of a Reinforcement, which would shortly be sent by *Montmorency*: And, to animate them still the more, understanding that a good many Peasants of the Neighbourhood, stout fellows and inured to arms, had retired into the City, he gives it in charge to *Colincourt* and *Avernal* two of the principal Gentry of that Frontier, that each of them should raise a Batallion; which being armed and paid like regular Troops, he ordered to patroll up and down the City: In the mean time, having from an high Tower remarked the Posts of the Centry, *Coligny* fancied he had discovered a Place, through which Succours might be conveyed; and with that view had sent some Dragoons of his own Troop to *Montmorency*: But, the Enemy happening afterwards to change their Stations, as they often did, this Project fell to the ground. Then the



the Enemy advanced their Trenches, and sunk Mines, which Our *A. D.* Men within by the help of some *English* (who were very expert at this 1557. sort of business) hitherto baffled by Countermines. But *Coligny* had no power to interrupt the Enemy's Works, as having but a few Musqueteers, and hardly any small Cannon, but what were ill furnished; so that it was difficult by a Sally to remove the Enemy, and disturb their Proceedings, or to repell Force with Force: Whilst on the contrary from a Battery raised in the Suburb *De l' Isle*, Our Labourers were molested, and the Pioneers killed; so that scarcely with Victuals and Money in hand could any body be persuaded to go about the Works.

At length a way was found out, by which, as it appeared to *Coligny*, Soldiers might be introduced, through a Marsh below; wherein were some narrow Paths, which being made good, and (because the water lay generally upon them) well cleansed, there remained nothing but a Rivulet, that runs through the Marsh, and might be crossed in small Boats. *Montmorency* had admonished *Coligny* to prepare Vessels for that purpose; and, in order to view the Place himself, sets forwards on the 8th day of this month from *La Faire* with about fifteen hundred Horse and four thousand Foot, led by Captain *Enard*, *Maitre de Camp*. When he came to the Village called *Le grand Effigny*, leaving the Troops there in Order of Battle, and taking with him the Prince of *Condé*, the Duke of *Nevers*, *Honoré de Savoy* *Sieur de Villars*, and *Lewis de Bueil* Count *de Sancerre*, and also his Son *Montmorency* and *D'Andelot*, he descended as near as possible to the Edge of the Morass; and from thence detached *De Fumet* with two others, to mark exactly those Paths, the Enemy's Posts, and the Distances and Positions of the several places. These, having carefully and maturely taken a thorough view, return, and make an almost unanimous report of every thing to the Council. Whereupon *Montmorency*, being more confirmed in the hopes of pouring in a Re-inforcement, returns to *La Faire* in the Evening; and the next day, by a Bridge prepared for the purpose, just before sun-set, conveys over the Infantry, consisting of fifteen Companies of *French*, and twenty two of *Germans*, together with six Battering-pieces, four Culverins and four smaller Pieces. He himself early in the morning, on the Feast-day of *St. Lawrence*, joins them with the Cavalry; and thus marching with the Army in Batallia, comes about nine o'clock within sight of the *Faubourg de l' Isle*, where fourteen Ensigns of *Spaniards*, who in the beginning had seized that Suburb, were posted. On the same Quarter, the Duke of *Savoy* stood with his Troops widely extended cross the River and the Morass, having planted two Companies of *Spaniards* at the Mill facing Our Troops: These, venturing at first to resist, were dislodged; and immediately, the Artillery beginning to play, a prodigious Tumult arose in the Duke of *Savoy's* Camp; so that, his Tent being beaten down, he himself had scarce time to put on his Coat of mail, and retire to the Count *D'Egmont's* Quarters. There was a place, three miles distant from the City, full of Dales and narrow Passes, very fit to favour an



A. D. Attack upon Our Troops in their Retreat; which therefore *Montmorency* had judged necessary to be seized. It was not thought proper to post the Foot there; because, if they should be driven from thence, it would be hard for them at such a distance to retire in safety to the main Body: A Squadron therefore of Carbineers, belonging to the Rhingrave who was present, marched thither by Order. In the mean time *Montmorency* laboured hard to convey his Succours over the Marsh; but to the small number of Boats, and the Crowd of Soldiers thronging into them, it was owing, that all this Diligence served to little purpose: To this another Disaster was added, that the Soldiers in the Boats, by their own weight and the thickness of the mud, were hindered from passing to the opposite Bank; so that, endeavouring to leap to shore, they fell headlong into deep Sloughs, wherein some were swallowed, and others losing the Tracks wandered up and down to the diversion of the Enemy; and thus a very few, and amongst them *D'Andelot Coligny's* Brother, escaped safe into the City. Whilst these things went on, the Enemy did not sit idle: For the Duke of *Savoy*, when he had joined Count *D'Egmont*, fell into a Consultation, how he might cut off Our Troops in their Retreat. The Enemy had already fixed their thoughts upon That Place, which Our Men had before suspected; whither, after that Detachment of the Rhingrave's Squadron, the Duke of *Nevers* himself with his own, *De Curton's*, *D'Aubigny's* and *De Vasse's* Troops of Horse, by *Montmorency's* order, was marching. The Enemy therefore had soon after sent forwards a considerable Body of Cavalry, supported by the Foot, the same way; who having seized the Passes, and already reached almost the end of them, came up with the Duke of *Nevers*: The latter was inclined to fight the Enemy, before they had all passed; a Thought desperate indeed in appearance, but (as the Event shewed) really salutary; since by the danger of One or a Few Persons, the whole Army would have been rescued from Ruin: But being then advised by his Friends, and having before been advised by *Montmorency*, that he should not rashly venture upon any thing, that might bring on a necessity of a general Battle; preserving his Ranks, he retired first to the Prince of *Condé*, who stood at the Mill, which I have mentioned, with the Light-armour; and then with Him, turning aside to the Left, repaired to *Montmorency* who was already retiring. The Enemy, having now conveyed all their Forces over, pursued Us with eight Squadrons of Horse; who, seeing the small number of Our Troops, left the Count *de Scharwburg* with his Squadron of Horse to guard the Defiles, and advancing nearer fell upon Us. Count *d'Egmont*, for his part, with two thousand Horse made an impression in Flank; the Dukes *Erick* and *Ernest* of *Brunswick* with each a thousand Carbineers on the opposite side; whom *Philip de Montmorency* Count *de Horn* followed with a thousand Horse-cuirassiers: Between These, *Peter Ernest* Count *de Mansfeldt* with the Counts *de Willen*, *de Hookstrat* and *de Lallain* attacked Our Front with such Fury, that, the first Ranks being disordered and the Confusion communicated, the Rest, falling foul upon one another, so scattered and opened the other Ranks, that they



they were all rendered useless for fighting. The first, who fled, were *A. D.* the Baggage-tenders, Merchants, and the rest of that unserviceable 1557. Crew, that usually follows the Camp; and these drew the Military men by contagion after them. Then *De Nevers*, who was moving on the left hand in a crooked and deep Vale, when at the first Onset of the Enemy he went about to front them, being overwhelmed with a Cloud of Our People returning upon him from the higher ground and with the violence of the Enemy, he could not preserve his Ranks; but, having many of his Men beaten down and his Ranks laid open, he hardly after various Efforts retired with a few others to a place of safety: The Horse being routed, the Infantry stood firm in a close compacted Body: But, lying exposed to the Artillery, they were broken and dissipated between the Village of *Essigny* and Castle of *Rizerolles*, in a place called *Blanc-fosse*; and at length, after a long and bloody dispute of near four hours, were entirely routed; two thousand five hundred being lost on our side, and of the Enemy no more than fifty. Such of the Infantry as survived the slaughter fell by whole Battalions into the Enemy's hands; and all the Cannon were taken, two only excepted, which by the diligence of *De Bourdillon* were conveyed to *La Faire*. Several Persons of Honour perished, namely *John de Bourbon* the Prince of *Condé's* Brother (who after having frequently renewed the fight, and given eminent proofs of Valour in his high station, at last fell wounded by a Musquet-shot from his Horse, and being carried into the Enemy's Camp expired in a short time after) *Francis de la Tour* Viscount of *Turenne*, *Nicolas de Tiercellin* the Son of *Charles de la Roche-du-Maine*; and the Standard-bearers of the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Prince of *la Roche-sur-Yon*, *De la Roche-du-Maine*, *Peter Strozzi*, and *De Bourdillon*, viz. *Claude de Roche-chouart* Sieur de *Chandenier*, *De Giron*, *De Goulaines*, *De Saint-Gelais*, and *De Rochefort* Sieur de *Purviot*: The Constable *Montmorency* himself, having received a wound in the Belly, was made Prisoner; being reckoned guilty of an Error in his Office of Captain General, that he thought himself able to make good his Retreat with the whole Army in the Enemy's sight: The Duke of *Montpensier* likewise after an obstinate Dispute, wherein he recovered a Standard with his own hand, fell into the Enemy's power: As did the Marshall *de Saint-André*, *Helionor d'Orleans* Duke of *Longueville*, *Lewis Gonzaga* Brother to the Duke of *Mantua*, *De Vasséy*, *De Curton*, *De la Roche-du-Maine*, the Rhingrave Colonel of the Germans, (all Knights of St. Michael) *Francis* Count of *la Roche-foucault*, *D'Aubigny*, *Gabriel de Monberon* Son of *Montmorency*, *John de Gontauld* Sieur de *Biron* (who was ill treated in Prison and died of his irksome Confinement) *De Rochefort*, *De la Chapelle de Biron*; the Standard-bearers of *Montmorency*, *D'Enghien*, *De Bourdillon*, and *De la Roche-du-Maine*, viz. *De Saint Heran*, *Lavernade*, *De Neufvy*, and *De Marçay*; with *De la Roche-sur-Yon's* Lieutenants, *De Buffay*, and *De Monstreuil*; besides *R. du Bellay* Baron of *Thouarsay*, *De Mouy*, *De Molinont*, *De Fumet*, *De Rezè*, *De Monsalez* and others. *De Villars*, *Montmorency's* Brother-in-law, was dangerously wounded. The Duke



A. D. Duke de Nevers, with the Prince of Condé, the Count de Sancerre, De 1557. Bourdillon and other Lords; and also Francis de Montmorency with his Men, but by a different Rout, came to La Fayre upon the Oyse.

This was a great and a fatal Defeat to France; which not only overturned the prosperous Successes of so many years and the Fortune of almost Henry's whole Life, but proved so much the more pernicious, as it obliged that hitherto most fortunate Prince to an ill-conditioned Peace, which gave Rise to the Civil Wars in France. For if you except the Defeat at Marciano (which was owing to almost the same sort of Error), and the Loss of Siena; every thing had always proceeded happily with the King; 'till through the Ambition of certain Persons, this War being commenced in violation of the Royal Faith, he made Shipwreck at once of his Glory, and of all those Conquests, which as well he himself as his Father had gained by Arms. Certainly Montmorency, who had constantly from the beginning foreboded the ill Event of this Rupture, when by his elderly Prudence, Love to his Country, and Favour with the King, he had ever before maintained the chief Power in the Kingdom; as soon as Fortune deserted him, lost the Good-will of Men too: Which proved hurtful not only to his illustrious Family, but to the whole Gallick Interest: For his Rivals, who made a private advantage of the publick Misfortune, being thereupon preferred to the Administration, came into an empty place, and took possession of the People's Favour, that had left Montmorency; which once seized, these able as well as cunning Men with wonderful Artifice for ever after retained.

At first a Rumour had been spread, which reached De Nevers's Ears, that Montmorency having escaped out of the Rout, and rallied a Body of Troops, was still fighting; but this soon vanished. De Nevers, when he came to La Faire, immediately sent D'Escars to acquaint the King, who was then at Compiègne, with the whole Affair; and, by distributing the Troops which were with him amongst the neighbouring Garrisons, strengthened the Barrier: The Count de Sancerre, for His part, voluntarily shut himself up in the Town of Guise, with his Own and De la Roche-sur-Ton's Troops of Horse, and two Battallions of Foot belonging to D'Estree and De Piseux. Bourdillon staid at La Faire, with the Duke of Lorraine's and Villars's Troops, and the Battallions of Enard Maiter de Camp and five others. De Solignac repaired to his Charge of Castelet with his Own and the Baron de Clerac's Battallion of Foot. De Humieres was placed in Peronne with his own Troop, and those of Peter Strozzi and Martin du Bellay Sieur de Langey, and six Battallions; to which were added four more of Grammont's. The Count de Chaulnes also was appointed to command in Corbie with his own Troop, and those of Villebon and Vassez, and the Battallions of Bellefouriere and Blamecour; and De Crevecœur was soon after joined with him: De Sepois in Han, with three Battallions of Foot, and the Marshall de Saint-André's Troop of Horse: In Saint Disier, James de Clermont Buffly d'Amboise with De la Roche-du-Maine's Troop and two Battallions:



Batallions: In *Coucy*, *De Bouchavane* with three Battallions; and lastly *A. D.* in *Chaulny*, the *Sieur de Montigny* with *Montpensier's* Troop and two Batallions.

As with Us all things were full of Fear and Sorrow, so the Enemy exulted with Joy and Confidence; as believing the whole Flower of the Nobility to be extinguished, and that hardly any had escaped out of so great a Slaughter: So that when *De Nevers* sent a Trumpet to the Duke of *Savoy* for a List of the Dead and the Prisoners, they scarcely gave credit to him at first, and pronounced the Letter to be spurious: For they looked upon *De Nevers* himself as slain; for whom accordingly the Count *de Mansfeldt* caused a diligent search to be made amongst the Bodies; and, upon his not being found, every Man was commanded by a publick Cryer to bring his Prisoners before the Duke of *Savoy*. Then *Mansfeldt*, to repair the damages sustained (as he gave out) by his long Imprisonment, exercised a most base sort of Traffick; buying many Prisoners of the Soldiers, who did not know them, at a low Price; and afterwards, when they came to be known, setting an exorbitant Price for their Ransom: Which being severely done and more cruelly, than is allowed by the Law of Nations, was generally condemned. It is certain, that by the Horror of a Prison and other instances of Inhumanity he forced many to pay a Fine far exceeding their Abilities; and that *Biron*, who either could not give Satisfaction, or resolutely refused to do it, perished in Prison. The Enemies had conceived such an Assurance from this Victory, that without a moment's delay they thought of penetrating into the Heart of the Kingdom: Which once done, they did not doubt, by pursuing their Success, of becoming Masters in a short time of *Paris* itself; and *Ferdinand Gonzaga* used many Arguments to persuade *Philip* to it. But *Philip*, who feared, that, if leaving *S. Quintin* behind him he should advance farther, the King might collect his Forces; and, when the Nobility (with which this Realm too much abounds) should flock again to the Standard, might snatch all the fruit of the late Victory out of his hands; refused to depart from the Siege, and embraced the safer rather than the braver Counsel.

The King, when he knew of the Disaster, remanded *D'Escars* to the Duke of *Nevers*, with Letters testifying what a deep Concern he felt, but still that he had certain Confidence in God, who would not desert him: That accordingly he highly commended the Duke's Prudence and Diligence, in having so early and opportunely provided for the security of the Frontier: And was sending *James de Montgomery* *Sieur de Lorges*, to raise a choice Body at *Noyon* out of the Pages of Honour and Body-Guards: He thought it expedient, that the *Seigneur de Pot* should be made Governour of *Han*, and *De Noailles* of *Coucy*: And that the Duke himself should go to *Laon* with the Prince of *Condé*, young *Montmorency* and *De Villars*, to assemble the Remains of the Army in that place, whither he had ordered Troops to flock to him from all parts of the Kingdom. The King leaving *Compiègne* repaired to *Paris*, where the Citizens, in the utmost Consternation, were



A.D. retiring apace into the neighbouring Cities, as if the Enemy were already at the Gates. The King encouraging them with his Presence and Discourse, bad them be of good chear; for that he would never be wanting to them, if they would not be wanting to themselves: That he had hitherto lived with them in such Fatherly Affection, that he would choose to mortgage his Royal Demesnes and run himself deeply into debt for the support of the Kingdom's Necessities, rather than burthen his People with new Taxes, or invent any ruinous methods of raising Money: But upon the then pressing occasion he desired, that they would pay some regard to Him and the present Circumstances of Affairs, and not neglect the Common Danger. The Citizens thereupon, recovering from their dismal Apprehensions, made a voluntary Tender of three hundred thousand Crowns for the Use of the War, and engaged their Fealty. With this Supply six thousand *Swiss* were hired under the Command of *Luke Riet* of *Basil*, and eight thousand from the Cantons of *Glaris* and *Ury*. *Recrod* too was sent to raise Soldiers in *Germany*, which was almost exhausted by the Enemy's Recruits; and particularly by those of *Nicolas* Baron de *Polweiller* of *La Bresse*, who had lately levied twenty Ensigns of Foot and some Troops of Horse in the name of *Philip*. Troops were also raised in all parts of the Realm, and orders dispatched to the Nobility, and such as were accustomed to bear Arms, to repair to the Duke de *Nevers* at *Laon*, in order to fight for the Dignity and Safety of the Kingdom; with an addition of grievous Penalties to such as should refuse Obedience; of Death to all in general, and, to the Nobles in particular, the Loss of their Coats of Arms and Gentility.

*De Nevers*, when he arrived at *Laon*, viewed the Remains of the Army: Of the whole *French* Cavalry, which consisted of nine hundred Cuirassiers and a thousand Light-armour and Carbineers, scarce thirteen hundred were found remaining: Of fifteen Companies of *French* Foot only four were left, and those mostly disarmed, and by reason of their Wounds and Hardships unfit for Service: Of the *German* Cavalry, commanded, upon the Rhingrave's being taken Prisoner, by the Count de *Barbize*, three hundred only remained: And of their Foot, which *Sternes* conducted, amounting lately to twelve thousand Men, hardly four thousand had survived the Battle: And these were with difficulty persuaded by *De Nevers* to keep the Field, because most part of them had been taken Prisoners, and dismissed upon a promise, that they would not serve the King again within six months. From whence it might be collected, how terrible a Destruction of the Troops was made. Quarters being assigned amongst the Villages and adjacent Towns, the Duke de *Nevers* by his extraordinary Liberality to the Officers, and Humanity towards the sick and wounded Soldiers, won their Hearts in a surprizing manner, and encouraged them to return to the ungrateful Toils of Warfare. Four Companies were sent for from *Metz*, and Monsieur de *Jours* ordered to bring the Regiment of *Champagne*, which he commanded. The Prince of *Condé* harrassed the Enemy with continual IncurSIONS, which was all that could be done; and



and sometimes he himself suffered from the Return of the like Inroads *A. D.* from the Enemy: And then especially, when, upon the Revolt of a 1557. Troop of *English* Light-horse (which, leaving their Captain *Gray* behind them, went over to the Enemy), they advanced as far as Our very Camp, in order to view the Avenues, Fords, and Situation of the Country. In like manner the Count *de Sancerre* from the Town of *Guise*, and *Bourdillon* from *La Faire* made incessant Excursions.

For two days the Defeat was concealed from the Inhabitants of *S. Quintin*, who upon hearing of it fell into an universal Consternation. *Coligny* however, comforting them in the best manner he could, used all his diligence, that, tho' in his own mind he despaired of preserving the Town, he might hold the Enemy so long employed in the Siege, 'till the King, recollecting the Spirits and Forces of his Subjects, might raise a new Army to bridle the Fury of the Conquerors. There had entered the Town with *D'Andelos* about five hundred choice Soldiers; and a few Gentlemen Volunteers, and amongst them the Viscount *de Notre-dame*, *De la Curee*, *De Matas*, and *De Saint-Remy* an excellent Miner, besides some Gunners and Captains of the Artillery, which the Besieged extreamly wanted. Then, a new Distribution being made of the several Quarters of the Town, *Saint-Remy* entered into a close Consultation with *Langford* an *Englishman* about the Mines and the Pioneers. The Besieged were infested not only by a Discharge of the Enemy's Artillery in Front, but by an oblique Battery likewise; and then especially, when upon *Philip's* arrival in the Camp the Cannonading was renewed; so that the Defendants could not stand safely upon the Walls. *D'Andelos*, to remedy this inconvenience, made use of the following Contrivance. The Boats, which had been built for Bridges and other services of the War, he ordered to be left upon dry ground before the Wall, and to be laid upon one another and filled with Earth; by which means in the space of one Day (what the Pioneers could hardly have done in a whole Month) he raised a large Redoubt, able to sustain the Enemy's Cannon, and opposite to their sloping Battery; behind which the Besieged lay tolerably well covered on both sides. Nor did the Enemy loyter in the mean time, but continually advanced their Trenches, and prepared the new Pieces of Ordnance, which *Philip* had brought from *Cambray*, for present Service. Measures therefore were again concerted for pouring in a fresh Re-inforcement; and, by the Advice of *De Nevers*, *Condé* and the other Lords, three hundred Musqueteers were sent from *Crépy en Valois*, conducted by *Saint-Simon* Cornet to *De Nevers*, and *Chastellux* Lieutenant to *Bourdillon* with their respective Troops of Horse, to a narrow Path in the Morass marked out by the Fishermen, where the water was so shallow, that it would not reach higher than a Man's Navel. When they were come to the place, in the dead time of the night, the Horse, which had conducted them, after staying there only so long, 'till they might have waded over the Morass, retired under shelter of the Night, without knowing whether they had actually passed or not. But when an Alarm had been taken in the Enemy's Camp, the Succours, whether

frightened



A. D. frightened or mistaking the way, perished for the most part, or were  
 1557. utterly dispersed; only an hundred and twenty of them escaping safe  
 into the City, and They new-raised Men and without their Arms;  
 a small Relief in such an Exigency! which happened through the  
 Fault of the Troopers, as *Coligny* afterwards wrote: For if These, in  
 the first Fright of the Enemy, had amused them with irregular Skir-  
 mishes, which might have been safely done, they would have covered  
 the intermediate Auxiliaries, 'till they had passed clear over the Morass.  
 From hence forward *Coligny*, entertaining no farther hopes of Succours,  
 employed his whole time in countermining the Enemy's Mines;  
 wherein *Saint-Remy* was very serviceable; for *Langford*, either despairing  
 of Success, or apprehensive of his own Danger, began to faint. This  
 was therefore laboured by *Coligny*, that with the same pains he might  
 disappoint the Enemy's Designs, and penetrate into the Dike, of which  
 by this time they were masters. The Town had been invested on  
 the 2d day of *August*; and, on the 21st of the same month, the  
 Batteries began to play; *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, who had first put *Philip*  
 upon the Siege, encouraging the Work, and appearing daily in the  
 Trenches and the Ditch: Cross-Batteries were then erected by his  
 Direction, which cruelly annoyed Our Men; whereas before, ever  
 since the Redoubt raised by *D'Andelot* upon the Boats, the Shot had  
 flown at random and without execution. The Firing being continued  
 six days, and a Hole in the mean while bored within the Ditch;  
 when the Enemy were already sheltered from the Cannon and Mus-  
 quetry; that they might not be infested by Stones, they covered them-  
 selves with Galleries, which protected them from all manner of Damage  
 whatsoever. From *St. John's* Gate to the River-Tower a Breach was  
 made, with greater Success, than either Party could have expected; the  
 middle Tower being thereby shattered, and the Battlements of the  
 Wall beaten down, which the Besieged thought strong enough to have  
 sustained an infinite number of Discharges. After the fourth day of  
 the Firing, ten Pieces were raised to the top of the Abbey de l' *Isle*, and  
 directed against That part, where we mentioned the Gunpowder to  
 have taken Fire. The Dike now being thoroughly possessed and  
 bored by the Enemy, *Saint-Remy*, who in the Mines, which he was  
 hastening, had placed a good deal of Confidence, began to despair of  
 his Success, and advertised *Coligny*, that the Soldiers were dispirited:  
 By whose advice, as often as the latter visited the Places shattered by  
 the Artillery, by going up to the Stations, calling every Man by his  
 name, and being forward to ask the Opinions of the Officers, he did  
 all that lay in his power to revive their Courage: And when he heard  
 frequent murmurings, he took no notice of them, but openly appeared  
 resolute to defend the Town at all adventures against the Enemy: Ac-  
 cordingly he gave every one leave, if he himself should be found to  
 speak a word of surrendering, to throw him over the wall to the  
 Enemy in the ditch with Ignominy and Curses, as the Refuse and  
 Off-scouring of the City: In return he desired, that if he should  
 find so mean-spirited a Wretch amongst Them, he might use the same  
 Power



Power over that Person, as he had first given to Them over himself. *A. D.* Thus the Fears were in some sort abated, and the Murmurings of the 1557. Soldiery repressed, who fell to work again with more chearfulness. After the 6th day of the Cannonading, the Enemy drew out their Troops as it were to an Assault; and Our Men by *Coligny's* Order prepared themselves for a vigorous Defence; when the Mines, being sprung, overturned part of the Walls with a prodigious Crack, but with less effect, than the Enemy had hoped: Who accordingly contenting themselves with viewing the Ruins, which *Coligny* undertook to defend, and descending into the Dike, which *D'Andelot* maintained, retired every Man to his Post. The following night *Coligny* spent in repairing the Breach; and, by pulling down some neighbouring Buildings, extinguished a Fire, which in the mean while, heightened by the Wind, had spread amongst the thatched Houses behind the Abby of *Dominicans*: There, when he heard the same Murmurings, and had been again informed by *Saint-Remy*, that the Soldiers seemed exceedingly discontented, because they suffered so much, during their work, from the Enemy's Cannon; and often said, that their Labour was laid out to no purpose in strengthening and defending so weak a Place; he, by going about the Stations, filled the Soldiers with present Hopes, and again animated them to resume their Work. The next day, the Fire was renewed with more vehemence than ever: Which when *Coligny* observed, calling aside his Brother *D'Andelot*, and *Saint-Remy*, on whom he very much relied, he asked them, if there were any Remedy against the Mines: To whom *Saint-Remy*, "I do not see (says he) what can defeat such vast Attempts, since the Enemy have already got footing in the Ditch, which being fully Masters of, they will undoubtedly beat down all the Towers and the Bastions, which used to flank them, and so insensibly and without danger mount the Battlements; and These once possessed, the Covered-way is too narrow for Us to maintain Ourselves in it against them. But to think of making an Intrenchment within the Covered-way would be idle, when the Enemies shall be in possession of an Eminence, which overlooks it: But I have two Mines ready, which I will order to be closed, that, when occasion shall offer, Fire may be set to them: Although I am somewhat fearful for one of them, which is the principal; lest, when it shall be sprung, it may blow up the Tower; which, far from doing the Enemy a Mischief, will afford them an easy Ascent as it were by a Ladder into the Town: However, I shall not make use of it, but in case of Necessity." To this *Coligny* answered, "I have one thing, which I would communicate to You in private; but I beg You, that this Secret may die with Us. That You can find no Remedy against the Enemy's Mines, does not fright Me, *Saint-Remy*; who am ready to spend my Life and Blood for my Country and Prince; and who know, that every Day, nay and every Hour, that we at our own Peril shall keep the Enemy here employed, will be of vast importance to the establishment of his Majesty's Affairs: But the Remembrance and Example of



A.D. 1557. "*Terouenne*, which was lately taken; disturbs me; upon which occasion it was afterwards reported, that *Montmorency* acted with little Prudence; because, when he saw the Enemy already possessed of the Ditch, and preparing to supplant the Wall, he did not think of an honourable Capitulation, which he might have obtained from the Enemy upon good Terms, if he had treated but two days before: Nor am I ignorant how easily Men incur Censure in such Cases, who have done nothing to deserve it. I am very much afraid therefore, lest many may think me to have acted inconsiderately, if I should expose to manifest Danger the chief Strength of the Realm and the Flower of the Cavalry, which, at this juncture especially, may be of excellent service in the Defence of other Towns. But then I consider, that the Enemy after such a violent Battering will give a furious Assault, which if we sustain bravely and repell, they will not venture soon upon another, but proceed by a gentler sort of Force: We, in the mean while, having gained so much time, after this Experiment will certify the King of every thing, and with his leave will then treat with the Enemy. But This I would have You to know, that I am resolved to perish upon the spot, rather than suffer any Expression, unworthy of myself, to escape from me. Tho' I know, that many, who are about me, begin to despond; yet I think it easy to deceive them by Art, and to animate them by Words and Example; that tho' they are really Cowards, they may be wrought into an opinion of their Bravery. It remains for Us, when the Firing to day shall be the hottest, to prepare ourselves, for this Turn at least, to sustain the Assault with Valour: Which if we shall do (as I hope and trust we shall), we will then ask Counsel of GOD, the bestower of sound Judgment, for our future Conduct." After this Speech, they departed each to his proper Charge. A Breach had been made in eleven places, for the defence of which eight hundred regular Troops (only so many remaining in the City) were appointed; the Inhabitants being distributed into other places, that, if the Enemies attempted an Escalade, no part of the Walls might be left destitute of Defendants. The first Breach was committed to *Peter de Bruil* of *Bretagne* the ordinary Governour of the Town; the second to *Humes* Lieutenant to the Earl of *Arran*, to whom *Coligny* in his Commentaries attributes the chief Praise for his behaviour in the Siege; the third to *De Cuyseux*; the fourth to *De la Garde*, with part of *Saint-André's* Company and the Dauphin's Troop of Horse; the fifth to *Coligny* himself with *De Gordes's* Company, out of which, consisting at first of fifty Men, at the end of the Firing on that day scarce seventeen remained; the sixth to *James d'Angennes de Rambouillet*; the seventh to *Jarnac*, to whom, Captain *Bure d'Arboville* was added; the 8th to the Captains *Forces*, *Auger* and *Soleil*, and to *Kaupergue* with some Horse; the ninth to *D'Andelot*, with whom *S. Romain's* Company was joined; the tenth to *De Linieres*; the eleventh to *De Salevert* with *La Fayette's* Troop of Horse, in company with the Captains *Sagauville*, *De Haqueville* and *La Barre*. Just after two o'clock

in



in the afternoon, the Enemy advanced to the Assault without Noise *A. D.* or Beat of Drum. The Forlorn-hope was assigned to *Alonzo Casere* 1557. a Colonel of *Spanish* Veterans, and to *Lazarus Schwendi*, whose Troops as well *Spaniards* as *Germans*, being the foremost in the Assault, were for the most part killed: The second Body to *Navarette* with some *Spaniards*, and to *Charles de Brimeu* Count de *Meghen* with his *Walloons*: The third, with three Companies of *Spaniards* and two thousand *English*, to *Julian Romero*; who falling from the Breach happened to break his Leg: The fourth and last to *Carondelet*, with three Ensigns of *Burgundians*, who lost one of his Hands in the fight. When the Enemy at first seemed to bend their Course directly to that Breach, where *Coligny* stood, and Our Troops were ready to receive them, they immediately turned aside to a very high Tower, which belonged to the Station assigned to *De la Garde*; and, having mounted it, found the Place empty of Defendants: And when *Coligny* soon after posted thither with Captain *Saragoffe*, in order to defend it, he was deserted by his Men, only four and a Youth of Quality remaining with him. The Enemy now had entered the City, and the *Germans* were making most cruel and insolent havock in every part; whereupon *Coligny*, finding himself intirely surrounded, began nevertheless to contrive, how he might fall rather into the hands of the *Spaniards*, when he should be taken; and accordingly, after he had passed through one of the Enemy's Mines, where he rested himself a while, he met with *Casere*, and then with the Duke of *Savoy*, by whose order he was conducted into a Tent. Thus was the Town taken and pillaged; which was owing not only to its Weakness, but also in a great measure to the Fault of the Defendants, and especially the Dauphin's Troop, whose Cornet was seen basely to run away; and from thence it manifestly appeared, how expedient it is, that Brave Men should be commanded by a Brave Officer; For, *Teligny* being dead, they went heavily about every thing, and Then most remarkably, when the Time required their Valour. In the Quarter assigned to *D'Andelot*, there continued a very obstinate Dispute, even after the Town had been taken in other Parts; but at length, being hemmed in on every side by the Enemy, he was routed, and made Prisoner. There perished on our side *La Fayette's* Son, *De Salevert* Cornet in *La Fayette's* Troop, and the Captains *Auger*, *De Vic*, *La Barre*, *Des Eslangs*, and *De Gordes*: The Prisoners, besides *Coligny* and *D'Andelot* (who afterwards made his escape), were *Jarnac*, *Saint-Remy*, *Humes*, *De la Garde*, *De Cuyseux*, *Moulin*, *Brueil*, *Rambouillet* and *Saint-Romain*. This passed on the 27th day of *August*.

In the mean while the Duke of *Nevers* was at *Laon* with the Army, intent upon fortifying the neighbouring Places, and strengthening them with Soldiers, which flocked daily to the Camp; and also frequently harassing the Enemy with Excursions, interrupting their Projects, and cutting off their Provision and Foragers. The King had designed, before the taking of *S. Quintin*, to fortify his Camp at *Han*; and for that purpose had made an abundance of preparations: But the business being done by the Enemy sooner than was expected, dropping that Scheme



A. D. Scheme he began to think of distributing the Troops in Garrison 1557. amongst the Frontier-Towns. To *De Bourdillon*, who was at *La Faire*, and to the Count *de Sancerre*, who held the Town of *Guise* and *La Capelle*, and likewise to *De Humieres* Governour of *Perone*, some Veteran Auxiliaries were detached from the Garrison of *Metz*.

Whilst these things were in agitation, *Philip*, having repaired in some degree the Fortifications of *S. Quintin*, commanded the Army to in-camp before *Castelet*: The Artillery being arrived, *Barbanfon* Count *d'AreMBERG* (who was appointed to command the Siege) received orders, that with twelve hundred Horse he should make himself master of a Morass, that reached to *Saint-Martin*; and three Regiments of Germans, consisting of twenty four Companies, were joined to him for that purpose: Against That part of the Town, which faces *Cambray* and *S. Quintin*, twenty one Pieces of Cannon were planted; which, destroying the two opposite Bastions and the intermediate Wall, made a large Breach. *Solignac* commanded in the Place; a Man of great Repute, and one who promised Wonders: Infomuch that *De Nervers* often writ word to the King, that he should take no thought about *Castelet*; for that *Solignac* would not capitulate, 'till after he had suffered the utmost Extremities; and that he would find the Enemy Employment for twenty days at least in that Siege. When therefore the News came of its being surrendered to *Barbanfon*, which happened on the 7th day of *September*, no Credit was at first given to it. *Solignac* was afterwards apprehended upon that account and imprisoned at *Paris*: But he excused the Fact by the weakness of the Place, the Works laid out not having been raised as yet to a proper height; besides, that his Garrison was less numerous than it should have been; for the Town was capable of holding two thousand Men, and had been actually held with such a Garrison formerly by *D'Estree*; but that the Soldiers, being few in number, presently fell into Despair, and obliged him against his will to surrender. During the Siege of *Castelet*, Our Troops maintained several Skirmishes; and near forty Foragers were put to the Sword by *Villars's* Troop, and many valuable Horses taken: Then again by the Troop of the Prince of *Condé* and of one *Archison a Scot*, twenty Foot were killed, and more would have fallen, if the Horse had not come up. From thence *Barbanfon* marched to *Fonz-Somme* to join *Philip*, who was arrived there with the rest of the Army.

After the Victory, *Philip* had immediately sent away an Express into *Spain* to his Father *Charles* now living in Solitude, to wish him joy of the News, and to take his Direction for his own future Conduct. To him the Emperor returned this Answer: "Although (says he) "this Retirement makes me less careful of all other things, yet I receive the News with an hearty pleasure, and I congratulate my "dearest Son upon such fortunate Beginnings of his Reign. I moreover, in the humblest manner, return Thanks to Almighty God, "that he has not suffered Perfidy to go long unpunished, but has "taken revenge of the Violators of the Peace, both lately in *Italy* and "now in the *Netherlands*: This tho' I had foreseen in my mind, and  
" com-



“ comforted myself with the Prospect; yet I could not help being A. D.  
 “ concerned, that, about the very time, when, having first settled a 1557.  
 “ Truce for Christendom, I had composed myself to Rest, the whole  
 “ World should be disturbed with a fresh Outcry and an unexpected  
 “ War. As for the Advice, which my Son desires, let him not  
 “ expect any such thing from Me, either now or hereafter: He has  
 “ with him Men of Gravity and tried Fidelity, well exercised in  
 “ business during all my Administration; of whom I myself, if I  
 “ were still at the Helm, would ask Counsel: Let him take Them  
 “ into his Cabinet; and, having maturely weighed their Reasons, and  
 “ before all things implored the Assistance and Favour of God, let  
 “ him then resolve what is best to be done.

In the mean time there arose a Mutiny in the Camp; and the *Germans* after the Victory murmured, according to custom, for want of their Pay: The *Spaniards* too behaved themselves with their natural Insolence: And the *English*, being ill treated (as they gave out) by the *Spaniards* in revenge for some late pretended Affront, demanded a Licence to be gone; which, to prevent a greater mischief, was also allowed them. From thence it came to pass (as many think), that after such prosperous Successes *Philip* entered upon no other important Enterprize, and suffered the Army insensibly to moulder away; notwithstanding the Persuasions of *Gonzaga*, who, at that juncture especially, declared for keeping the Troops together; either in order to pursue the Victory, or to hinder the Attempts of Our People; who, no doubt after such a Defeat, would exert themselves to the utmost for raising a numerous Army, and making a final Effort. Upon the Departure of the *English*, when the King feared, lest they might attack some Place in their Journey, he sent orders to *Senarpont* who had the Care of *Boulogne* and *Monstreuil*, that he should not stir from his Post, till the *English* had crossed the Sea; and to *Abbeville*, into which he had before been commanded to fling himself, *Sansac* with his own Troop and That of the Duke d'Engbien (lately slain) was detached, for the preservation of the Town. Whilst an Answer was expected from the *Spaniards*, it was resolved to march to *Han*, a place advantageously situated, in a Plain, which had nothing to command it; encompassed on one side by the River *Somme*, and on the other sides by a Morass of five hundred Paces in extent and almost inaccessible. The Town is small and meanly defended with Walls; but there is a Citadel in it, formerly built by the Constable *Lewis de Luxembourg*, guarded by four round Bastions and a square Tower, but without any Covered-way or Counterscarp; which however in those days was reckoned to be very strong; and in confidence of which he offered his Mediation to reconcile a Difference between *Lewis XI.* and *Charles Duke of Burgundy*; aiming unadvisedly to hold the Balance, which They only ought to pretend to, who are able to force the refractory Party to Obedience; the Truth whereof was confirmed by the Event. *De Sepois*, who commanded in the Place, had given his opinion, that the Town, which could not be defended, that it might not be of use to the Enemy, should be burnt; and



A. D. that the Citadel, in order to delay the Enemy, should be maintained 1557. with a Garrison: Which was accordingly done; and *De Piffelen* Sieur *de Heilly*, a Man of the first Quality and a most experienced Officer, was appointed to defend the Citadel. At the same time *Francis Montmorency*, with his Own and his Father's Troops of Horse, repaired to *Amiens*; whither *A. Dailly* Vidame of that City, *D'Auguessant* and *De Morvilliers* had already arrived with their respective Troops. The Prince of *Condé* too was sent into the *Soissonois*, to guard the Fords of the Rivers, and fatigue the Enemy with Excursions; by whom Monsieur *Clery* with his own Troop and some Scots was appointed to command in *Noyon*. *De Lisle* Seigneur *de Marivaux* received orders to go to *Beauvais*, and to take charge also of *Saint-Dizier*; and lastly *De Rasses* was detached to *Senlis*. At length the Cannon being planted against the Citadel of *Han*, and making a furious impression upon the Walls, when it was not possible to draw an Intrenchment within, after a large Breach Our Men surrendered it on the 12th day of September. *Han* being taken, it was uncertain to Us, which way the Enemy would take; whether they would fall into the *Boulonnois*, or attempt *Compiègne*, which lay before them, and then return home through *Champagne*, sparing their own Country, and continually laying Ours waste. What increased this Imagination, was, that the Baron *de Pollweiller*, who before had been sent into *Germany*, was said to be upon the Borders with twenty Ensigns of Foot, and twelve hundred German Horse, in order to an Expedition (as it was given out) into *England*; to which Country he could not possibly pass by any other Rout than This; and that *Philip* would probably advance to meet him. Therefore the Frontier of *Picardy*, which *Francis Montmorency* commanded, being (as it seemed) well secured; *D'Estree* was placed in *Soissons*, and, besides the Forces already sent forwards, had two new-raised Companies of Foot assigned to him, and eighty Carbineers under *Faverolles*: The Prince of *Condé* guarded the River, which ran by the Town, with the Light-armour extended along both the Banks; and the King had sent him a fresh Reinforcement under *De Charmazel* and *De Gondrin*. Provision had been made too for the Security of *Champagne*, by sending back the Seigneur *de Jametz* and *D'Eschenets* with their Troops of Horse: Moreover, *De Fours* was commanded to draw together the Regiment of *Champagne*. *Philip* in the mean time hastened the Fortifications of *S. Quintin* and the Citadel of *Han*; and, that his Parties might have more room to traverse the Country, and for his more plentiful Supply of Provision, surprises *Noyon* by Stratagem; sending some Troops of Horse, which, entering without their Colours into the Town already burnt and very weak, easily dispossessed *De Clery* and his Scots. *Chaulny* too was seized at the same time, not with a view of fortifying it, but for the commodiousness of the Place, that, by the help of a strong Garrison there, the Vintage might be gathered from the neighbouring Country, and the Camp be more freely supplied with Provision. Thus September and part of October were spent in mutual Excursions: At length, the Mutiny of the Germans increasing,

many



many of them, deserting *Philip*, as if their Accounts had been cleared, *A. D.* passed over to Us; and Thus those Ensigns of Our *Germans*, which <sup>1557.</sup> by the late Losses had been considerably diminished, were filled again. The King, on his part, raised Troops on all sides; sending *De Varsseux*, to receive the new Levies of *Swiss* upon the Frontiers of *Burgundy* and *Champagne*; and *John Mendoza* likewise to *Lyons*, to conduct four thousand *Swiss*, which were coming from *Piedmont*; and likewise *Monsieur De Marolles*, to review the Recruits of *Germans* lately raised by *Recrod* and *Reiffenberg*, which had already reached *Is-sur-Tille*. The Duke of *Guise* too, who had been recalled by the King out of *Italy* immediately after the Defeat of *S. Quintin*, was shortly expected, being already upon the road with his Brother the Duke d' *Aumale*. *De Nevers* was likewise sent for by the King from *Laon* to *Compiègne*, in order to overlook the Fortification of this latter place: As soon as he came, he marked out a spacious Field near the Town for an Incampment, and secured it with strong Lines. Whilst he was thus employed, that he might farther improve his time to the best advantage, observing, that the Garrison of *Chaulny* to the number of fifteen hundred Horse made frequent Excursions, he appoints a Day and Hour for *De Bourdillon* to meet him with his Troops; whilst he himself took a turn into the *Soissonnois*, under colour of receiving eighteen Companies of *Swiss*, which had lately arrived. Thus Forces being drawn together from *La Faire*, *Coucy*, the *Soissonnois* and the neighbouring parts, and *Condé* coming thither with the Light-armour, he lays Ambuscades in proper places round about *Chaulny*; sending *Francis d' Hangeſt de Jenlis* before, with orders to entice the Enemy to an Engagement, and by insensibly giving ground draw them into the Ambush: But whereas the greater part of the Troopers in Garrison had been recalled into the Enemy's Camp, the Remainder, not venturing to go so far abroad, disappointed Our Project. However, some *Dalmatian* Horse and their Captain fell into Our hands; and *Condé* surrounded a Party of *Spanish* Foot, who trusting to the Intrenchments had advanced too far; and who at length, being shut up in a Cottage, upon *D' Alligny's* being ordered with his Troop of Carbineers to dismount, surrendered themselves. Their Captain was killed in *Condé's* fight by Captain *Laumay*, who, being thereupon apprehended by the Order of the Prince (who designed to punish him), begged pardon for his ungovernable Passion; and excused the Fact, because That *Spaniard* had used the same cruelty to several *French* Prisoners, and lately to some Friends of his: At the noise of the Rencounter, when four thousand Horse had galloped from the Enemy's Camp, in order to pursue Our Men; they failed of their Ends, the Troops being all gone and returned to their respective Quarters. *October* being well nigh passed, *Philip*, whilst the Works of *S. Quintin*, *Castelet* and *Han* were diligently carried on, marches to *Cambray*, and from thence, attended with a noble Retinue of Courtiers, to *Brussels*; and with him *Ferdinand Gonzaga*; who, falling into a Distemper contracted by his constant Fatigues in former times, and lately more especially in the Siege of *S. Quintin*, died shortly after, on the 15th day of *November*,  
in



A. D. in the fifty first year of his Age : A Man of a great, but stubborn Soul ;  
 1557. exercised in considerable Expeditions, and tossed all his Life-time by  
 various Tides of Fortune ; but at the last he was accused of Avarice  
 and Rapaciousness, and generally thought to have owed his Disgrace  
 to the Love of Money, after he had shewn himself to be almost in-  
 vincible by Arms (which same thing is said of *L. Lucullus*) ; and for  
 that reason he was removed from the Administration of the *Milanese*  
 by the Emperor, who amongst other Lessons left this Charge to *Philip*,  
 that he should use *Gonzaga* as his Counsellor in all Affairs of Importance  
 (for that he himself had abundantly experienced his Prudence, and Sa-  
 gacity in giving Advice), but never trust him with the Government  
 of a Province or any Publick Charge. He had procured the Hatred  
 of the *Spaniards* by his severe Chastisement of the Mutineers in *Sicily* ;  
 but was more acceptable to the *Flemmings*, who attended his Obsequies  
 in a very honourable manner, the chief Lords of the Court bearing  
 a part in the Funeral Pomp. *Philip* too himself had often visited him  
 in his Sickness ; and rewarded his eldest Son *Cesar Prince di Molfetta*  
 with the Command of the *Milanese* Cavalry, in consideration of the  
 Father's Merits. Upon *Philip's* retiring, the King also had repaired to  
*S. Germain's* ; where vast numbers flocked to him from all parts, as well  
 of National Forces as Auxiliary *Germans* and *Swiss*, the greatest part of  
 whom were already arrived. In the mean time *Nicolas Baron de Poll-  
 weiller*, having passed the Mountains of *Vosge*, descended into the  
 County of *Pfirt* ; and, receiving Provisions from the Inhabitants of *La  
 Franche Comté* contrary to the League, passed through their Country at  
 the Instigation of the Duke of *Savoy*, into *La Bresse*. The Duke had  
 been filled with hopes of an Insurrection, if some Foreign Troops  
 should be sent into that Province, by one *Granger de Mions*, a *Bressian*  
 Gentleman, who was accused of Treason for counterfeiting the Coin :  
 In this Confidence, *Pollweiller* with ten thousand Foot and twelve hun-  
 dred *German* Horse, furnished (as it was pretended) by the King of  
*Bohemia*, marches to *Trefort* ; where he halted a few days, till the rest  
 of his Forces, which were scattered amongst the adjacent Towns,  
 could be drawn together. At length, on the 15th day of *October*,  
 taking the Field with Colours displayed, he incamps not far from the  
 Staple of *La Bresse*, now called *Bourg*, formerly (as some think) *Tanum*,  
 the Capital of the Province. This Town, standing in a marshy but  
 fruitful Soil, has to the East-ward the Mountains of *S. Claude* and some  
 pleasant Hills descending by a gentle Slope and planted with Vines ; to-  
 wards the North, it faces the *Franche Comté*, and, to the South-ward, *Lyons* ;  
 on the West, a wide Plain opens itself and reaches as far as the *Saone*.  
 The Baron *de Digoine* commanded there in the room of the Governour  
 of the Province, *Monsieur de Guiche*, who being sick could not be present :  
 At the report of the Enemy's approach, he provided the place with a  
 good Garrison ; and sending for *D'Eschenets* with the Regiment of  
*Champagne*, prepares all the Necessaries for a Siege ; laying the adjacent  
 Country waste : It happened too very fortunately, that the Duke of  
*Guise* was just then returning cross the *Alps* out of *Italy*, with two thou-  
 sand



land Veterans under *Francis de Vendôme* Vidame of *Chartres*, which were *A. D.* taken into the City: And the *Swiss* and *Germans*, which *De Guise* had 1557. with him, were quartered in the *Mascomois* and *Lyonnois*, that they might be ready upon any Emergency. The whole Country was terribly alarmed, the Citizens flying in crowds out of the Town, with their Moveables, into the other Towns beyond the *Saone*; and a multitude of Peasants, with the feeble Tribe of Women, old Men and Boys betaking themselves to the Woods and Holes of the Mountains. *Polweiller*, who had reached *La Sardiere* and *Chalez*, sends out from thence a choice party of Horse, to view the situation of the Place. These being disordered by an unlooked for discharge of the Artillery, on the next day, which was the 13th of *October*, the Enemy's Army advances to the Mills of *Rozieres*; then passing the River, and fetching a compass by *S. Jean*, pitched their Camp over against the Gate of *Mascon*. When they had changed their Posts three times, Our Men, sallying forth in the Night with the utmost silence, entered the Enemy's Camp, and putting the Centry to the Sword, carried the Slaughter and Terror into the very Center of the Stations; the *Germans* mutinying, and crying out, that they were betrayed. These Misfortunes were increased by the severity of the season, the frequent Rains annoying the Soldiers in the Trenches, and interrupting their Progress. At length, on the 14th of *October*, whilst the Townsmen went out to set fire to the Enemy's Works, *D'Eschenets* made an unexpected sally, and pursued the Enemy into the Trenches, causing a greater hurry than slaughter amongst them. When, in the mean time, *De Mion*'s promises of a general Revolt came to no effect, and the way of Arms proved unsuccessful; a Paper-War commenced, and Manifestoes were published in the Name of *Polweiller* and the Duke of *Savoy* himself, full of Injuries received from *Francis* and *Henry*; which were bitterly exaggerated for the purposes of raising the Resentments of Foreign Princes, and stirring the Inhabitants to a Revolt. At last, after he had stayed there five days, understanding by some Scouts, that *D'Aumale*, and *Guiche* (now recovered of his illness), and *Villefrancon*, were assembled at *Mascon*; that Troops were actually marching in a Body from *Mont-Revel*, others raising at *Lyons* and *Mascon*, and the Banks of the *Saone* beset; *Polweiller*, packing up his Baggage in the Night-time, marches away to *Mont-July* and *Cesiria*, by the old Rout of the *Franche Comté*, with such haste, that, before Our People knew of his departure, he had gone five Leagues; the *Germans*, out of indignation that the Promises had not been made good, continually leaving their Colours. *D'Eschenets* pursued them, though in vain, 'till they had passed through the *Franche Comté*. Afterwards on the 10th day of *December* in the same year, That *Granger de Mions*, of whom we have spoken, and besides him *Charles de Luxinge* *Sieur des Alimos*, *Claude du Puy*, *Buchard Liatod Briod*, *Du Roussel* and *Verdet* were prosecuted for high Treason, by the Parliament of *Chambery*, as having been privy to *Polweiller*'s Expedition, and consequently Fomenters of it, and were condemned in their Absence: A Decree accordingly passed, that, when-



A.D. soever they could be taken, they should be delivered into the Executioner's hands; then drawn on a Hurdle thro' the Streets of *Bourg*, and exposed to the Insults of the Populace; and lastly, that they should be quartered, their Heads cut off, and fixed for a Terror upon Places named in the Decree: A Brand of Infamy and Treason was moreover laid upon Them and their Posterity, who were also declared by the same Sentence incapable of making a Will, and for ever unworthy to enjoy any Honour or publick Office. This was the result of *Polweiller's* formidable Enterprize.

The Duke of *Guise* waiting upon the King at *S. Germain's*, met with a kind reception, and was dignified with the Command in Chief, which since the taking of *Montmorency* had been exercised by the Duke de *Nevers*. In pursuance of the request made to him, he obtained the King's leave for *Montluc* to return out of *Italy* into *France*, designing to make use of him, in the room of *D'Andelot*, Colonel of the *French* Infantry; of whom, from motives of Disgust and Emulation, he had entertained a suspicion: The latter was charged too of favouring the new Religion, which about this time lay under a prodigious Hatred from the following occasion. The number of Protestants increasing every day, very many of them, on the 4th of *September*, assembled in the House of *Bertomier*, in *S. James's Street*, towards the Evening, to perform divine Service, and celebrate the Communion in their own way: Some of the Neighbourhood got a scent of the Matter, and accordingly laid in a quantity of Stones and other Arms amongst the adjoining Houses, in order to pelt and assault them, as they should come out. The Company breaking up in the depth of the Night, They, who first appeared in the Streets, were saluted with Stones; a Tumult being raised, a vast multitude of the meaner sort ran thither, as it were at a signal given, and tried to force open the Doors. Such as remained within took Counsel from Necessity, and, drawing their Swords, sallied out; and all, except one, (who was slain in the Crowd), though not without receiving some Wounds, escaped. Of the Women and other helpless Creatures, near an hundred and twenty surrendered themselves to *John Martines* the King's *Procureur au Chastelet*. He, at the break of Day, conducted them to Prison; and it was with difficulty, that the Rabble were withheld from tearing them in Pieces amidst the Guard of Archers and Constables. Then, as it always happens to new and odious Cases, various Reports were spread of that nightly Assembly: "That this Conflux of People met together in the Night, " for the purposes of Revelling and Whoring; and, after the Banquet, " coupled with one another in promiscuous Lust: That the Mother " and Son, Father and Daughter, Sister and Brother made no " scruple of running into mutual Embraces: That Tables, and all " the signs of a Feast were discovered, and Quilts and Carpets stained " with fresh Marks of Lasciviousness. It was added, in order to increase the Indignation of the People, that they communicated in " the Blood of Infants". This Account, but without any Author to justify it, was carried to the King, whilst no Body had the Courage



to confute it, for fear of falling into a suspicion of the same Guilt: *A. D.* But the professors of that Religion soon after writ a Treatise, under the 1557. Title of an Apology, declaring, that those Crimes were maliciously imputed to them; and, proving, from the Testimonies of the Fathers, that the like Charges were brought against the primitive Christians: And, that their Treatise might be sure to reach the King's hand, they flung it into his Apartment. This Apology was afterwards answered by *Anthony de Mouchy* a Divine, Inquisitor of Faith, and by *Robert Cenalis* Bishop of *Auranches*. *John Munier*, the Recorder, was appointed to examine the Prisoners; and, the Cause being referred to the Parliament, *Nicolas Climet* a *Saintongian*, who had instructed the Youth for many years in the *Parisian* College, aged sixty, *Taurin Gravelle* an Advocate in the Parliament, and *Philippine Luns* of *Le Perigord*, the Relict of one *Graveron*, a Gentleman lately deceased, were delivered to the Flames on the 14th day of *September*; the Men alive, but the Woman, after she had been first strangled. Four Days after *Nicolas le Cene* of *Normandy*, and *Peter Gambard* of *Poitou* were burnt. Also *Francis Rebeziers*, born at *Stafort en Condomois*, a Physician, and *Frederick Danville* of *Oleron en Bearn*, their Mouths being first stopped with Iron Balls, were strangled and burnt. When twelve had already passed a legal Examination, and the day of sentence drew near, a Matron of Quality, one of the Criminals, offer'd a Petition, wherein she excepted to such Judges as had been delegated for the Examination, and to some others of the Parliament; and alledged many Reasons, why her Prayer should be considered. Whilst the Parliament sat upon this Libell, there came Embassadors from the *Swiss* Cantons, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, to beg off the Punishment of those unhappy People professing the same Religion with themselves. Upon this Remonstrance, since *Philip's* Affairs prospered every day, and Ours declined, and the King found it necessary to use the Auxiliary Troops of the *Swiss* and those Princes, for the Re-establishment of his Circumstances, he suffered the Parliament to proceed more gently with them. Some therefore were reprieved, others consigned over to Ecclesiastical Judges, with whom, by a Revocation of the Judgment, they escaped the Punishment of Death. *Rantigny* and *De Champagne*, two Ladies of Quality, were delivered up to their Husbands, who bore a violent Aversion to that Religion; and *Madamoiselle D'Ouarty* into the hands of *Queen Catharine*.

In this same year an Edict, equally pious and conducive to publick Reputation, was published by the King; wherein a stop was put to the licentious Practice of clandestine Marriages, and the Honour of the Realm consulted, by a Method suitable to the *Roman* Law: Namely, that Marriages shall not be validly contracted, unless all Persons consent, both such as come together, and such as have the Power of them; that is to say, without the liking of the Parents: With this additional Penalty, that Parents may disinherite their Sons, who shall marry against their Approbation: And the Judges are therein ordered to proceed by Law against Those, who shall have procured such Matches,



A. D. Matches, or consented to them ; with This Exception, unless the Sons 1557. exceed the Age of thirty years, and the Daughters of twenty five ; and besides, unless the Mothers had brought in a Father-in-law over their heads ; whose Advice however they are commanded to ask, tho' not laid under a necessity of following it. Before this, every where, and in Italy especially, the Heir of the Family might marry without the Father's consent ; and those clandestine Marriages held good, to the great detriment of the publick Peace and Honour, and indeed of all Rights human and divine : And since those Liberties were generally taken about this time in France also, and from thence it frequently happened, that Marriages were contracted between Persons of unequal Condition, to the great damage and disgrace of many noble Families ; Anne Montmorency, the Constable, is said to have first advised the King to make this Law ; from a private motive ; because he feared, that his eldest Son Francis, whom he knew to be desperately in love with Mademoiselle de Pieme, of the illustrious House of Hallowin, would marry without His Knowledge, or at least without His Approbation. Upon this Account, he had formerly sent his Son away to Rome, and earnestly desired the Pope, that he would annul the Contract with De Pieme : But the Pope baffling Montmorency's Petition with tedious delays, and referring it often, as a very doubtful Point, to the Consistory, had effected, that He, who stood in the highest Credit with the King, at the persuasion of his Friends, resolved not to expect any longer from the Pope, what he knew could be done by the Royal Authority. At his Promotion therefore the Ediſt was framed, and on the first day of March registered in Parliament ; and a Clause added for the sake of Montmorency, that, since it was agreeable to the Law of God, it should have a retrospect to what was passed, if the Bond had not intervened ; whereas all other Royal Constitutions provide only for future Cases : For which reason this Decree, though really a most righteous one, was branded with an ambitious Design. This Law being passed, when Francis had acknowledged his promise of marrying De Pieme, but upon expreſs condition that the Father's Consent could be gained ; this unlawful Compact being rescinded, he was bestowed upon Diana, the King's Natural Daughter by a Noble Lady, and Widow of Horace Farnese Duke of Castro, who was killed in the storm of Hedin.

Another Law, severe in appearance, but intended to restrain those impious and abominable Parricides, which heretofore passed unpunished, and are even now, since the making of the Law, too frequent, was promoted in Parliament, and registred on the third day of March. Women, who had no Husbands, when they had once conceived from their stolen Embraces, out of an ill judged dread of Shame, concealing their Burthen, at last generally murdered their Children (thinking to secure their Reputation by redoubling the Crime) ; and, when killed, flung them into a Jakes, or a River, or dug a wretched Hole for them in unhallowed Ground, and thus deprived them of the necessary Rite of Baptiſm, and a decent Burial :



Burial: But if at any time the matter came to a Tryal, using the Excuse *A. D.* of Bashfulness for not having confessed their first fault, they pretended 1557. that the Infants had been still-born; and thus, for want of contrary Evidence, escaped the Punishment due to such Inhumanity: For in such sort of Causes, the Judges generally wavered in their Opinion, some condemning the Criminal to Death; others, more commonly, from an Inclination to Mercy, ordering them to undergo the Rack; that it might be extorted from their own Confession, whether they had brought forth living or dead Children; which if they bore with obstinacy, they were then discharged. By this Law therefore, it was enacted, that she, who concealed her Big-Belly or Delivery, and brought no Certificate of the one or the other, or of the Birth's being alive or dead; if it appeared upon Proof, that it had been deprived of Baptism, or the Rites of Burial; should be put to death as a Parricide. No Crime has ever since been more severely punished; and, that no Excuse of Ignorance might be pretended, it was constantly added to the Sentence of the Judges, that the Law should be proclaimed, in the inferior Courts and through the Streets of the Cities, by a publick Cryer, and, in the Churches of the Towns and Villages, read aloud on Holidays by the Parish Priest. Nevertheless there is hardly any Crime so frequent at this day, and scarcely a week passes, but, in the Class which takes Cognizance of Capital Causes, one or more Women are tried for this horrid Crime. So far does a wrong Bashfulness in this modest and impotent Sex prevail over the Terror of Punishment, and, what is more severe than Bodily Pains, the stings of Conscience.

It was provided also this year, by an Edict, issued by the King on the the first day of *May* at *Villiers Cosse de Retz*, which was recited in Parliament on the 17th of the same Month, That Bishops and Parish-Priests should attend constantly upon their Charges, and preach to the People themselves, or at least find Vicars to supply their Places; under the Penalty, in case of Disobedience, of forfeiting their Ecclesiastical Revenues: Which same thing had been formerly enjoined by *Lewis* the XIth in the year 1476; by Letters upon that head, bearing date the 8th day of *January* in the Recess of *Plessis* near *Tours*. Collectors too were created in every Diocess, who were to demand the Tax for the maintenance of fifty thousand Men, as also the Tenths usually paid into the Treasury from Ecclesiastical Benefices; and likewise the extraordinary Subsidies of every sort; in pursuance of a Law promoted, on the sixth day of *July*, by the Comptrollers of the Royal Accounts, and the Court of Taxes and Indictions: And again, on the second of the following month, a Law was read and registered in Parliament, whereby, in all the Presidial Courts, which the King had instituted above six years before in the several Governments, he creates a President, and grants to those Courts the final Decision of all Causes relating to Prædial and other immoveable Estates, not exceeding the yearly value of fifty Crowns, and of moveable



A. D. Goods to the worth of a thousand Crowns: Thus a Way was 1557. even then begun to be paved, by an Example of the worst Consequence, for the sale of publick Offices under colour of Equity, and for communicating the more honourable Titles to inferior Magistrates.

This year took away one of the last survivors of That Golden Age, wherein *Peter Bembo*, *Andrew Navagero*, *Baptist Egnazio*, *Hierom Fracastoro* and others of Note, flourished in *Italy*; namely, *John-Baptist Ramusio*, the Son of *Paul* a Civilian, a Man not only incomparably skilled in the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages, and all the Sciences, but exercised to a great Degree in Business: In the dispatch of which he merited so far by his rare sagacity, as to be employed by the State of *Venice* for full forty three years in the most important Affairs of the Commonwealth, both in the Office of Secretary, and under Embassadors sent at different times to Foreign Courts. To his diligence we owe the Collection and Digestion of divers Volumes of Voyages, which he now and then illustrated with learned Prefaces; and more especially with a Philosophical dispute, very much canvassed by the Antients, but understood by Few at this time of day, concerning the increase of the *Nile*; which he dedicated to *Fracastoro*, his intimate Friend from a Similitude of Studies. He writ besides (but left it imperfect) a Treatise of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea; a Subject attempted by many, but in which no body hitherto has given thorough satisfaction. At length, growing antient, he obtained his discharge from that grateful Republick; and at *Padua*, which he chose to make the Nest of his old Age, he died in his seventy second year. His Body was removed to *Venice*, and buried in the Church of *Santa Maria de l'Horto*. At the close of this year died at *Venice*, in an advanced Age, *Nicolas Tartalean* of *Bresciano*, famous for a Treatise (divided into six parts) of Numbers and Measures; and some Commentaries upon *Euclid*. Many of *Friar Luke Brugensis's* Inventions he illustrated, many he corrected, and, in Emulation of *Hierom Cardan*, handled various ingenious Questions; yet so, as that he always paid the greatest regard to that practical Calculation of Numbers, which is in use amongst Merchants. Before him, on the twenty first day of *July*, *Peter Nannius*, born at *Alkmar* in *Holland*, died at *Louvain*, where he had long professed the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues in the *Bustidian* College with extraordinary reputation, leaving behind him some published Monuments of his parts, very serviceable to the advancement of Letters; he counted the same number of years with the Century, and was buried in the Cathedral Church, and honoured with a handsome Epitaph by *Sigismond Frederick Fugger*. His Successor in that Employment was *Cornelius Valier*, born likewise in *Holland* at *Ouderwater*; who, with singular commendation for his Ingenuity, and elegant Skill in all the Sciences flourished until the seventy eighth year of this Century, at which time he departed this Life. After *Nannius*, *Wijt Amerback*, born at *Wendingben* in *Bavaria*, Philosophy-Professor in the University of  
In-



*Ingoldstat*, went to GOD on the 13th of *September*, in his seventieth A. D. year. *Salmon Macrin*, born at *Loudun*, who this year died at his own 1557. home, of meer old Age, deserves to be commemorated by Me for his Love of Poetry, to which I consecrated my younger Years, and which, before his days, was almost neglected amongst Us: He, having under *James Le Fevre d'Estaples*, laid the first Foundations of Learning, was immediately called from the University of *Paris* to the Care of *Claude* and *Honoré* the Sons of *René de Savoy* Count *de Tende*: From thence he found access to the Court, and by consequence to the Friendship of *Messieurs du Bellay*, who at that time for their Merits held the chief place in *Francis's* favour; and especially of the Cardinal *du Bellay*, to whom many of his Lyrick-Verfes, in which *Macrin* excelled, appear to be dedicated. But of his Lyricks Those are principally commended, which, when he grew weary of a single life and thought of marrying, he pleasantly wrote upon the chaste Loves of his *Gelonide*, by whom he afterwards became the Father of a very handsome Offspring; the first fruits of which was *Charilas*, a Person no ways inferiour to his Father in Poetry, but much superiour to him in the knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue; who was intrusted by the Mother with the Tuition of *Catherine* Sister to *Henry* then King of *Navarre*, and afterwards in the Tumult of *Paris* perished unworthily with many others. About these times *Angelo Caninio d'Anghiari* yielded also to Fate; a Man eminent for his rare and exquisite acquaintance not only with the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, but the *Syriack* and other Oriental Tongues, and who had spent a long and unsettled Life in teaching them in *Italy*, at *Venice*, *Padua*, *Bologna* and *Rome*, and likewise in *Spain*. At length, being called to take care of *Andrew Dudith* an *Hungarian* young Gentleman, who afterwards distinguished himself by his Learning and Embassies, he taught at *Paris*; and lastly went into the Family of *William du Prè* Bishop of *Clermont*, and at *L'Auvergne* ended his Life and Studies.

This fatal Year was attended not only with many Slaughters and Deaths, but with a new Distemper, of which innumerable People, more especially in *Spain*, perished: They gave it the name of the *Puncticular Disease*, from the Spots produced by it, which yet widely differed from the Florid Pimples in Purple Fevers. It appears to have been unknown to the Antients, and of the Putrid kind, malignant, epidemical, and very much resembling the Plague: Yet it did not carry altogether so pestilent a Contagiousness, but spread only by way of Contact or Stroaking; and not by the Breath, or to any considerable Distance: Its Seeds did not lie in any particular Part or Humour; but, according to the various Temperament of Men, now in the Bile, now in the Phlegm, and now again in the Melancholick Humours; according to the opinion of *Lewis di Toro* a Physician of *Piacenza*; for Others were of a different Sentiment. When it had made vast havock this year in *Spain*, it began to cool and relent 'till the year 1570. after which, upon the conclusion of the War of *Granada*, it resumed its virulence,



A. D. virulence, and broke out again to the destruction of Multitudes; so that 1557. from that time it grew familiar, not only to the *Europeans*, but to the *Cypriots* and *Asiaticks*. The same Fever, which at *Florence* they call the *Petecchie*, succeeded a violent Pestilence, that in the former year had raged upon the Coasts of the *Tuscan* Sea; as it is related by *John-Baptist Adriani*; who takes notice, that the Bodies of the Persons seized with it were full of Spots, and that it differed in nothing from the Plague itself, unless, that it was not quite so noxious by way of Contagion.

### The End of the Nineteenth BOOK.







## BOOK XX.

## A R G U M E N T.

*The Remains of the Shirifs to the time of Abdalla, who establishes the Empire in his Family. Buaçon's expedition with the Portuguese Fleet into Mauritania. The Christian Fleet disturbed by Sala-Rais, who afterwards changing sides assists Buaçon against the Shirif Mahamet. The Shirif defeated, and Buaçon made Master of both the Fezzes. The Turks invade Pinon de Velez by Stratagem: And, on a different Quarter, Hamet the Shirif's Brother seizes Tafilet; wherein being besieged, he surrenders himself and his Sons to the Mercy of his Brother; who for fear of a Defection orders them to be strangled. From thence, maintaining a fortunate Fight with Buaçon, Mahamet at last obtains a compleat Victory, subduing and utterly extinguishing his Adversaries, and with little trouble recovers Fez. Shortly after, in the month of September, in his Journey to Sufa, he is traiterously murdered by the Turks of his Retinue, when he had reigned thirty eight years: Hascen the Assassin survives but a little time, his Troops being routed, the Booty lost, and himself slain. Abdalla's Prime Minister and Chief General was Haly Bucar, who, upon the Death of Mahamet, fearing some new Troubles, procured the Grandsons of Hamet (now ninety years old), as well as his Sons, to be slain, and amongst them the Sons of the King's Sister Mariem; by which Fact he did not so much gain the favour of his Master Abdalla, as he incurred the mortal Hatred of Mariem; who, dissembling the Injury reconciles herself to her Brother, and gaining a convenient opportunity renders Haly by a notable Fraud so suspicious to Abdalla, that the King orders him to be put to death. The Increase, Wealth and Power of the Shirifian Empire. The Expedition of Calais undertaken by the Duke of Guise: The City, after it had continued two hundred and ten years in the hands of the English, is surrendered on the \* 7th day of January. The Iccius Portus and Town of Gessoriacum in the County of Calais. Guines taken. The Estates of the Realm assembled at Paris; where the Cardinal of Lorraine speaks for the Clergy, the Duke of Nevers for the Nobility, and Andrew Guillard Sieur du Mortier for the Com-*

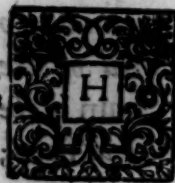
\* VI Eid. vulg. — read VII Eid. See Burnet and De Thou himself.



monalty. *A Voluntary Grant to the King of \* three millions of Crowns. The King goes to Calais, and appoints Paul de Thermes Governour of the Place. Herbemont in the Forest of Ardenne taken by De Nevers. The Report of the Recovery of Calais being spread in Italy, the Partisans of France flatter themselves with a Revolution in their favour. A vain Attempt upon Orbitello. The Duke of Ferrara makes wide Excursions. His Brother Francis revolts from Philip to Us. At length, by the Intervention of Cosmo, the Duke makes his Peace with Philip. The Coasts of Tuscany fortified against the Turkish Fleet. The Genoese, by Embassadors sent to the Port, beg a forbearance of Violence. Brissac, who to clear himself of certain Accusations had come to Court, is sent back to his Province. The Duke of Sessa, in the room of Figueroa, preferred to the Government of the Milaneze, and Don Perafan de Ribera to That of Naples. The Nuptials of the Dauphin and Mary Queen of Scots celebrated with great Pomp at Paris. The Cardinal de Lorraine's secret Projects with Anthony Perrenot Bishop of Arras at Perone. D'Andelot informed against as a dangerous Sectarist; and, appearing such an one from his own Mouth, is thrown into Prison, and succeeded as Colonel of the Infantry by Blaise de Montluc. Frances d'Amboise tried for the Escape of the Duke d'Arfshot; and John Munier, the Lieutenant Civil, for having been partial in the Suit, condemned. Thionville in the Dutchy of Luxembourg besieged by the Duke of Guise and taken, with the Loss of Peter Strozzi. Arlon surprised. Luxembourg itself attempted. Whilst the Duke of Guise stays before Vireton, and De Thermes, who ought to have met and joined De Guise, is making war in the Neighbourhood of Calais (where in the mean while he took and pillaged Dunkerk and Winoxbergh); they both lose by their Delay a fair opportunity of succeeding, and De Thermes in his return receives a signal Defeat at Graveling. A Tumult amongst the Populace at Paris, occasioned by the singing of Psalms in the Vernacular Tongue. The English Fleet upon the Coast of Bretagne. John William of Saxony's Auxiliary Troops in France. S. Omers in vain attempted by Francis de Vendôme. Francis de Noailles the King's Embassador retains the Prerogative of his Dignity, by the Judgment of the Venetian Senate, notwithstanding the opposition given by the King of Spain. A Place pitched upon at Sercamp upon the Borders, for the meeting of Plenipotentiaries on both sides to treat of a Peace. The Death of Queen Mary in England, followed by That of Cardinal Pool. Paul IV. his Severities against the Cardinals. Elizabeth succeeds her Sister Mary. Impediments thrown by Us in the way of her Suitors.*

A. D.

1557.



HERE, after the fatigue of a long and troublesome Narrative, let us turn our minds, for the sake of a little recreation, to Foreign Affairs; and, from the sorrowful Contemplation of our own Circumstances, retire a while to a pleasanter Scene, and which, by reason of its distance, may less affect Us with Concern. And because we have already, in the Seventh Book, spoken largely of the Kingdoms of each *Mauritania*, and the Rise of

† CCCaurorum Clj. vulg.—read tricies centena aurorum Clj. See Mezeray and De Thou.



the *Shirifs*, who afterwards gained the Sovereignty of those Countries; *A. D.* it seems natural, since the foundation of an Empire in the same Race 1557. over the better part of *Africa* was laid in this very Year, that we should take our History from That Period, at which we left off, and pursue it by a continued Thread to the present time.

*Buacon*, having repaired to the Emperor at *Augsbourg*, as we have shewn, and returned with *Philip* into *Spain*, received an Admonition soon after, by the Arrival of *Bucar*, and by Letters from his Friends at *Fez*, that he should approach *Pinon de Velez* with all the Forces he could muster. When he saw no hopes of *Spanish* Aids, he had recourse to the *Portuguese* Protection; and, having received a Sum of money from King *John*, loosed from *Portugal* in the 53d year of this Century: Then, entering the Port of *Alburzemas*, and landing his Troops he fell to blows with the Barbarians who inhabited those parts, particularly the Valley of *Botoia* and the Mountains of *Gomera*. During the Fight, it happened by chance, that *Sala-Rais*, Governour of *Algiers* in the Name of *Soliman* Emperor of the *Turks*, who was otherwise an Enemy to the Power of the *Shirifians*, returning from the Bay of *Cales*, passed that way with eighteen Ships well appointed. He, observing the Christian Fleet to lye in the Harbour, in the Evening began a Fight them; and, continuing it all the following night, made himself Master of the whole Fleet in the morning. When *Buacon*, who had escaped, complained of *Sala-Rais*, that he interrupted him in the prosecution of a War against the *Shirif*; the other retorted upon *Buacon* with a bitter Invective, that he attacked their Common Enemy indeed, but did it by the help of the Christians, when the *Turkish* Power was so near at hand, which saving his Honour and Conscience he might with more Decency and Safety have used in that Expedition. At length *Buacon*, repairing with *Sala-Rais's* Pass-port to *Algiers*, not only ransomed all the Christian Prisoners, but also came to an Agreement with him; that, for forty Days Pay, at the Rate of a thousand Crowns for each day (for the payment of which *Buacon* found Sureties), He himself with the *Turkish* Auxiliaries should attempt the Recovery of *Fez*; which if taken, all the Treasures of it should fall to the *Turks*. This Bargain made, *Sala-Rais* with four thousand Men and twelve Pieces of Cannon ready furnished marches to *Tremezen*, and upon the Road is joined by *Amar* Lord of the Province of *Dubudu*, who had repaired to *Melilla*, that by the help of the *Turks* he might recover his Country, which had been seized by the *Shirif*. The *Shirif Mahamet* was at that time employed afar off in a War with the Barbarians of *Dereder*; but being informed of *Sala-Rais's* Approach towards *Fez*, he hastens thither by large Journeys, and collecting all his Forces sends them forwards to *Texar*, a Town situated in the Confines of the Realms of *Fez* and *Tremezen*; incamping near the Town-walls, under which the *Turks*, he knew, must pass. Having staid there fifty days, at last Provisions beginning to fail (because the Foragers and other Furnishers of Supplies were intercepted by the flying Parties of *Nacer* and *Mahamet*, *Buacon's* Sons, who had fortified themselves in the Mountains of *Matagara*); leaving a Garrison of two hundred Soldiers in *Texar*, which he committed to the care of

*Muluc*



*A. D. Muluc*; he was obliged to retire into the inward parts of his Country. 1557. The *Shirif's* departure was well nigh prevented by *Sala-Rais*; upon whose Arrival, the Inhabitants of *Texar*, having articulated for their Own and *Muluc's* Life, surrendered. The Place being then garrisoned by two hundred *Turks*, *Sala-Rais*, who excelled in Infantry, bends his course towards *Fez* through the rough and mountainous ways; that he might not be annoyed by the *Shirif's* numerous Cavalry, which possessed the Plains; and in his March, at a narrow Pass, defeats *Abdalla*, who closed the Rear, and seizes all the Baggage and Ammunition; inasmuch that the *Shirif*, the Father, was forced, by marching all that night and the day following, to retire to *Fez*, and to shut himself within the City. From thence *Sala-Rais* incamps upon the Banks of the River *Cebu*; which the *Shirif* observing, and not daring to trust the Fidelity of the *Fexzians*, sends to the *Turk* an Offer of Battle, induced to it rather by Necessity than Choice: For it seems This is one of the *Fexzian* Rights; that, if the Enemy with a compleat Army incamps at any time within three miles of the City, and the King of *Fez* happens not to be strong enough to fight him, the Townsmen may capitulate, without incurring the Guilt of Treason; which was granted to the *Fexzians* by the Kings themselves; who did not think it reasonable, that so wealthy a City, by the People's endeavouring out of a vain ostentation of Loyalty to defend it, should be exposed to Depredation and Pillage. Therefore the *Shirif*, taking advice of Necessity, resolved to attack the Enemy, fatigued as they were and scattered up and down; and, having picked out eight thousand *Sufian* Horse from the rest, ventures out of the City; but, entertaining a Suspicion, that *Haly a Turk*, the Colonel of his Life-guard (which consisted wholly of *Turks*), had secretly plotted his Ruin, he first orders him to be beheaded. The whole Army being ranged in Order of Battle, to the number of eighty thousand Horse, he incamps in the Road to *Dubudu*; imagining, that he should either hinder *Sala-Rais* from passing, or rout him, whilst he should be trying the Ford: Which he was the more easily persuaded to expect; because by the same Method, some years before, he had gained an easy Conquest over the King of *Fez* at *Buacuba*. The eight thousand *Sufian* Horse were sent forwards to the Bank of the River, that alone parted the two Armies. Which being observed by *Sala-Rais*, who had resolved by all means to pass the Ford, he forthwith causes twelve Great Guns to be planted against the *Shirif's* Forces, and orders the Troopers with each a Musqueteer behind him to enter the Ford. At a Signal given, the *Turks* rushed into the Water with such Alacrity, that, whilst the *Shirifians* to avoid the force of the Cannon were retiring to an opposite Eminence, they passed almost all safe to the farther Bank; where falling immediately to strengthen their Camp, they lay all night under Arms. The next day the *Shirif* draws out his Forces in Battalia, and divides them into three Bodies; ordering *Abdalla* with One to possess the Village of *Dardubag*, which commands the High-road; whilst he himself with the Second Division took Post in another part of the Way upon a Flat: The Third was placed in the middle of the Road, and an Intrenchment carried assant, which reached  
to



to the two former, guarded with twelve Field-pieces. *Sala-Rais* on the *A. D.* other side distributes his Troops into two Bodies, making about 1557. twelve thousand Men, mostly Archers; one of which, composing the Van-guard, he assigned to *Buaçon* and the Lord of *Dubudu*, with Instructions, that they should march towards *Zephero*; under This View, that, knowing the *Shirifians* would obstinately defend that Town, and hasten thither in neglect of every other consideration, he himself in the mean time might seize *Dardabug*, which would be destitute of a Garrison, and so open to himself a Passage into the Heart of the Kingdom; in which, because of the rough and stony Ways, he could receive no Damage from the *Shirif's* numerous Cavalry. Nor was his Counsel frustrated by the Event. For whilst the *Sufians* marched to the Defence of *Zephero*, *Sala-Rais* with his Musqueteers gains *Dardabug*, suffering a little from the Return of the *Sufians* (who tacked about) and losing three Pieces of Cannon. Then the Signal being given for the Battle, the *Shirif*, observing that his *Turkish* Guards did not present their Pieces, and fearing a Revolt, commands them to halt, and sends forwards the Renegadoes, who deserting Christianity had embraced that detestable Sect. But he corrected his Error too late: For the *Turkish* Guards, by the instigation of their Colonel *Caraguardi de Malaga*, snatched the *Shirif's* Prætorian Standard, and, throwing it on the ground as a Signal to their own Party, fell upon the Renegadoes, and killing most of them put the rest to flight. At the same time *Sala-Rais* lets fly a Volley of Cannon-shot; and upon the *Turks* running on all sides from the upper Ground upon the dispersed *Shirifians*, *Mahamet* himself, before he was quite hemmed in, taking with him the Troops of *Marocco* and *Susa*, marches away towards *New Fex*; for the *Fexzians* had already fled, and retired to *Old Fex*. The *Turks* pursuing them with orderly Ranks, and therefore with a slower Pace, came up to the opposite Gate, where many of *Buaçon's* Friends, abandoning the *Shirif*, joined them. The *Shirif*, as soon as he reached *New Fex*, orders *Abdalla*, with his Horse, to possess *Old Fex*. Nor did he fail to execute his Father's Commands; but, discharging an unexpected Volley of Artillery upon the *Turks*, made a shew of sustaining the Siege with Courage. Upon this, *Sala-Rais* fell into a violent Passion with *Buaçon*, as if he had entertained a groundless Assurance of gaining the City. *Buaçon* therefore, to wipe off the charge of Levity, demands five hundred Janizaries of *Sala-Rais*; and, with These, giving an Assault and breaking open the Gates, rushes briskly into the City; whilst *Abdalla*, who distrusted the Fidelity of the Townsmen, slipped away by a Back-gate, and fled to his Father at *New Fex*. Nor was *Mahamet* wanting to himself in such imminent danger; but immediately appointing *Haly*, *Bucar's* Son, to guard the Gates, enters the Palace, and gives orders to his Seraglio, that all the Women, carrying off the most portable Furniture, should provide for their safety on horse-back. He himself mounting a Post-chaise, with his Helmet and drawn Sword, goes out of the City, abandoning his Treasures, which for the most part were plundered the same day by the *Fexzians* themselves. But



A.D. *Bucar*, who was left by the *Shirif* to defend the City, when he heard 1557. of his Master's Escape, began to capitulate with *Sala-Rais*; and, having artickled for the security of himself and the *Fezzians*, opens the Gates to him. The *Turk*, having made himself Master of both the Cities of *Fez*, suffered himself to be persuaded by *Ladael*, *Zaraboni* and *Mahamet Barais*, the chief Officers of the Realm, *Buaçon's* bitter Enemies (who charged him with secretly favouring the Christians), to throw *Buaçon* into Prison; and to proclaim *Merinis*, the Son of *Oatac*, King. A Rumour being thereupon spread of *Buaçon's* Murder, the Inhabitants of *Old Fez* made an obstinate Insurrection; which to appease, *Buaçon* was produced, to satisfy them, that he was still alive: But when even this could not pacify them, and they were not content with the bare sight of his Vizard as it were or Apparition, at length *Buaçon* was entirely restored to Liberty; and advanced by *Sala-Rais*, against his will, to the Crown of *Fez*, which was taken from *Merinis*. *Sala-Rais* from thence sends *Bucar*, the Son of *Haly*, to the *Shirif Mahamet* at *Marocco*; under colour of treating for the Exchange of the Seraglioes, viz. *Buaçon's*, left behind at *Susa*, and *Mahamet's*, which upon the taking of *Fez* had fallen into the hands of the *Turks*; but in reality, to incite the *Shirif* to the recovery of *Fez*, with an assurance, that if he would undertake that Enterprize, he might be secure of Him, that he would give *Buaçon* no farther Assistance. Thus *Sala-Rais* imposing a Mulct upon the *Fezzians*, an ounce of Silver for every House, because they had born Arms against the *Turks*; returns on the 1st day of *April* loaden with Spoils, in a sort of Triumph, to *Algiers*, when he had spent forty days in that Expedition. Not long after, the Governour of *Pimon de Velez* surrendered that Castle to *Mahamet*, the Son of *Buaçon*: Which when *Sala-Rais* afterwards demanded of *Buaçon*, upon the latter's pretending his Son's Resolution to the contrary, and beginning to chicaner, the enraged *Turk* orders *Yahaia*, who with fifteen Half-gallies exercised a Piratical Trade upon those Coasts, by some means or other to get possession of it. He therefore having by chance surprized *Mahamet*, as he was walking abroad, used him so cruelly, that to redeem himself out of the hands of a barbarous man, he could think of no other way, than by delivering up the Town to him. Thus the *Turks* gained *Pimon de Velez*, which they kept continually from that time, 'till, within a few years past, under *Philip's* Banners, it fell into the hands of the Christians, as we shall relate hereafter. In a different Quarter, the *Shirif* commands his Son, who held *Mequinez*, that leaving the Town he should come directly to him at *Marocco*; upon whose departure, *Buaçon* repairing thither seizes *Mequinez*. *Hamet*, the *Shirif's* Brother, thinking this a proper Season for revenging his old Injuries, with what Forces he could muster goes to *Tafilet*; and, being readily admitted by the Townsmen, gains the Place without drawing Blood. But the *Shirif*, apprized by *Bucar* the Son of *Haly* of *Sala-Rais's* secret Instructions, and gaining information of the State of *Fez*, commits part of his Forces to *Abdalla*, that he might make head against *Buaçon*; whilst he himself with the other part marches to *Tafilet*. *Abdalla* taking



taking with him the *Arabs* of *Arrahamena* a powerful and warlike People, *A. D.* proceeds straightway to *Fez*. There he met with *Nacer* and *Mahamet*, 1557. two of *Buacon*'s Sons, the one reputed base born and the other legitimate, who had been sent by their Father with an Army: But, an Emulation arising between the Brethren, *Mahamet*, by the Advice of Evil Counsellors, hoping to draw to himself alone the honour of that Victory, which in a foolish Confidence he had already devoured, separates his Troops from his Brother; and, falling precipitately amongst a Party of *Portuguese* in Ambuscade, is defeated. Which *Nacer* observing, and suspecting Treachery, immediately packed up his Baggage and retired to *Fez*. There was more Damage suffered in Opinion than in reality by that Disaster, which *Buacon* shortly after by his diligence repaired. For presently drawing out his Forces in an undaunted manner, and joining battle with *Abdalla*, he routed him, and pursued him as far as *Marocco*, killing almost all the Auxiliary Troops of *Susa*, to whom the *Shirif* had granted the Province of *Tremezen* for an Habitation. This passed in the 55th year of this Century. In the mean time *Mahamet* held his Brother *Hamet* closely besieged within *Tafilet*; where, when he heard of his Son *Abdalla*'s Misfortune, he shewed no Concern about it; but, cunningly accommodating the News to his Circumstances, gave out a quite contrary Report; viz. That *Buacon* being conquered and destitute of all help had fled to *Pimon*, and that the victorious *Abdalla* was actually Master of *Fez*. This Rumour drove *Hamet* to such a Pitch of Despair, that he advised his Sons, since all their hopes had been placed in the Fortunes of *Buacon* now subdued, to go in a suppliant posture to their Uncle, and falling at his Feet to article for their Safety and implore his Mercy. Thus *Hamet* with his Sons, surrendering the Town, came under the Power of the *Shirif*, who banished him into a solitary place sacred to Religion. Then *Mahamet*, leaving a Garrison in *Tafilet*, and carrying with him his Brother's Sons *Nacer* and *Zidan*, proceeds to *Garciluy*, proposing to enter by that way into the Kingdom of *Fez*; and, fearing some disturbance upon that occasion, if he left his Kinsmen alive, ordered them to be forthwith strangled. Then advancing, he maintained a bloody Fight with *Buacon*, which at length put an end to a tedious War. In it, *Mahamet*, *Buacon*'s Son, who led the Van-guard, effected so much by his Valour, that with four thousand *Arabs* he made a brisk Attack upon the *Shirifians*, put most of the Men of *Marocco* to the sword, and bore down all before him: But upon the *Shirif*'s rallying, when the People of *Fez* did not exert the same Bravery, first He began by degrees to give ground; then the main Body to shrink (the Enemy's Courage in the mean time increasing); and at last, *Buacon*, fighting valiantly, like a Man in Extremity, with his Son *Nacer*, and being wounded with a Lance in the Thigh, fell down dead; which being seen, all his Partisans betook themselves to flight. *Nacer* with a few others retired to the nearest Mountains. *Mahamet*, entring *Fez* with fifty Horse, and observing a Coolness amongst the Citizens, left the City again, and with his Brother (whom he joined) went to *Mequinez* and *Salke*;



*A. D. Sallee*; where imbarcking on board a Christian Merchant-man, as they 1557. sailed under the Coast of *Spain*, they were taken Prisoners by some of Our Rovers of *Bretagne*. *Bucar*, who had born *Buaçon* company in the battle, fled to *Tremezen*, and thence to *Algiers*, where he soon after died of the Plague. Thus *Fez* being recovered with little trouble, the *Shirif*, leaving *Abdalla* there, goes to *Marocco*, proposing to take vengeance of the Barbarians of *Deder*, who had so often rebelled. But when Matters did not succeed to his wish, those People being too strong to be subdued in a short space of time, he orders his Brother *Hamet*, with his surviving Sons and Grandsons, to be brought to him under a Guard; and then, all things being quiet, he returns to his usual Lusts, and according to his general practice of marrying once a year, resolves upon a new Wife. With this Design, taking with him a Guard of twelve hundred *Turks*, a numerous Cavalry, and his two Daughters, he puts himself upon the road, bending his Course towards *Susa*: But this journey proved fatal to him. For when, upon the late Decease of *Sala-Rais*, *Hascen* the Son of *Hariadin Barbarossa*, had been made Governour of *Algiers* (which his Father had held with Royal Sovereignty); and was very apprehensive of the *Shirif's* Power; he treats with a Man of his own Name, famous for Robberies and Murders (who voluntarily offered his Assistance) for the Assassination of *Mahamet* by some means or other. With this View, *Hascen*, as if he had fled from the King of *Algiers* for the sake of some Injury, taking his way through *Tremezen* with twenty Accomplices, comes without delay to *Fez*; where, being examined by *Abdalla* (who was an Enemy to the *Turkish* Nation) and giving a feigned account of his Arrival, he was ordered to proceed farther to the *Shirif*, with whom no doubt he would be advanced to Honours: Now it happened a little before *Mahamet's* *Sufian* Expedition, that this Man came to *Marocco*, where he was honourably received by the *Shirif*, and appointed Colonel of the Guards. The wicked Man, making use of this opportunity, deals privately with the *Turks* (who already had a quarrel with *Mahamet* for want of an whole year's Pay, and had been ill treated by his Treasurer *Bugumed*); and with them enters into a Scheme for taking the *Shirif* alive; or, if That could not be done, for dispatching him; giving them hopes of pillaging his Treasures. Which once done, he shewed them, how by travelling through *Numidia* they might be sure of returning to *Tremezen*. The Plot succeeded well in the first part of it, but not in the conclusion; the minds of men being naturally so elevated with Success, that they are not quick enough to discern their danger. When the *Shirif* therefore had come to a place called *Alguel* in Mount *Atlas* at the Streights of *Bibona*, through which the Passage necessarily lies for such as travel from *Marocco* to *Tarudant*; a Party of *Turks*, with *Hascen* at their head, advance as it were to salute him; and finding him at the Door of his Tent, guarded by none but that *Bugumed*, whom we have mentioned, and a *Portuguese* Renegado, *Hascen* draws his sword; and, as the *Shirif* (who turned his back) in the hurry of running away happened to tumble upon the Ground, cuts



cuts his Ham-strings: Presently the other Conspirators came up, and *A. D.* stabbed him as he lay, *Burgumed* in the mean while escaping by flight, 1557. and the *Portuguese* only fighting bravely for his Master, upon whose account he was at length killed upon the spot. This was the end of the *Shirif Mahamet*, after he had reached a vast age, and reigned thirty seven years; who left it doubtful, whether his Ingenuity and his Presence of mind in Dangers, or his Cruelty and Perfidy, were the most eminent; tho' by his Favourers, who admired his exact and dexterous Administration, he was very much lamented. This happened in the month of *September* in this year. His Treasures were then plundered, and his Captive Daughters fell into the hands of *Hascen*; who, excusing the Murder as rightly perpetrated upon a Tyrant, and offering Impunity to all such as would follow him, continued his march with his *Turks*, and some *Moors* and Renegadoes, through the Province of *Susa* to the Town of *Tarudant*, held by *Odman*, one of the deceased *Shirif's* Sons, called by others *Abel Mumen*; and upon *Odman's* abandoning the Place, seizes it with the Castle, and all the Treasures, which were kept there. In this City there was a certain *Jew*, named *Gazi Muca* (who leaving the Religion of his Fathers had embraced that pestilent Sect), a Prisoner at that time upon some suspicion, but otherwise a subtle Fellow, and ready for Advice or Execution; whom *Hascen* immediately released, and made the Chief Judge of the Place. He had counselled *Hascen* to fortify the Town, which he had seized, as fast as possible; that he might maintain himself there, 'till Succours could come from *Algiers* and *Tremezen*. Whilst *Hascen* deliberated, near twenty days passed, which were either spent in refreshing the Soldiers or in considering what should be done: At length, thinking that the *Jew* had given him dangerous Advice, he prepared to march, the better to deceive the Enemy, through the wild Deserts. But the *Jew*, who upon *Hascen's* Departure saw there could be no more dependance upon Him, in order to gain the Favour of Those, under whose Government he was likely to remain, informs *Abel Mumen*, the *Shirif's* second Son, of the *Turk's* Departure; and exhorts him, by demonstrating the Feasibleness of the thing, to set about the revenge of his Father's Murder. *Mumen* being persuaded, goes against the *Turks* with eight thousand Horse, leaving *Haly Bucar* at *Marocco*; and sends an Express of it to his Brother *Abdalla*, who was at *Fez*, busy in gathering forces. The *Jew* himself in the mean time, whilst the Brothers were preparing to join one another, pursues the Fugitives with a rude flying Party, and surrounding them on every side puts them almost all to the sword; recovering the deceased *Shirif's* Daughters; nay and even receiving *Tarudant* to Fealty, where *Hascen* had exercised a short-liv'd Sovereignty of a few days. After this, the noise of *Mahamet's* Death being divulged, *Haly Bucar*, who held the principal Authority amongst the Chief Officers of the Realm, fearing, lest upon the account of *Hamet* (tho' ninety years old) and his Sons and Grandsons, who remained alive, the Succession to the Kingdom might meet with some Disturbance; without waiting *Abdalla's* Command, ordered them to be strangled;



A.D. and amongst them the Sons, which *Mariem*, *Abdalla's* Sister, had born 1557. to *Zidan*. Which Conduct, tho' conducive perhaps to the Kingdom's Safety, drew down certain Destruction upon his head. For *Mariem*, after the Death of her Husband and Children, dissembling the Injury, repaired to her Brother *Abdalla*, and was in high favour with him; and watching every opportunity of taking revenge upon *Haly*, at length made use of this Device. Bringing about a Discourse upon the Succession to the Kingdom, she started a question to her Brother, whether, if he should die at that juncture, his Son, who was his only One, and an Infant, would succeed, or not: For that the chief Lords and even *Bucar* were of another mind, and thought the Crown should be offered to his Brother, a Man-grown, rather than to a Child: Which to prove to him by an Experiment, she advised, that he should feign himself sick, and that then *Bucar* should be introduced to him as actually dead, and she herself would talk with *Bucar* upon the Subject of a Successor: For that thus he would know *Bucar's* Intention from his own mouth. The Trick answered her purpose: For when *Abdalla*, labouring under a real not a pretended sickness, had withdrawn himself for some days from every body's sight, *Haly* waits upon *Mariem*, and enquires after the King's health: For that the State of the Kingdom was such, that he must not be uncertain of it any longer. She then carries him into the Chamber, where *Abdalla*, covered with a Linnen Sheet, was laid out for dead. There, when with a lamentable voice she had declared the King's death, and with her Finger pointed to the Dead body, she intreats *Bucar*, that by his Prudence he would effect, that the Crown might not be transferred from the rightful Heirs upon Others, but be secured to *Mahamet*, *Abdalla's* Son. *Haly* to this, "These Kingdoms (says he) are not at present in such Circumstances, "*Mariem*, that they can be governed by a Boy: As I am sensible of "my Duty to *Abdalla*, so the Love of my Country obliges me to "think in the first place of her Quiet and Security. The King has "a Brother of a mature Age, fit for the Administration of an Empire: "That the Crown should be presented to Him, is for the Interest of "even the King's Son at present, as well as Our and the Publick "Tranquillity." With these words when he was flinging himself out of the Palace, *Abdalla* lifting up his Head and removing the Sheet, taking also a Staff in his hand (for he was still in a weakly Condition), calls him back, and, "Is This the Return (says he) for those Favours "and Honours, which I have heaped upon You, that, treacherously "robbing my Child, You should transfer his Hopes of a Kingdom "upon my Brother: But know, that I am yet alive, and shall continue so long enough, to reward and punish every one according to "his Merits, and to establish the Crown in my Son. *Haly* hearing this Speech, and being confounded either with Fear or Shame, runs directly home; and putting on a Woman's Habit goes immediately out of the City, and with his Face veiled, that he might not be known, sat down under an Olive-tree; having first given Orders to his Domesticks, that they should presently bring him a fleet Horse to that very place. Whilst he



he sat in expectation, some Horsemen, tired with hunting, taking him *A. D.* for a Common-Strumpet, flew thither; and, beating aside the Veil, 1557. discovered *Haly*: Upon which suspecting a Contrivance, they carried him, disguised as he was, to *Abdalla*, who forthwith ordered him to be strangled; revenging thus his Own and *Mariem's* Injury (tho' he did not at all think of Her), and suffering the remembrance of that recent Fact to prevail with him beyond the memory of *Buçar's* antient Services. And not long after, that the least thing might not be left, to interrupt him in his hot pursuit of Sloth and Lust, he commanded his near Kinsman *Mahamet*, *Abdel Gader's* Son, Lord of *Mequinez*, whom he himself had joined in marriage with *Lela Sophia* his Sister's Daughter, to be put to death; meerly for the opinion of his Virtue, and because he was acceptable to the Common people. From that time he peaceably enjoyed the Empire, gained by his Father and Grandfather; a mighty and extensive Sovereignty! Which (for example) comprehends each *Mauritania*, the *Tingitan* and the *Cæsarean*; and the greatest part of *Numidia*, as *Getulia*, with its fourteen Provinces; and is bounded on the South by the Rivers *Lifs* and *Un*, on the East by the *Saffaya*, and on the North and West by the Straights of *Cales* and the *Atlantick* Ocean. His Military Strength consists of sixty thousand Horse, who are paid every four months in Peace as well as in War; viz. fifteen thousand Men from the Provinces of *Sus* and *Dara*, twenty five thousand from the Kingdom of *Marocco*, and twenty thousand from That of *Fez*; out of whom, those five thousand, which compose the Brigade of Janizaries, are generally chosen. The whole Infantry consists of two thousand Renegadoes, and a thousand *Sufian* Musqueteers (who are intrusted with the Custody of *New Fez*); to whom five hundred Horse are also added out of the same sort of Renegadoes; and in case of Necessity, some *Arabs* and other *Libyans*, who receive Pay every day. These Forces for the most part make up the Strength of that powerful Empire, which has been founded by the *Shirifs* in *Africa* during the present Century.

From this Digression we must now return again to a Series of Publick Calamities, which tho' we begin with a piece of Good Fortune, we shall close it by-and-by with a most fatal Period and disadvantageous Peace, which was afterwards followed by Domestick Commotions destructive to the Kingdom.

An Army being at length raised, and put under the absolute Command of the Duke *de Guise*, a Consultation was held, which way the Forces should be led; whether for the recovery of the Places lost in the late Summer, or for some new Enterprize: For it highly concerned the Honour and Safety of the Realm, that, tho' in the Depth of a hard Winter, such vast Forces should not be dismissed without some considerable Exploit. The Scheme of retaking the Lost Towns did not please, because they were now well-fortified and abundantly stored with Soldiers and all Necessaries; and because it was manifest, that the Troops would not exert the same Courage in those parts, where so many Marks of their late Disasters occurred, as they would, if



A. D. if conducted some other way. The Project therefore was resumed for 1557. the taking of *Calais*; which, being imparted by *Senarpont* Governour of the *Boulonnois* to *Montmorency*, would have been put in execution that Summer, if the Defeat of *S. Quintin* had not intervened. The thing being canvassed in the Cabinet at *Compiègne*, whither the King had come; *Peter Strozzi* an indefatigable General undertook the Business of viewing the Place, and goes thither on the 2d day of *November*, clad in an old Suit of cloaths, with *Mazimo del Bene*, and a small attendance; where having from without accurately surveyed the Situation, and the Form and Strength of the adjacent Forts, he returned to the King, and reported the Attempt to be very feasible, if Vigour and Diligence were employed. For keeping the Design more secret, the Army was divided, and part allotted to the Duke of *Nevers*, viz. twenty Ensigns of *Swiss*, as many of *Germans*, with fifteen of *French*, six hundred Horse-cuirassiers, and some Field-pieces; and a rumour was spread of an Intention to attack *Luxembourg* and *Arlon*, which produced this Effect, that the Enemy presently cantoned their Soldiers in those parts, which indeed wanted sufficient Garrisons. The Duke of *Guise*, as if he meant to hinder the conveyance of Provisions into *S. Quintin*, *Han* and *Castelet*, advances to the Frontiers. The Army then being conducted round about through the Country of *Argonne*, *De Nevers* came to *Stenay*; where staying a few days, he sends back the Forces with all expedition to *De Guise*, who was then at *Amiens*, and who had persuaded the Enemy of his design to throw a quantity of Provisions into *Dourlens*: When he had received *De Nevers's* Army, the Duke descends into the *Boulonnois*, as if he would provide for the Security of *Ardres* and *Boulogne*. As soon as he saw all things in readiness, being well apprized of the State of *Calais*, he flies thither unexpectedly, and on the 1st day of *January* incamps near *Newnam-Bridge*, a thousand paces distant from the City, to which it led by a Causey surrounded on both sides with Marshes. At the Entrance upon the Causey, a Fort occurred, erected by the *English* near a Village called *S. Agathe*. This by a Detachment of three thousand chosen Musqueteers was taken at the first Onset, after the Garrison in the beginning had made an unfortunate Sally, and were repulsed by Our Men. This Success terrified the *English*, and encouraged Our Troops; who, tho' the Sun began to set, advancing, came up the same day to *Newnam-Bridge* and invested it, after it had been first viewed by *De Guise* and *Paul de Thermes*. Cannon too was planted, that early the next morning the firing might begin: And because *De Guise* placed all his Confidence of Success in Dispatch, at the same time he sends forward part of the Army to the Left-hand by the Sea-shore; with orders that they should attack a Watch-tower, called the *Risbank*, situated in the mouth of the Haven for the guard of the Entrance; that, when he should at once have seized all the Forts about it, the Town might be left in the middle, exposed to an Assault, and might not be relieved by any Land-forces from the *Netherlands*, nor by any Maritime Succours from *England*. *Calais*, standing in a Plain, and on three sides and better (by reason of



of a River, Dikes and a Marsh) almost inaccessible, is encompassed *A. D.* on the West by a large Haven and the Sea: The form of it is four-1558. square, and there are three Bastions projected from the Angles, and, to the South-ward, an old Castle instead of a fourth. Besides these, it had a large Bulwark of Earth close rammed together, as the opinion then was, tho' we afterwards found it otherwise to our Cost: For the Soil thereabouts is altogether Sandy, which the violent force of the Artillery scatters immediately like Dust. There was likewise a deep and wide Ditch, into which the River *Hammes*, that washes the City, falls with a continual Stream; and the Dikes, which water the adjacent Marsh, discharge themselves into the same. Through the Marsh there lies no way to the City, but by the Causeway, upon which *Newnam-Bridge* stands: And, by the way of the Sea, there is no passage into the Harbour, but with the permission of the Garrison in the *Risbank*. Wherefore Those two Horns, as it were, of the Town were necessary to be gained by any one, who would go about to take it. *De Guise* therefore in the night, with his Brother the Duke *d'Aumale*, *Peter Strozzi* Marshall of France, *Paul de Thermes*, *John d'Estree* Colonel of the Artillery, *Sansac*, *D'Andelot*, *Tavanes* and *Senarpont* goes to the Sea-shore; and taking a near view of the *Risbank*, within twenty five Paces of it, unperceived by the Enemy, immediately orders the younger *D'Allegre* and another of the Noble Pages to be conducted by *Charles de la Roche-foucault de Randan* to a particular place in the Harbour, which he had understood to be fordable. The Ford being tried, the General Officers at length agreed, that the next day both *Newnam-Bridge* and the *Risbank* should be battered at the same time; which was executed accordingly at Break of day. The Garrison of *Newnam-Bridge* surrendered the first, by the advice (as it afterwards came to be known) of the Governour of the City, who, having but a few Soldiers with him, was not willing to expose his Men to certain Destruction. Within an hour after, They too, who held the *Risbank*, surrendered at discretion to *De Guise*, who found there a vast quantity of Artillery and other things. But in order absolutely to prevent the introduction of Succours, by the Direction of the Officers, between the Town and the Marsh, behind the Banks, twenty Companies of French Foot were posted, and *Philip* the Rhingrave's Regiment with eight hundred German Horse, and three hundred Horse-cuirassiers under *De la Roche-sur-Ton*. *De Thermes*, to the Sea-ward, possessed the Road, which leads to *Guines*, with the remaining Cavalry and the Swiss. Then, without a moment's delay, on the 4th day of this month, six larger-sized pieces of Cannon were planted against the *Water-gate*, and thirty Culverins for beating down the opposite Redoubts; and, Trenches being opened, Batteries were raised there, as if the whole Stress was meant to be laid on that side. This Gate and some adjoining Towers being battered and shaken, when the Enemy were in no pain for the Castle, which was unprovided of a Parapet, fifteen Battering-pieces were suddenly directed against That, and fired with such violence and fury, that the Noise was heard



A. D. even at *Antwerp*, which is thirty three *German* Miles distant. A fair  
 1558. Breach being at length made, *D'Andelot*, in the close of the Evening,  
 was ordered with twelve hundred *Musqueteers* and a great number of  
 Gentry to cross the Harbour, and to fortify himself between the  
 City and the Shore. Proper Instruments, prepared beforehand by  
*De Senarpont*, who had exactly viewed the Place, were put into their  
 hands for the purpose of opening Trenches; which being extended to  
 the very Ditch of the City, the Water might be drawn off from  
 thence, and the Ditch, wherein the *English* placed the principal Strength  
 of the City, left dry in a moment. For that purpose a vast number  
 of Hurdles were conveyed thither, covered over with Pitch, that they  
 might not sink; by the help of which the Soldiers might easily pass  
 with dry feet through those sloughy and marshy Grounds. Then  
*Senarpont*, to defend the Soldiers from the Shot, invented a sort of  
 Covering, of Poles joined together with Osiers, half a foot thick,  
 covered on the outside with three Layers of Paper, and portable by  
 the Soldiers; so contrived, that the Poles being pointed at the bottom  
 with Iron, they might upon occasion be left standing in the Ground:  
 With this Shield, as it were, the Men being fenced, fired through the  
 Loop-holes of the Wicker. At length a large Aperture being made  
 towards night in the Wall, *De Guise*, to hinder the Enemy's repairing  
 the Breach, at the Ebb of the Tide, about eight o' clock, ordered *De*  
*Grammont* with three hundred *Musqueteers* to pass the Water, and by  
 continual Volleys to interrupt the Enemy in their Works. *Strozzi* too  
 received orders with the like number of *Musqueteers* and an hundred  
 Pioneers besides under *De Savleboz*, to possess another part of the Haven;  
 but, being dislodged by a Shower of Small-shot, he was forced with  
 the Loss of twenty five Men to return to *De Guise*. In the morning,  
 the Duke advancing near the Gate, with his Brothers *D'Aumale* and  
*D'Elboeuf*, *Francis Montmorency*, the *Seigneur de Buillon*, and the rest  
 of the Nobility, ordered *Branaccio* to inspect the Breach: Upon  
 his Report, that it was fit to be mounted, he commands *De Grammont*, at  
 a Signal given, to advance with his *Musqueteers*, supported by *Peter*  
*Strozzi* with three hundred Men armed with Coats of Mail, and again  
 by another Reserve of the like number of the heavy-armour; whilst he  
 himself at the head of the other Troops passed the intermediate River  
 up to the Navel, and came close under the Wall; which Our Men  
 immediately attacked with such Fury, that, putting all they met to the  
 Sword, they soon gained the Castle, and forced the remainder of the  
 Defendants to retire into the City. After *De Guise* had put a strong  
 Garrison into the Castle, sufficient to encounter the Enemy, if in the  
 night time they should assault it from the City; at the Return of the  
 Ebb, he goes back to the other distant Stations. The Enemy were  
 heartily vexed or ashamed for having so soon deserted the Castle; and,  
 perceiving (tho' too late) how it opened a way to the taking of the  
 City, set themselves with all their power to recover it. Venturing  
 accordingly upon an Assault, they were at first beaten back; then  
 playing upon Us with four Pieces of Cannon from the bottom of the  
 Bridge,



Bridge, they renewed the Attack with fresh Courage; and when, from *A. D.* a Battery, raised in one of the Streets of the City, they had furiously 1558. shattered the Castle-gate; after an obstinate Dispute, wherein two hundred of their best Soldiers perished, they were finally repulsed. When the Lord \* *Wentworth*, who commanded in the Place, saw the ill success of this last Effort, falling into despair he began to capitulate; and, after various Debates, an Agreement was at length made upon These Conditions: "That all the Townsmen with their Wives and Children should be dismissed without Injury or Molestation, and be at liberty to retire either into *Flanders* or cross the Sea into *England*; for which a competent Security should be given: That the Soldiers should pass over into *England*: That the Lord *Wentworth* and fifty others should remain Prisoners at the Duke's Discretion: That the Great-guns, Balls, Powder, Arms, Colours and Ammunition of all sorts should be left in the Town, entire and without Fraud: That all the Furniture, Gold, Silver, Merchandize and Horses should be yielded to the Duke's absolute Disposal: That they should do no damage to any thing, by pulling down Buildings or digging up the Pavement; nor so much as loosen a Nail, or stir a Stone from its place." Which last was added to restrain the Malice of the *English*; who, at the surrendering of *Boulogne* by Agreement some years before, had mangled and disguised that City in a filthy manner, out of mere spight to Us. These things having been thus transacted on the 6th of *January*, on the next day the *English* all marched out to a Man. Thus within seven days, in the Reign of *Philip* King of *England*, was This Town taken; which after the Battle of *Crescy*, two hundred and nine years ago, when the Forces of the Realm were to the last degree weakened, Our Countrymen had held out for a whole year; and which at last *John de Vienne*, entertaining no farther hopes of Succours, when he was closely pressed on all sides by Sea and Land, had surrendered to *Edward* III. Here many think the *Portus Iccius* to have been, from whence *Caius Cesar* says the shortest passage lay to *England*; because from this Port (which now for the sake of its Conveniency is filled with Merchants) there are not reckoned above thirty thousand Paces to *Dover*. The Town received the Name of *Calais* (as it often happens) from the whole Country, in which it is situated: For the People, throughout all that Track, from the Mouth of the *Seine* to That of *Aa* (which washes *Graveling*), were formerly called *Caleti*; and amongst them stood the Borough of *Gessoriacum*; which some falsely imagine to have been the Name of a Town, standing at present in the *Vexin-Norman* above *Rouen*. The Surrender was scarcely performed, when a great number of Vessels appeared at Sea, designed for the Relief of the Place; but, seeing the *French* Colours displayed, and perceiving that they were come too late, they returned home again. *Philip* had entertained a Foreboding, or a Thought at least, of Our Design, and had not only informed the Queen his Wife of it by Letters, but had voluntarily offered his Assistance and Succours:

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\* *Dumfortius. Thuanus.*



A. D. But the jealous *English* misinterpreted that Offer, as if *Philip* had a mind to surprize *Calais* by a *Spanish* Trick. The Event at length confirmed his Suspicion. Nor was He, for all that, wanting in his Services; but sent a Reinforcement of *Spaniards* to the distressed Garrison of *Guines*.

*Calais* being taken, a Debate arose amongst the Generals, whether it were more expedient to go against *Guines*, three miles distant, or *Graveling*; which two Towns surround *Calais* on each side: After some Deliberation they resolved upon *Guines*; because That, once reduced under the *French* Power, would be more conducive to the Security of *Calais*, than *Graveling*, which was more remote. The Lord *Gray* held the Place with a stout Garrison. On the 13th day of the same month *De Guise* marches thither, and at the first Onset takes the Town, the Garrison retiring into the Castle: But, whilst Our Men were more taken up with the Booty, than with regulating their Posts, the Enemy sallying drove them out again; and, setting fire to the Houses, again shut themselves within the Castle. In the next three days, Lines were thrown up, and the Trenches carried as far as the Ditch, Gabions being set up in them, and thirty five Battering-pieces planted, which fired cross-wise upon the Castle. At length the Bastion, which covered the opposite Gate, was for the most part shattered and ruined; a great Breach being made, which however was difficult to be mounted. *De Guise* therefore, after he had sent many Persons at several times to inspect it, at length commands an hundred and twenty chosen Men to climb up to it; with some Pioneers, who by their Labours were to smoothe the rugged Ascent, and to do nothing else. At length, on the 20th day of *January*, Orders being first sent to *D'Andelot* to be in Arms, a Regiment of *Germans* appointed for that Service gave a furious Assault; and crossed the deep Ditch, which *De Guise*, by throwing in Gabions and Hurdles, had made passable: Whereupon the Duke, who, to see the Issue, had climb'd the opposite Hill, presently runs from thence towards his Men; and, putting fresh Courage into them by his presence, renews the Fight; and then at last, the Enemy, being unable to sustain Our Assaults, after the Loss of three hundred of their Men, and amongst them two hundred *Spaniards*, abandoning the lower Esplanade retired to the Lord *Gray* within the Old Castle. By a different Quarter, *Recrod's* Regiment attack'd the two lower Redoubts, and thus We became absolute Masters of the lower Esplanade. *Gray*, who still held the larger Redoubt, which commanded the others possessed by Our Soldiers, was however so astonished at the Success; that, without expecting 'till Our Men should use farther force, he forthwith sent out two young Noblemen to *De Guise*, in order to a Capitulation. The next day an Agreement was signed, "That the Soldiers should march out with their Arms, leaving their Colours, the Cannon, Balls, Powder and Ammunition behind them; and that *Gray* himself with the Officers and Gentlemen should remain a Prisoner." More than eight hundred *English* or else *Wal-loons* or *Spaniards* went out; which turned to Lord *Gray's* exceeding Disgrace,



Disgrace, that He, who was otherwise an experienced Commander, *A. D.* should not, attended with so many brave Officers and Soldiers, 1558. more obstinately defend a Place of such considerable Strength: With him was taken *Christopher Mondragon*, who had formerly escaped out of the Castle of *Paris*. *Guines* had antiently, in the year 1351, been seized by the *English* during a Truce, through the Treachery of *Beaucourroy* Lieutenant Governour of the Province, who afterwards suffered death for it. There still remained in that Tract of Land (which is commonly called the County of *Oye*) a Castle, not very strong of itself, but almost inaccessible by its Situation, as being wholly surrounded with Marshes, and having no other Avenue but a narrow Causey, most of the wooden Bridges being broken. But the Garrison, understanding the Fate of *Guines*, without waiting the arrival of Our Troops, immediately fled, leaving the Cannon behind them. *Cipierre* was instantly detached thither, to seize the deserted Fort, with the Duke of *Lorraine's* Troop, which he commanded as Lieutenant.

The King in the mean time, in order to establish a Fund of Money, without which he could not possibly re-conquer the lost Places or sustain the Enemy's Attacks, had summoned an Assembly of the States to *Paris*. Here on the 6th day of *January*, in the Hall of the Palace, called *S. Lewis's* (where Justice is done), under a magnificent Pavilion, he sat on his Throne; and, a little below him, the Dauphin and *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, to the Right-hand, with the Cardinals: On the Left, sat the Prince *De la Roche-sur-Ton*, the Duke *de Nevers*, the Count *de Sancerre*, *D'Urfé*, *De Bourdillon*, and the rest of the Nobility: Below them the other Orders. The King opened the Assembly with a grave Speech, wherein he declared, "That, ever since he had  
" been advanced to the Sovereignty of the Realm, nothing had sat  
" so near his Heart, as the Care of the Kingdom's Honour, and how  
" he might shew his Fatherly Affection to his Subjects of every Rank,  
" according to each Person's Merit, as it became a good Prince:  
" That it concerned not only the Dignity of the Realm, but the  
" Safety of every Man in particular, that the Enemy's Attempts should  
" be repressed, the antient Possessions of the Kingdom preserved, the  
" lost Places recovered, and the Barrier strengthened: With that View,  
" at his first entrance upon the Government he had maintained a  
" difficult but fortunate War with the *English* for the recovery of *Bou-*  
" *logne* and the neighbouring Places: In that War, and others, which  
" had sprung from thence in a Train of fatal Consequences, vast  
" Sums of money had been expended; for which, when the annual  
" Taxes were not sufficient, the Royal Demesnes had been mort-  
" gaged, and (what more afflicted him) new Taxes had been imposed:  
" The Sense of which affecting him often in a very strong manner,  
" he had wished, that an Agreement might be concluded with the  
" Enemy, tho' upon hard Conditions, and had actually made the  
" Offer. Now, since he had not been able to obtain That, but  
" heard, that the Enemy, puffed up with Success, was preparing to  
" make war with greater Vigour than ever; he had a mind publicly  
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A. D. 1558. " to testify before them That Confidence, which under GOD he placed in Their Fidelity and Valour, and to manifest his Designs to all Men; namely, that he had resolved to oppose those numerous Forces with Forces as numerous: That the Estates themselves could not be ignorant, that the chief Sinew of War was Money; without which neither can an Army be maintained, nor the Soldiery kept to Discipline; and for want of which the noblest opportunities of Success, which every day present themselves, are generally lost or maimed. He earnestly therefore requested their Succour in behalf of Himself, the Kingdom, and the Publick Necessity, whose Cause was One with their Own: He knew, that, through the Fault of the Age and Licentiousness of the Times, many things grievous to the Commonalty had prevailed in Manners and in the Civil Administration, which he heartily desired to see amended; and gave his word, that, as soon as by Their Assistance he should have extricated himself out of the present Difficulties, and settled a solid Peace by his Arms, he would see to the correction of those Abuses, and to the Ease of the People in respect to the Taxes: He had therefore desired, that the Dauphin, the Heir apparent to the Kingdom, should be present at this Assembly; not as a Witness or a Pledge of the Faith now plighted; but that His Honour might be likewise engaged for the performance of the Royal Promises." This Speech being ended, the Cardinal rising up, in a prolix and high-strained Oration extolled, and, according to his flattering Custom, even magnified beyond the Truth, the King's Love and generous Affection towards all his Subjects, and in the Name of the Clergy promised a very large Subsidy. Next to him the Duke *de Nevers*, standing up in like manner, and speaking for the Nobility, declared in a few words their Readiness, as they had always done, to spend their Wealth, Life and Blood for the King, and the Honour and Safety of the Nation. Then *John de Saint-André*, in the Name of the *Parisian* and other Parliaments of the Realm, whose Deputies were present, falling upon his Knees returned thanks to the King, that of the Magistrates, who do justice in his Name, he had constituted a fourth Order, and joined it to the other three Orders of the Realm: Then, praising the King's Affection and Prudence, he made a copious Tender of Life, Riches and all things. Lastly, in the Name of the Commonalty, *Andrew Guillard* *Sieur du Mortier*, falling upon his Knees, commended the King's extraordinary Prudence and Goodness, in resolving to settle a Peace by Arms, and amend such Abuses in the Civil Administration as had crept in through the Fault of the Times: That the People reciprocally, who knew themselves to be indebted for all things to their Prince, although they were already worn out by the heavy Taxes and the continual Calamities of War, in order to approve their Loyalty in the present State of things, would not be backward to raise their utmost Contribution, for the necessary Support of his Honour and Safety in the Prosecution of the War. When *Du Mortier* had concluded, *John Bertrandi* the Under-Chancellor, called at that time the Cardinal *de Sens*, when on his bended Knees he had,



had, according to custom, consulted the King sitting in his Throne; *A. D.* returned to his Place, and declared the King's Commands; That in 1558. order to make a beginning of Reformation, the People should put their Complaints into Writing, and mark the Heads of those things, which wanted Correction; and then deliver them to *Du Mortier*, who should present them to the King, in order to their being afterwards redressed according to His Majesty's pleasure. These things done, the Assembly was dismissed. After the King's departure, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, by His Majesty's Order calls aside the Deputies of the People, and acquaints them, that for the necessary Uses of the War three millions of Crowns were wanted; that the Clergy, besides the Tenths, had made the King a voluntary Offer of one million, and that consequently the Commons must furnish two millions: For the better and more convenient Dispatch of which (Expedition being absolutely necessary), it would be requisite, that the Names of two thousand, the most substantial Inhabitants in the several Cities and Towns, should be given in, who should each lend a thousand Crowns. The Deputies at first refused to give in any Names, and declared it to be an invidious and even a dangerous Thing: For that it must needs breed ill blood, if the people should be forced to declare what every one was worth, and so as it were turn Informers against themselves: And that, particularly amongst Merchants, there might be danger, if their Wealth came to be universally known, that, being found to be less rich than they had been reputed, they might lose their Credit, which is the very Soul of Commerce. At length it was agreed, that the whole Sum being laid upon the Provinces, and the Cities and Towns of each Province, the more wealthy should divide the Charge amongst themselves; and thus the Burthen, which to a Few would be intolerable, might become lighter, as it should be born by greater numbers. The Assembly being concluded, the King attended at a Solemn Mass, performed on the 10th day of *January* in the Royal Chappel, with the Queen, the Dauphin, and the chief Lords; and Thanks were likewise returned to GOD for the Recovery of *Calais*: Whither as he designed to take a journey, so, before he set forwards, he went, according to custom, into the Palace; and, sitting down upon a Couch, revived several obsolete Edicts and Constitutions, concerning the Civil Administration. From thence he proceeded to *Calais*; where having surveyed the Place, after he had given orders, by the Advice of the General Officers, for fortifying it, and had committed the Custody of it to *Paul de Thermes*, he returned into the Heart of the Kingdom.

In a different Quarter, the Duke *de Nevers*, the moment he came back to *Champagne*, gave orders to the several Commanders in Garrison to hold their Battallions in readiness, and to the Lieutenant Colonels of *Buillon's* and *Jametz's* Troops of Horse, and likewise to *Senarpont*, who commanded his Own, to lead them into the Field; whilst he himself, about the beginning of *February*, repaired to *Ivoy*: There, at a Council-board (where *Jametz* himself, That antient and experienced General,



A. D. General, attended) at the request of *De Haultcour*, it was resolved to 1558. attack *Herbemont* in the Forest of *Ardenne*; a Castle of the Count de *Beilistein's*, standing on a Rock, inaccessible every way, but by the ordinary passage to it: At which place the Enemy generally met together to carry on their Excursions, to the great annoyance of *Ivoy* and the adjacent Country. By this time *Leon des Pots*, who in the absence of *De Bourdillon* commanded the Barrier of the Province, had prepared a competent number of Pioneers and Cattle, for the Draught of the Carriages whithersoever *De Nevers* should appoint. In the Evening therefore, with the strictest Diligence and Silence, *Trouffebois* and *La Chambre*, the Governours of *Mezieres* and *Maubert-Fontaine*, were detached with their respective Parties, to invest the Place. Part of the Cannon with the Light-armour passed by a different way through *Sedan*; and again by another Rout *De Haultcour* conveyed the remaining Artillery and Ammunition under the Care of *James Wolf*; and These were followed by the Duke *de Nevers*, with some of his lightest Troops. The Cannon proceeded very heavily through the River *Semois* at the bottom of the Castle, because of the Ice and extraordinary Snows. A brisk Skirmish commenced at first, upon the Garrison's making a Sally; but, these being repulsed, *De Cormont* made himself master of the lower Esplanade, whither the Peasants with their Flocks and Herds had retired. Batteries were then planted against the side opposite to the Avenue; and, the Bastion, which covered the Front of the Castle, being destroyed, and a large Breach made, when Our Troops were preparing to give the Assault, the Governour proposed Articles of Capitulation; which being refused, at last, on the 6th day of *February*, he surrendered himself and the Castle at discretion to the Duke *de Nevers*; who, at the earnest request of Monsieur *Jametz*, dismissed Him with his Wife and Family, and Soldiers without a Ransom. The Care of the Castle was committed by *De Nevers* to *La Croix*, *Haultcour's* Lieutenant. From thence Detachments were sent to compel *Jamoigne*, *Chigny*, *Rosignol*, and *Villemont*, Fortresses built in those parts by the Enemy, to surrender; most of which at the Noise of *De Nevers's* Approach had been deserted by the Garrison, and the rest, at the first sight of Our Troops, capitulated.

But in *Italy*, the Report of *Calais's* being recovered had not only quite obliterated the memory of the late Disaster at *S. Quintin's*, but had even encouraged the *French* and the Duke of *Ferrara* to venture upon higher Attempts: And Our People truly had entered into a Scheme to surprize *Orbitello*; because they had been informed, that, on the side which faces the Marsh, a thin watch was generally kept. Setting out thither from *Mont-alcino*, when with the strictest silence they had reached the intended place; the Ladders, upon which they should have mounted, were found to be too short, through the fault of the Fellow, who had undertaken to make them: And thus, after the Loss of some Soldiers by the Enemy's Artillery, they were forced to retire without Success. But the Duke of *Ferrara*, who saw the vast inconveniences sustained by the Enemy, which had even forced them into



into Winter Quarters, takes the Field with his Troops, and suffers them *A. D.* to waste at random the whole Dutchy of *Parma*. The Soldiers also in 1558. Garrison at *Bressello*, making an Excursion as far as *San-Vitale*, carried off eight Cuirassiers, with the Prince of *Ascoli's* Cornet. About that time *Alfonso* with *Cornelius Bentivoglio*, at the head of four thousand Foot and four Field-pieces, marching out of *Reggio*, retook *S. Polo*, stripping the few Soldiers, whom they found there: Then silently crossing the River *Lenza*, that parts the Dutchies of *Reggio* and *Parma*, he lays siege to the Castle of *Guardigione*, and batters it with Cannon; upon which the Garrison presently surrendered. The Artillery was next planted against *Rossena*, a Castle belonging to the Lords of *Correggio*; which being taken, sacked, and at last burnt, the Camp was advanced to *Canossa*; and this, not yielding to the Fury of the Great Guns, was taken by Storm, and most of the Garrison put to the Sword, *Ottavio* nettled with these Injuries, and with shame especially, solicited Aids from every Quarter, sending Officers to fetch them from *Milan* and *Tuscany*; and, from *John de Figueroa*, he demanded two thousand Germans, one thousand Spaniards, and two Ensigns of Horse-cuirassiers, which He lately, upon the taking of *Ponzone*, a small Castle in the Road from *Alessandria* to *Genoa*, as if he had performed a mighty Exploit, had distributed for Refreshment into Winter Quarters. But, for want of Pay, there came but few to the Standard; and *Ottavio*, who saw his Pains to be ineffectual, had resolved, when he should have recovered such of his Fortresses as the Duke of *Ferrara* had lately taken from him, to keep himself quiet at home: To execute this as soon as possible, he was admonished by his Brother *Alexander* the Cardinal; who foresaw, that, on the Arrival of the *Turkish* Fleet, the whole Strength and Forces of *Italy* would be turned to the defence of the Coasts; and therefore that it would be an unreasonable and at the end a ruinous thing for his Brother, to be concerned in an unprofitable and fruitless War with a neighbouring Prince. To this was added, that at the same time *Francis da Este*, the Duke of *Ferrara's* Brother, who had hitherto always followed the Imperial Party, and had done excellent Service in the *German* War, upon the receipt of a Collar of Knight-hood from the King, had gone over to Us, and was sent with the chief Command to direct Affairs for the King in *Tuscany*: Which not only proved advantageous to Us in point of Reputation, but added considerably to the Strength of the Duke of *Ferrara*. Upon this occasion *Cosmo*, who had been always displeased with the War undertaken against the Duke, treated now more openly with the Spaniards, and pressed *Philip* to an amicable composition of the Quarrel. Nor did the Duke, who was now grown old, and had been disappointed of his hopes, dislike peaceful Counsels; yet would he not depart from the League concluded with Us, but upon honourable Conditions. At length, by the Intervention of *Cosmo*, who had received full powers for the purpose from *Philip*, an Agreement was settled upon These Terms: That he should renounce the Post of Captain General of the *French* in *Italy*; abandon the League entered into with the King and the Pope



A. D. against *Philip*; observe an exact Neutrality, and not furnish the King 1558. with Artillery or Ammunition: That the Places taken in this War should be restored on both sides: That he should cultivate a Friendship with *Ottavio Farnese*: That *San-Martino*, taken from *Sigismond Gonzaga*, and his other Estates confiscated by the Duke of *Ferrara*, should be restored: Which last Article was the most grievous to the Duke, inasmuch as he was thereby precluded from the Liberty of punishing a Subject at his discretion. *Bartholomew Concini* was then dispatched to carry the Conditions to *Philip*, for his Ratification; and to request, that with his good leave an Affinity might be contracted between the Duke and *Cosmo*; the advantage of which Match he was instructed to demonstrate by many Arguments. Upon *Philip's* consenting, Peace was made with the Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Alfonso* immediately took a journey to *Florence*; where, since the Eldest Daughter *Mary* (which had been designed for him) was just dead, he married *Lucretia*, a Virgin of fourteen years of age. The Wedding was celebrated with the utmost Pomp: Nor yet did *Cosmo*, amidst those Nuptial Festivals, lye idle; but, apprehensive of the *Turkish* Fleet, which was reputed to intend a Descent upon *Elba*, *Porto-Ercole*, *Piombino*, *Savona* and *Nice*, laboured hard to fortify the Sea-coast. To *Porto Ercole* was sent *Chiappino Vitelli*, to draw Lines about the Hill, that commanded the Town, and that was afterwards called by *Philip's* Name; and by the help of Pioneers to repair the Works in the Castle of *Piombino*, which had been neglected by the *Spaniards*. To *Elba* likewise was dispatched *Gabriel Serbellon*, to strengthen *Porto-Ferrato*, by adding new Bastions to the Fort of *Falcone*. These were the Provisions made by *Cosmo* for the Defence of the Sea-coast against the *Turks*. In the Inland Country, he contrived, that the *French*, whose Stay in those parts for want of their Arrears had been very grievous to the Inhabitants, might consume all the Harvest of the year; that so, the *Sieneſe* Exiles, growing weary of the *French*, might be drawn over to His Interest. For the Garrison of *Grosseto*, through the inclemency of the Air, mouldered away every day; and, the Works being mostly destroyed by the overflowing of the *Ombro*, the Town lay exposed to danger.

And now the *Turkish* Fleet of an hundred and twenty Gallies was seen from *La Previza* in *Calabria*, after it had passed by *Brindisi*, the Fortifications of which Place were carried on with all expedition; taking the same Rout, by which it had formerly, after passing the *Faro di Messina* and taking and pillaging *Reggio*, arrived at *Stromboli*. From thence continuing their Course to the Gulf of *Surrento*, near *Salerno* the *Turks* made a Descent; carrying off a vast multitude, of near four thousand Souls, into the vilest Slavery; and amongst the rest, a great number of Nuns and Monks, out of those numerous Abbeys which lye scattered up and down in that pleasant Country; and putting the Children and Old men to the Sword: Next, they came within sight of *Naples*: Then weathering the Point of *Terracina*, a Town of the Pope's Jurisdiction, they fell down to the Isle of *Elba*; and, having staid one night in the Harbour of *Porto-Longone*, when they saw the Shore



Shore lined with Soldiers (for *Aurelio Fregose*, returning lately with the *A. D.* Cavalry out of *Lombardy*, had been ordered to shew himself) they 1558. turned aside to *Corfica*, where they expected to find Our Fleet. But since That had lately set sail, it was the general Opinion, that a Resolution had been taken to attack either *Savona* or *Nice*, and to seize the Haven of *Villa-franca*. The *Genoese*, fearful of such a Design, notwithstanding the Endeavours of *Andrew Doria* (who, because of his decrepid Old age, was now grown despicable to the Citizens), and the Remonstrances of *Gomez de Figueroa* against such a Violation of *Philip's* Honour, sent Messengers to the Bashaw with many valuable Presents, to beg his Forbearance with regard to their Territories. Nor did the Consultation of the *Genoese* rest here; for they determined besides to dispatch Embassadors to the *Ottoman* Port at *Constantinople*, to obtain of *Soliman* the Liberty and Immunity of Traffick for their Subjects; and, since the *Spaniards* furnished them with Corn every year from *Sicily* so sparingly and as it were by the Bushel, to gain leave also, by a formal Treaty, of buying Corn and transporting it for the use of their Republick. The *Turkish* Fleet, sailing after Ours, confirmed this opinion; as if it had been agreed, that they should meet in *Provence*, and from thence with joint Forces invade the County of *Nice*: *Brissac* too was expected from Court with a Sum of money, in order to second their Attempts by crossing the *Var* with a Land Army. But the Case was quite different: For He, some time before, had gone to Court, either of his own accord, or in obedience to the King's Summons; and having abundantly, as he thought, confuted those secret Informations, which the King had received of his rapacious Administration of the Province, when he had explained the State of Affairs, and demonstrated the necessity of pushing on the War more especially at this juncture, had been sent back into *Italy*: And, because he laboured principally under the want of Money, he had been directed, to take up what Sums he could of the Bankers at *Lyons* for the Charges of the Service. After he had spent therefore in his Return a good deal of time there to no purpose, he at length came back empty-handed into *Piedmont*, and was forced to content himself with wasting the Country about *Fossano* and *Coni*, which Places he held streightened with a tedious sort of Blockade, in hopes of reducing them at last by extremity of Distress to a Submission. On the other side, *Figueroa* carried on the War in the same way, laying the Country waste about *San-Damiano*, in order to incommode the Garrison; but he carried himself with the more negligence, as he every day expected a Successor. For after that the Duke of *Alva*, repairing to *Philip*, had laid down his Post of Captain General in *Italy*, the Duke of *Sessa*, Grandson to *Gonçalo the Great*, was chosen Governour of the *Milanese*: And *Don Perafan de Ribera*, Duke of *Alcala* and Vice-roy of *Catalonia*, was appointed Vice-roy of *Naples*; in whose absence *Peter Mamriquez* took Charge of that Kingdom. The *Turkish* Fleet, after it had staid some time in *Provence* to refit, sailing away to *Minorca*, attacked the Town of *Citadella*; and planting Artillery and giving many furious Assaults, after



A. D. after a great Loss of Men (for more than four hundred are said to 1558. have perished in that Siege), at length gained the Place: Then without any farther Action, notwithstanding all our Endeavours to retain it, it came before *Savona*, into which *Cesar Maggi* had thrown himself; and, leaving the Coasts of *Italy*, about the beginning of *August*, failed Eastward in their way home.

The King in the mean while had ordered Recruits to be raised every where in *France*, especially in *Aquitaine* and *Gascony*, Provinces abounding in good Soldiers; and in *Germany* levied a greater Body than ordinary of Horse and Foot, because he wanted them for his *German* Barrier. They were all ordered to rendezvous about the end of *April*, which was fixed for the Review of the whole Army. In the mean time the Nuptials of *Francis* the Dauphin and *Mary Stewart* Queen of *Scots*, Daughter to *James V.* and *Mary* Sister of the *Guises*, were celebrated at *Paris* on the 24th day of *April* with extraordinary Pomp: The Cardinals, *Charles* of *Bourbon*, *Charles* of *Lorraine*, *Odet Coligny de Chastillon*, and *John Bertrandi*; the Princes of *Bourbon*, *Condé* and *De la Roche-sur-Yon*; the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Dukes of *Nemours*, *Guise*, *Nevers* and *Aumale* were present at it: And of the *Scotch* Lords, those already mentioned, the Archbishop of *Glasgow* Primate of the Kingdom, the Bishop of *Orkney*, the Earls of *Rothés* and *Cassils*, Lord *Fleming*, *Seton*, and the Laird of *Dun*. At the Banquet, which was set forth with Royal Magnificence, the Duke of *Guise* obtained of the easy King, that he might execute the Office of Grand Master of the Palace, belonging to the Captive *Montmorency*; paving a way even Then for the attainment of that Dignity, which he afterwards snatched from the House of *Montmorency*. The Ceremonies being performed, the *Scotch* Lords were called into the Council; where *Bertrandi* the Vice-chancellor pressed them, to produce the Crown and the other Ensigns of Royalty, and that the Queen's Husband should be created King of *Scotland*: When the Embassadors answered, that they had no such thing in their Commission, he replied, that for the present he only desired what was in their power; that, when this Affair should be debated in the publick Council, they would give their Votes for granting that Honour, which was so justly demanded; and that they would engage themselves to do so by a Writing under their Hand. The Embassadors to this rejoined; That their Instructions were so limited, that they could not make such a Promise; but that they would readily gratify the *French*, with whom they were so many ways united, in any thing that could be honourably required of Friends; in Their turn they begged, that the *French* would confine their Requests within the Bounds of Equity. Thus the Embassadors were dismissed; but, though they made all possible haste to return home, before their Departure out of *France* they lost four of their number; viz. the Bishop of *Orkney*, the Earls of *Cassils* and \* *Rothés*, and Lord *Fleming* the Head of his House; all Men of Honour, and Friends to their Country.

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\* *Angus. Thu.* But see Burnet; see also above.



Many of their Retinue likewise died, not without suspicion of Poyson, *A. D.* administered, as the *Scots* gave out, by the Regent's Brothers, because 1558. those Gentlemen were averse to Their Schemes. An Attempt was thought to have been made also, with the same Potion, upon *James* the Queen's Brother; who, although by the strength of his Constitution and the advantage of his youth he escaped death, yet for ever after, as long as he lived, languished under a weakness of the Bowels. Such as returned, entring the Parliament-house, easily procured an Approbation of what they had done. Our Embassador being next introduced, when he had at large set forth the antient and faithful affection of the Kings of *France* towards the whole *Scottish* Name, pressed the Members jointly and severally, that they would grant the Conjugal Crown (as he called it) to the Husband of their Queen; by which Concession no Advantage or Power should accrue, but only the bare Use of the Title. Although many opposed it, yet, by the Interest of our Partisans, the Embassador obtained, that the Crown should be decreed to the Dauphin; and *Gillespick Campbell* Earl of *Argile*, and *James* the Queen's Brother were appointed to carry it to him. But These, proceeding with Circumspection, and making slow preparations for their Journey, spun out the time from day to day, 'till in the interim happened the Death of *Mary* Queen of *England*; which produced a Change of Affairs, not only in *England*, but with Us also, as will appear in the sequel. The Crown being decreed, *Francis* the Queen's Husband, with his Father's Consent, took upon him from thence forward the Stile of *The King the Dauphin*. This Affinity as most of the *Scots* judged detrimental to their Interests, so many Persons of the highest Prudence foreboded the Ill consequences of it with regard to Us; as more Power was thereby thrown into the hands of the *Guises*, who already, taking advantage of the imprisonment of their Rival *Montmorency* and the Admiral *Gaspar de Coligny*, left nothing unattempted, to get the chief Authority to themselves, in a Court divided into Factions.

Next to *Montmorency* the Constable and *Coligny*, there remained *D'Andelot* Colonel of *French* Infantry; which Post carries with it a considerable Sway in all Military matters. *De Guise* therefore, who desired to draw to himself alone the whole Power and Direction of the Militia, in order to dispossess *D'Andelot*, procured him to be accused to the King as one who entertained naughty Opinions in Religion. *D'Andelot* stood in high favour with the King, both for the sake of the Love, which the King bore to his Uncle, and for his own Merits, particularly his late excellent Services in the taking of *Calais*. To shake this affectionate Disposition, the Cardinal resolved to make use of a convenient opportunity, which the following Accident offered. For about this juncture, *Christierne*, the Daughter of that cruel and savage Tyrant and of *Elizabeth* Sister's Daughter to the Emperor, and Mother of *Charles* Duke of *Lorain*, who out of hatred to the *French* Name had accompanied *Philip*, came by the King's permission to *Perone*, to talk with her Son: After a word or two concerning Peace,



A. D. *Anthony Perrenot* Bishop of *Arras*, whom *Philip* had ordered to wait  
 1558. upon *Christiernes*, is said to have held a secret Conference to the following  
 purpose with the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who by the King's Leave had  
 attended the Duke of *Lorraine* to that place: "That *Philip* was beyond  
 "measure concerned, that through their Ambitious Wars things should  
 "have been brought to such a Pass, that by inflaming every day their  
 "mutual Quarrels (which cannot be carried on without great damage even  
 "to the Conqueror) each Party insensibly wore away its Strength, which  
 "the Interest of Christendom required to be kept in Reserve against  
 "the Common Enemy the *Turks*: But that the *Turks* perhaps, as being  
 "at a considerable distance, and consequently less formidable, might  
 "be neglected: There lay concealed a far more dangerous Enemy,  
 "which each of them nourished in his Bosom and even in his Bowels;  
 "namely, that pestilent Virulence of wicked Sentiments in Religion,  
 "which amidst the Differences of the Princes spread by Contagion into  
 "the Hearts of Men; whereby the *Netherlands* now, and the greater  
 "part of *France* for some time had suffered: That this Evil, as long as  
 "the War should last, could not possibly be remedied: Peace was neces-  
 "sary for it, and That a faithful and sincere one: Otherwise, if they  
 "carried their Animosities any farther, they should each suffer more  
 "Mischief at home, than they would acquire Glory abroad: That  
 "*Henry* ought to be apprized of this; and That Person would gain the  
 "Good-will of every honest man, who should bring His Excellent  
 "Majesty to such a persuasion; that, Peace and a firm Friendship being  
 "once settled between those two powerful Sovereigns, they might with  
 "joint hearts and forces set about the Establishment likewise of Religion;  
 "which, as long as the Venom of Sectarists spread so freely, could not  
 "possibly be effected." When the crafty *Perrenot*, who was otherwise  
 acquainted with the Cardinal's ambitious Temper, saw him moved  
 with this Discourse, in order to egg him on the more, he added;  
 "That *Philip* was aware, what Troubles and Suspicions such an Affair  
 "would raise, if it were not begun with the strictest Fidelity and Pru-  
 "dence; for Beginnings generally give the Form to all Businesses: And  
 "therefore he had hesitated a long while, before he would open his mind  
 "to any *Frenchman* about it: But in the midst of his Doubts, Fortune  
 "had given him an Hint; the same Fortune, which had been pleased to  
 "preserve Him and his Brother the Duke of *Guise* from the general  
 "Disaster, that They should be the Persons, who should undertake this  
 "matter; which would be salutary to the King, as it tended to the  
 "Glory of GOD; profitable to the Realm, which amongst Religious  
 "Heats could never be at peace; glorious to Them, and lastly acceptable  
 "to the People, whose Favour might be highly advantageous to their  
 "illustrious Family against any unlooked-for Casualties." With these  
 words, when *Perrenot* observed his Plot to succeed, and that the weak  
 man's Heart beat with a silent Joy, he again subjoined; "That very  
 "Fortune, which suggested this Advice to *Philip*, most noble Cardinal,  
 "offers You the finest opportunity of gaining your Ends, by the  
 "removal of the Constable *Montmorency* and the Admiral *Coligny* his  
 "principal



“ principal Agent. For it is by no means a secret, what Emulation *A. D.*  
 “ and Grudges they bear towards Your honourable Family; and how 1558.  
 “ the Sectarists in the flourishing Realm of *France* are supported by  
 “ the *Colignyes*; whom *Montmorency*, tho’ perhaps averse to that Cause,  
 “ loves with such Fatherly Affection, that he is ready at his own hazard  
 “ to defend their Fortunes, Power and Dignity. As to *D’ Andelot*,  
 “ who lately escaped out of our hands, how impiously and unworthily  
 “ he thinks of Religious Matters, and how he talks amongst the  
 “ Soldiers (most of whom he corrupts by his Example), we receive  
 “ fresh Informations every day. At all which though we ought to  
 “ express our Joy (as it is an usual thing for Enemies to rejoice at the  
 “ Misfortunes of Enemies); yet, since the Danger of *France* in the  
 “ present case concerns the *Netherlands*, which already, by reason of  
 “ its nearness to *Germany*, has begun to feel this Distemper; We too  
 “ are bound to bewail Your Miseries, and to relieve them, since the  
 “ Benefit is likely to accrue to Us also, by a proper and immediate  
 “ Remedy. Now no Remedy for the present seems more likely to  
 “ take effect, than, if between two potent Princes, equally zealous  
 “ for the Service of Religion, an entire Agreement should be esta-  
 “ blished: Of which *Philip* does not at all despair, whilst You  
 “ especially are the Counsellors and Promoters; whose Friendship he  
 “ demands, and to whom he offers his Own by my hands; plighting  
 “ his Faith for the purpose, which he will constantly observe towards  
 “ You and your illustrious House. And because the Business requires  
 “ Silence, I will endeavour, since this Province has been laid upon  
 “ me by my good Master, that the Scheme, being communicated  
 “ by the means of other hands, may be conducted for the future  
 “ without Suspicion, or the least hazard of Your Reputation.” Con-  
 “ ditions so honourable and so advantageous to his Brothers and his  
 “ whole Family, already grown powerful in *France*, the Cardinal em-  
 “ braced with open Arms; returning thanks also to *Perrenot*, whom  
 “ *Philip* had pitched upon for the Conductor and Arbitrator of so im-  
 “ portant an Affair; and promising for himself and his Brothers the  
 “ most faithful Assistance and Industry for ever after. These are said to  
 “ be the first Beginnings of the Friendship and Counsels entered into  
 “ between the House of *Lorraine* and the King of *Spain*; which tho’ often  
 “ changed according to the Exigency of the times, were constantly re-  
 “ newed. Thus they departed on both sides from *Perone*, and the  
 “ Common people were made to believe, that *Christierne* had mentioned a  
 “ Peace, but nothing had been concluded. When the Cardinal returned,  
 “ he contrived to have a Report industriously spread, in order to destroy  
 “ all suspicion of the real Counsels, that the Enemy had pursued him in  
 “ violation of his Safe-Conduct, and that he had hardly escaped their  
 “ hands: This Rumour gained the more Credit, as some Soldiers from  
 “ *S. Quintin* and *Han* had about that time taken and pillaged *Nesle*, putting  
 “ the Garrison to the Sword. The Cardinal, as soon as he came to  
 “ Court, acquainted the King in an artful manner with what he had  
 “ heard from *Christierne* and *Perrenot*; namely, “ How *Philip* apprehended,  
 “ that



A. D. 1558. "that, during the Wars, the Contagion of Sectarism might spread as an incurable Tetter into each of their Provinces: For all Men knew (and he himself had been reproached with it), that many of the Lords in France were infected with that Poyson, which they scattered amongst Others; and that *D'Andelot* had been named by *Perrenot*, as a Person, who openly spoke contemptuously of the Mass: For that reason, *Philip*, tho' by the Flatteries of Fortune and the Heat of Youth he was incited to pursue his Successes, did however, out of a Concern for Religion, prefer peaceful Counsels, and desire a Pacification upon such Terms as should be reasonable in the present Circumstances." This Conversation struck the King, on the one side by the mention of Peace, which he knew his Affairs wanted; and on the other, through Fear of the Sectarists, who increased every where, and against whom, in pursuance of his Education, that otherwise good-natur'd Prince bore a Capital Aversion. Thinking therefore what was said of *D'Andelot*, of which he had before received some Hints, to be a thing by no means to be neglected, he ordered him to be sent for by the Cardinal *de Chastillon* and his Cousin *Montmorency*; whom he charged to advise him, that he should answer modestly to the Questions put to him: For that he himself was inclined to favour him, and heartily desired, that he might be found innocent of the Accusation. *D'Andelot* therefore was summoned, and being previously admonished, as the King had commanded, appeared before His Majesty at *Monceaux* in the Diocese of *Meaux*, whilst he was sitting at Table. There the King, after a long Preamble of his Good-will towards *D'Andelot* and the latter's Merits, said, He was sorry to hear, what had been told him from many Quarters, that he entertained ill opinions of Religion; and accordingly ordered him to declare his Faith concerning the Mass, so much cried down and abhorred by the Calvinists. Then *D'Andelot*, with his natural Courage, returning a bold Answer, conformable to *Calvin's* Doctrine, and contrary to the King's Wishes; and the King courteously exhorting him to pay some regard to himself, and to prevent the Danger; he, with more Confidence than before, at last answered, "That it gave him a singular pleasure, that the King, whose Generosity he had experienced towards himself and his whole Family, and whom he had reciprocally served with the utmost Duty, should approve his Loyalty and Diligence; but that, in the Cause of Religion, he could not make a Mock of GOD: That his Body, Wealth and Honour were in the King's Power, who might dispose of them at his pleasure; but his Soul was subject only to GOD, who gave it, and whom accordingly, in the present Case, as the superiour Lord, he lay under a necessity of obeying." This Answer seeming too bold, the King was so provoked, that, angrily snatching a Launce (which he meant to fling upon the Ground), he unawares gave the Dauphin, who sat below him, an unlucky Blow with it. After dinner, he ordered *D'Andelot* to be conducted by *John de Babou de la Bourdaisiere*, the Master of his Privy Chamber, to the City of *Meaux*; where he con-



continued some time in custody in the Bishop's Palace, 'till by the A. D. King's Command he was removed to *Melum*, and shut up in the 1558. Castle. 

*D'Andelot* being disgraced, it did not require any long deliberation, who should be created Colonel of the *French* Infantry: For *Blaise de Montluc* immediately occurred; a Person, who both for his Merits, and especially because he had been brought up in the Duke of *Lorraine's* Court and therefore favoured that Family, was judged worthy of that Province: Which however he at first refused, as he says himself in his Commentaries; because he looked upon it as an invidious Preferment, and sagaciously foresaw, that he should thereby incur the Hatred of the *Montmorencys*, whose Friendship or Civility at least he thought safest for him at that juncture to cultivate. The Cardinal puffed up with this Accident, that he might not let slip any the least opportunity of persecuting his Rivals, made an offer of his Protection to *Frances Amboise*, the Count *de Senighen's* Widow, who had been ignominiously prosecuted for abetting the Duke *D'Arfehote's* Escape. This Cause, *John Munier* the Lieutenant Civil of *Paris*, who had it in Tryal, had made his Own, as appeared by the Confession of the very Witnesses, whom he had suborned: However the Lady, fearing the Power of *Montmorency* tho' absent, had proceeded coolly in the Business: But now, at the instigation of the Cardinal, when she had accused *Munier* of Corruption, he was at length condemned to suffer every thing short of Death. The Judges remitted the Sentence of Death, in pity to the Secretary, who took the Sentences, and who had formerly been *Munier's* own Amanuensis; He, when commanded, according to Custom, to repeat aloud the Sentences, could not speak a word for sobbing; upon which one of the Judges snatched the Minuit-book out of his hands, and, observing the fresh Letters to be blurred with a flood of Tears, shewed it to his Colleagues; who, enquiring the Cause of the Secretary, were so moved by it, that, although they had at first unanimously voted the Criminal's Death, they remitted that Severity. *Munier*, having been led through the City and branded, was at last banished to the Isle of *Rè*; not without a secret Reflection upon *Montmorency*, in whose favour, He, who otherwise had been an exact Censor and Judge of Civil Discipline, was thought to have so inconsiderately offended. *Montmorency*, informed of these things by his Friends, when he had made the Enemy hope that he would incline the King's mind to Peace, went upon his Parole to *Beauvais*; and, having there conferred with the King, and recovered his antient favour, took comfort again, and returned to the Enemy, as he had promised. The Duke of *Guise* from his departure took occasion to sound the King's Inclination; and, being admitted to a familiar conversation with him, said, he did not doubt, but *Montmorency* had recommended his Dignity, Fortunes and Children to His Majesty; and that his Worth and extraordinary Services to *France* did indeed deserve, that the King should regard his Petition, and confirm all his Honours to him: But, that, whensoever he should happen to die, the Dignity of Master of



A. D. the Palace, which he himself had already executed at the Dauphin's 1558. Wedding, could not, without Injury be granted to any Person but Him. To this the King answered, that *Montmorency* had mentioned none of those things to him; but his Merits were so considerable, that he could not handsomely refuse any thing, that He should ask, either for himself or his Relations. *Guise*, deluded by this Answer, kept himself upon the Reserve; and so much the more, because he knew, that the Dutcheſs *de Valentinois*, whose Daughter his Brother *D' Aumale* had married, was offended with their Power; and had complained to the King of his Brother the Cardinal's Insolence; for which reason she had also designed her Grand-child (by her younger Daughter formerly married to the Duke *de Buillon*) for the Wife of *Henry*, *Montmorency's* second Son.

In the mean while, certain News arriving of the *German Army's* Approach, Schemes were formed for the Siege of *Thionville*. With that View, *De Bourdillon* had been already sent to *Metz* about the beginning of *May*; in appearance, to receive the Embassadors of some *German Princes*; but in reality, to take a fresh Survey of the Place, and to prepare the Necessaries for a Siege. Thither had come the Duke of *Lunenbourg*, *Grumbach*, *Wolfgang Scheneves*, *Bandoprat* and *Henry Stup*, Colonels of Horse; and *Reiffenberg* Lieutenant Colonel to the Landgrave of *Hesse's* second Son with four Ensigns; making in all five thousand Horse: Likewise the Regiments of *Rockendorf*, *Recrod*, *Lussebourg*, *Reiffenberg's* Son, *Reiffenberg* himself, and *Waldenbourg*, in which were about fourteen thousand Foot. With these Forces, joined by *Vieille-ville* Governour of *Metz* with a Troop of Horse and the Veteran Garrisons of *Verdun*, *Toul* and *Danvilliers*, the Sieur *de Bourdillon* invests *Thionville*. This Town, in the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, of a quinquangular figure, and almost in the shape of a Pouch, stands in a Flat, commanded by no Eminence; marshy and wet on every side, and therefore hardly accessible: To the North-west it has the River *Moselle*, which also runs into a very deep Moat encompassing the City; besides two Bastions on that side, very distant from each other, and not prominent enough to flank the Assailants; but for the rest, well provided with large and jetting Towers, and a spacious Parapet within. *Quarebbe* of *Brabant* held the Place with eighteen hundred Foot and two hundred Horse. Thither the Duke *de Nevers*, setting out on the 18th day of *May*, bent his Course; and when he had arrived at *Pont a Mousson*, the Troops being all assembled at *Stenay*, he continued his March with the Duke of *Guise* to *Metz*. The Place being first viewed, *De Guise*, departing on the 1st of *June*, divided the Forces the next day in such a manner, that he himself as it were conducted the Main-body, choosing a Post on this side the River near *Florence*; *De Nevers*, leading the Van-guard and crossing the River, encamped at the Castle of *La Grange aux Poissons*; and the Duke *de Nemours*, farther on in the Road to *Luxembourg*, lodged with the Light-armour below *Mont d' Estrain*; and, above *Nemours*, Monsieur *de Jametz* with some Troops of Cuirassiers and *German Horse* took



Post near the way, which leads to *Metz*. At the first Approach, *A.D.* Our Men drew a Line very broad and deep on this side the River at 1558. a great distance, and threw up a Plat-form so high and wide, as might bear Fascines and Artillery, and so return the Enemy's Cannonading. On the Plat-form were planted three Culverins and five Battering-pieces, which played upon the opposite Bulwark, trying, if possible, to break the Carriages of four Pieces mounted on a Tower within the City, which made a great slaughter of Our Men. From another Quarter, before an Intrenchment drawn on each side to the Lines already cast up, six Pieces of Cannon were fixed and directed; which firing cross-wise, were designed to ruin some Out-works, that covered the Bulwark on each side. This being done, and another Trench opened nearer to the *Moselle* (the Guns being disposed for the battery of the intermediate Wall, by the great Labour and Industry and indeed at the Hazard of *D'Estree* and the other Lords, who set their hands to the Work); on the fifth day after, the Firing began from thirty five larger-sized Cannon, and exceedingly terrified the Besieged; who, invested sooner than they had expected, laboured within under a great want of Hands. For that Cause *Philip Montmorency Count de Horn* had endeavoured in the night to introduce three Companies of *Spanish* Veterans; but, meeting with a Repulse from the Guards stationed there, he was forced to retire with Loss. The same thing was attempted two days after by four Ensigns composed of *Walloon*s and the Garrison of *Namur*, to whom were joined fifty Horse: But these also returned without Success. The Outworks then being on all sides ruined by the oblique Firing, on the 8th day of *June* the Batteries began to play in Front; and this having been continued for three days, the Round Bulwark was for the most part opened and demolished, and a Breach of more than forty paces made in the opposite Wall: But there appeared behind it a solid and high Parapet; and, before they could come at the Breach, the *Moselle* was to be crossed; which tho' said to be fordable in that Place, yet, after the passage, other difficulties still occurred to hinder the Ascent: This was the only Obstacle that caused the Assault to be delayed. The Duke of *Guise* therefore, unwilling to expose the Soldiery to certain Danger, orders the Place to be viewed by *Blaise de Montluc*; who with *De Sarlaboz*, *Millas*, *Cipierre*, *Saint Este*f and his Son *Montluc*, repaired thither. The Place viewed, and the Bottom sounded by the Soldiers with a Pike, *Montluc* reports to the Duke, that at the Foot of the Tower the Water was only breast-high; but that, on this side of it, the inner Tower was encompassed with Pales, which held the Water up. When *De Guise* denied, that there was any such secret Palisade; *Montluc*, angry that he was not credited, undertook a fresh View; and, in the following night, taking with him four hundred Cuirassiers armed with Pikes, whom he ordered to lye flat upon the ground an hundred paces from the City, he advances to the Tower with a like number of Musqueteers: When he came to the Pales, attacking a Guard of twenty five Men, posted there by the Enemy, he kills part, and puts the rest



A.D. to flight: In the pursuit, he entered with them into the nearest 1558. Works; but, being excluded by the Streightness of the City-gate, he halted, taking in the mean time one piece of middle sized Cannon. From thence Our Men creeping through the adjoining Breach maintained a Fight for some time; and, if they had brought Ladders with them, might even then have stormed the City. All that could be done, they performed, cutting down the Pales with Axes; so that, the Water being let out, they returned dry-shod into the Camp, but not without Loss; *Saint Este* and *Cipierre's* Cornet being killed with some others in that desperate Encounter. With this Accident *De Guise* was not so much troubled (although it had happened contrary to his Inclination) as he feared, the King should hear, that his Troops had been repulsed in the Assault. Afterwards, by the Advice of the Council of War, the River being crossed, a Trench was opened by *Blaise de Montluc* against the Tower, that faced the Duke *de Nevers's* Quarters; which after three days was advanced as far as the Foot of the Greater Tower, commonly called *Tour des Pucés*. Whilst *Montluc* was hastening the Labourers, the Besieged taking their opportunity made a Sally on the side, which is washed by the *Moselle*, with three hundred Foot and sixty Horse under *John Quarebbe*; and, entering the Trenches, beat down all before them. Along the sides of the Trenches *Montluc* had here and there caused some Openings to be made, from which one might look down every way into the direct Intrenchment. The Soldiers, posted in these, making a brisk Impression under Captain *Lago* unawares upon the Enemy; the latter, surrounded, at first stood their ground; then, pretending to desire a Conference with the Duke of *Luxembourg*, when Our Men would admit of no Delays, were driven back into the City with considerable Damage. And now the English brought by the Duke *de Guise* fell to undermine the Tower; which observed, the Enemies within erected Ravelins with the utmost expedition; that from thence, through the Holes of the ruined Wall, they might annoy the Assailants. *De Guise*, for the prevention of this Inconvenience, before the Wall was opened, had caused a piece of Cannon to be brought up, by the force of which both the Wall might be opened, and the Enemy's Defences ruined. At the same time he had ordered the Pioneers to strew the Path, which leads to the Upper Tower, with Faggots. Before the Assault was given on this side, *De Guise* had resolved to plant four Culverins in order to beat down the opposite Works; and, going the next day to consult about the proper places for fixing them, had retained *Strozzi* with him against his will. In the morning, whilst they were both observing the Place, *Strozzi* from a pretty distant Bastion received a large Musquet-shot below his left Pap; and, whilst *De Guise* was leaning upon one of his Shoulders, and his dearest Friends *Adrian Baglioni* and Count *Theophilo Calcagnini* were standing by him, fell down dead; after he had uttered these last Words, "That the King would lose by his Death a good and a faithful Servant:" A Man of prodigious Spirits, and one, who for Presence of mind, Courage, Sagacity and Military



Military Skill might be compared to the greatest Commanders of the *A. D.* Age, and preferred to many of them: His Death was concealed by 1558: *De Guise's* command; that the Alacrity of the Soldiers, who were just ready to go upon the Storm, might not be damped by that Casualty. Before the Piece of Ordnance, planted at the mouth of the Breach, *De Guise* had fixed Planks, a Foot thick, upon Wheels; which, drawn up by a Rope immediately after the Disposition, should cover the Artillery and the Cannoneers from the Volleys of Musquet-shot. Galleries likewise were prepared for the shelter of about four hundred Men; who, standing between the Tower and the Bulwark erected near the Tower, were enabled to return the Fire upon those, who played upon them from above. A considerable slaughter was made on both sides; and the Enemy sustained much damage from Our Men below, and from four Culverins directed by *Francis Rasin* sur-named *Poton* Seneschal of *Aginois*: Again, Our Troops, in Their Turn, were annoyed on all hands by Stones, Musquets, artificial Fire-works and such sort of Weapons; so that there was no room to erect Gabions, which are usually set before the Artillery. Whilst *Montluc* was thus employed, it was in vain for *De Nevers* (who stood by) and *De Bourdillon* to advise him, that he would withdraw from that manifest Danger: For He, who knew, that, upon his retiring, all his Men would infallibly retire too, like a Man in extremity took a desperate Resolution; ordering Captain *Wolmar* with six Musqueteers and two Halberdeers to leap nimbly into those Ravelins (erected behind whilst the Breach had been making) and to drive the Enemy out of them; and at the same time commanding another Captain with some Men to mount the Upper Tower, by the Path before-mentioned. But He with one more having mounted, as soon as his Head appeared above the Battlements of the Tower, receiving a Shot from some opposite Work, fell down dead between the Feet of *De Nevers* and *De Bourdillon*. *Montluc* however did not drop his Courage; but pressed *Wolmar* so far, in emulation of the other Captain (who, he said, had actually reached the top of the Tower), that he presently leaped into the Post, to which he had been ordered (covering himself as well as he could with Planks), and obliged the Enemy immediately to abandon it. He was then followed by *Blaise's* Son *Montluc*, *Cosseins*, *La Mole*, *Castel Sagrat* and *Oisel*, *Gascons*; whom *Montluc* the Father, by praising the Valour of their Country, encouraged to fight manfully. Here a sharp Dispute ensued, whilst the Enemy endeavoured to recover their Post: But, their commanding Officer being slain, and *D'Anglure* and *Vallenville* coming up with thirty choice Men, and the Duke of *Lunenbourg* likewise flying thither by Order with His Troops, we at last made ourselves Masters of the Post: It then came to be known, that there had been a Quarrel between the *Walloons* and *Spaniards*, each desiring to undertake the Defence of the Ravelins; and that, in order to end the Dispute, *Quarebbe* had committed it to the Soldiers of his own Battallion; for which reason, being accused to *Philip* by the *Spaniards*, he was kept a long time in Prison; according to the usual Discipline observed



A. D. by that Nation, of severely punishing the Cowardice of the Soldiers 1558. and the Faults of the Officers. To this Strife it had been owing, that neither of the contending Parties behaved with Vigour. The Duke of *Guise* then flew thither, and presently ordered the Ravelins to be demolished, the *Germans* themselves, who could not endure the Slowness of the Pioneers, lending a ready hand to the Work. These being levelled, the Troops in the Tower had room to exert themselves with more freedom. Next, a Consultation was held for carrying on Mines against the Bastion still remaining behind. This was diligently performed the next Night through the Encouragement of the Duke *De Nevers* and *De Bourdillon*; and the next day, when there remained no farther Hopes, the Besieged by a Trumpet demanded a Parley. *Quarebbe*, taking a Safe-conduct, goes out himself, having given *Haultcour* and *Cadiou*, the Governours of *Ivoy* and *Mommedy*, as Hostages, during the Capitulation. Thus *Rabutin* has reported it: Which, if true, was contrary to the Practice received amongst experienced Officers, which does not suffer the Governour of a Town to venture out to a Conference. *Montluc* certainly mentions four Hostages as delivered on each side, (taking no notice of *Quarebbe's* going out; and says, that an Agreement was concluded on these Terms: " That the Town, without Fraud, and entire, in its present Condition, should be delivered to the Duke of *Guise*, with the Great Guns, Powder, Balls and other Ammunition, and also the Arms and the Colours: That the Troopers with each Man his Arms and Horse, the Foot with their Swords, Bayonets and Baggage, might depart without fear of Injury; but that the Clergy, Nobles and Common-people might carry off their Gold, Silver and Moveables: That no Outrage should be offered to the Virgins or any of the Female Sex: That Waggon, Boats, and all things necessary for conveying the Sick and the Sound to places of Safety, should be furnished. These things were done on the 22d day of *June*; and the same day about four thousand Townsmen were sent out of the City; and the following day the Garrison to the number of fifteen hundred went out, wounded most of them in the Head; which had happened by the firing of Our Troops, from the Shelter of the Galleries at the Foot of the Tower, upwards upon the Enemy. About four hundred of Our Men were killed in this Enterprize, and more wounded; who were carried to *Metz*, in order to be maintained and cured in an Hospital formerly built in that City with equal Humanity and Foresight by *Gaspar de Coligny*. *De Nevers* was immediately received into the City, to see that the Conditions were not violated by the Insolence of the Soldiery; and *Francis de Vieille-ville* was made Governour of it with eight Companies of Foot. *Thionville* being taken, the Duke of *Guise* sent away a Letter to the Archbishop-Elector of *Triers*; and, because the Town bordered upon His Dominions, assured him of the King's friendly disposition towards the Empire and the Princes of *Germany*, and that no Damage should be done by the Royal Garrison to any of his Territories or Possessions.

From



From thence the Army proceeded to the Castle of *Arlon* ten miles *A. D.* distant from *Metz*, maintained by a Garrison of an hundred and *1558.* fifty *Germans* and four hundred *Flemings*. These, being summoned to surrender, refused, as if they were sure of Succours. When *Montluc* had invested the Place in the Evening, in the night following he let down a certain *Flemish* Soldier into the Moat, who by Steps made in the Earth ascended to an Out-work, which was carrying on in haste. After he had viewed the Post, unseen and unheard, he returned to *Montluc*, and reported that there was no Guard kept on that side; but, that the Ascent there was so feasible, that they, who should suddenly surprize those Works, might easily gain the Town. The Soldier therefore was sent back with four Musqueteers and two Captains, and *De Gohas* amongst the rest: When he approached the Bulwark, the Night being very dark, and was asked by the Centry in the *German* Language, who he was; he answered in the same Language, "That he was a Friend, and had come out of Love to his Country, to admonish them of the Danger; for that the Duke of *Guise* the next day would batter the Walls with his whole Train of Artillery; but that he had resolved to spare the *Germans*, and had actually sent them word of it by a Scout; so that all the Brunt of the Attack and Fury of the Soldiers would fall upon Them; for which reason they should consult their Safety betimes." Whilst he deluded the Centry with this Discourse, Our Troops in the mean while followed in a long train, and *Montluc* himself had descended into the Moat. The Soldier, pretending to be fatigued with the heat of the day, was asking for Wine; when Our Men leaped into the Bulwark, and driving out the Guard pursued them to the very Houses; and presently the same Soldier ran to the Place, where the *Germans* had shut themselves up, and by his Intreaties and Promises prevailed upon them to open one of the Gates and surrender. Then Our Soldiers suppressed their Fury, and approved themselves to be Veterans inured to Military Discipline, in that, when actually entered, they abstained from Bloodshed. But it happened by chance, that a quantity of Gun-powder took fire; which, burning three houses, was propagated by a violent Wind; so that almost the whole Town, full of Flax (which grows thereabouts in great abundance), was consumed. This fell out on the 3d day of *July*. The Fire at length extinguished, the Bulwarks and Bastions were demolished, and the Town left open on all sides.

It was next thought proper to resume the Thoughts of besieging *Luxembourg*, into which place *Peter Ernest* Count *de Mansfeldt*, Governour of the Province, had thrown himself with the Count *de Hoyer* and a strong Garrison of *Spaniards* and *Germans*; and the Duke *de Nevers*, advancing thither with three thousand *German* Horse and some Troops of *French* Cavalry, passed the time in slight Skirmishes. *Haultcour* also was detached with five Companies, and two hundred Musqueteers on Horse-back, commonly called Carbines, together with *De Prie*, and the Count *de Villars's* Troop, of which he himself was Lieutenant, in order to seize *Rosignol*, *Villemont* and *Chigny*, Fortresses  
in



A. D. in the neighbourhood of *Herbement* lately recovered by the Enemy. 1558. As for *Rossignol* and *Villemont*, they were burnt and levelled with the ground: *Chigny* was preserved, because the fortifying of that Place was thought of consequence to the safety of *Ivoy* and *Herbement*. There followed afterwards a sort of Sedition betwixt the *French*, and the *Germans* (who are always mutinying in times of Rest); which would probably have produced a Fray, if *De Nevers* had not interposed. With these trifling Enterprizes and troublesome Affairs the time was unprofitably spent, after the taking of *Thionville*. To these was added the Misfortune of a Fire, which, by I know not what Casualty, consumed the Duke of *Guise's* Tent, Horses and whole Furniture, and part also of *De Bourdillon's* Baggage. Thus, whilst the Army sat before *Arlon* and *Vireton*, seventeen days elapsed, a convenient time for the Duke of *Guise* to have joined *Paul de Thermes*, and by his diligence to have prevented that last Disaster, which accomplished the Ruin of Our distressed Affairs. For in the King's Council it had been determined, that at one and the same time, *De Thermes*, who had been appointed Governour of *Calais* for that purpose, should make an Inroad into *Flanders*, to strike a Terror into the Province; and that *De Guise*, by Agreement, should come thither also with the *German* Auxiliaries drawn from the neighbourhood of *Metz* and *Toul*; and should likewise expect his Brother *D'Aumale*, who was gathering a Body together at *La Faire en Vermandois*. If this had been done, *Philip's* Forces, thus entirely surrounded, would have been reduced to such Streights, that he might have been forced to receive those Laws from Us, which he afterwards gave. But, the Desire of private Glory prevailing even Then over the Publick Safety, that wholesome Resolution, by a pernicious, and (as many think) an affected Delay, was eluded.

*De Thermes*, in the beginning of *June*, setting out from *Calais* with five thousand Foot, part *Gascons*, but the most part *Germans*, and fifteen hundred Horse; in company with *John de Toutteville* Sieur de *Villebon*, *D'Annebaut*, *De Senarpont* and the Count de *Chaulnes*; crossing the new Dike, called also the Dike of *Boulay*, routed a multitude of Peasants, who endeavoured to hinder Our Passage; and, leaving *Graveling* and *Burbourg* behind him, led his Troops on the 2d day of *July* to *Dunkirk*, a Maritime Town. After four days, whilst the Townsmen were parleying, Our Men, surrounding them and giving an Assault, seized the Town, and sacked it in an unworthy manner. Then, placing a Garrison there, and advancing, he easily took and pillaged the rich Town of *Wimoxberghe*. Being then obliged to keep his bed by his old Distemper the Gout, he delivered the Army to *Villebon*, a Man used to Depredations and Burnings; who, indulging the Soldiers beyond measure, occasioned the most cruel Ravages in all that Tract, and even as far as *Newport*. *Philip*, in order to divert this Storm (which he foresaw must be very terrible, if the Scheme, reported to him, had been executed with as much Fidelity, as it had been designed with Prudence), had sent the Duke of *Savoy* into the Diocese of *Liege*; that, gathering Troops together about *Maubeuge*, he might



might oppose the Duke of *Guise's* March. But when he saw, that *A. D.* after the Surrender of *Thionville* the Duke wasted time before *Arlon* and 1558. *Vireton*, he took his opportunity, and resolved to fall upon the *French*, straggling as they were in an insolent manner and loaded with Booty, before they should be reinforced. This he committed to the Count *d' Egmond*, a most vigilant General, to whose diligence he was already indebted for the Victory of *S. Quintin*. He from *Flanders*, of which he was Governour, came presently to *Graveling*; posting himself betwixt *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, to which latter place Our Men were to retire; and there joined *Pons de Lallain* *Sieur de Binicour* the Chief Camp-master: Then summoning the Garrisons of *Bethune*, *S. Omer's*, *Aire* and *Burbourg*, and receiving the Supplement, which the Duke of *Savoy* had furnished from *Mauberg*, he mustered about twelve thousand Foot and three thousand Horse; besides a vast multitude of Rusticks, as well Women as Men, who, provoked with fresh Injuries, flocked to the Camp to take their share of Revenge. *De Thermes*, who every day expected the Duke of *Guise*, receiving Intelligence of this, calls in his scattered Parties, and, mounting his Horse, notwithstanding his Illness, incamps at *Graveling*; meditating a Retreat, but too late; for *Egmond* had already come in Sight and even within Musquet-shot of Our Men. A Council of War therefore being called in the night, *De Thermes*, with the Consent of all the Officers, resolved at the Ebb of the Tide to retire the next day by the Sea-side towards *Calais*, and thus to escape by the Benefit of Nature. At the mouth of the River *Aa*, which, upon the Retreat of the Sea, was become gentle, he passed in the morning without any difficulty: Which *Egmond* observing, He too passed the same below *Graveling* (without expecting his Cannon), and met Our Troops on the other side of the River. Here *De Thermes*, who saw no Refuge left but in Bravery (since he had the Sea to the North-ward, the Dike of *Boulay* at his back, and the Enemy on his Left and Front), ranged his Troops in such Order, that, thinking himself safe enough from behind and on the Right-hand, he placed the Waggon and Baggage on the Left, facing the South; and the Cannon (consisting of six Culverins and three Falcons) in Front; leaving a large space for the Cavalry, which was flanked on each side by the *Gascons*: Behind these stood the *French* and *Germans*. *Egmond* on the contrary, thinking it necessary not to lose a moment's time (lest, whilst the Cannon were coming up, the *French* might escape), divides his whole Cavalry into five Squadrons, sending forward the Light-armour in three Columns. The Count *de Pont de Vaux* commanded the Right Wing, *Henry Henriquez* a *Castilian* the Left: In the Main-battle stood the Count *d' Egmond*: After these the *German* Horse under *Lazarus Schwendi*; then the Troops of *Flemish* Cuirassiers following at certain Intervals, under *Lallain de Renty* and *Anthony de Croy* Count *du Reux*: But the Foot he had divided into three Bodies, according to their respective Nations; for it consisted of *Germans*, *Flemings* (who were the most numerous) and *Spanish* Veterans. These were commanded by *Hildemar de Monckhausen* a *Saxon* Knight, the *Sieur de Binicour*, and *Carvajal* a *Spaniard*. The



A. D. Army being ranged in Battalia, Egmond, impatient of Delay, "We have  
 1558. " already conquered (says he); let but every one, who is ambitious of  
 ~~~~~ " Glory, and feels a Love for his County, follow Me;" and immediately  
 clapping spurs to his Horse ran to the Attack. The *Gascons*, by the
 help of the Cannon, sustained him at the beginning with Vigour, and
 disordered the first Ranks of the Enemy, killing Egmond's Horse under
 him: But as the Enemy was superior in number, when they drew
 nearer, they came to a close Fight; hand to hand, and foot to foot;
 Trooper against Trooper, and Foot-Soldier against Foot-Soldier; the
 hopes as it were of certain Victory encouraging the *Flemings*, and De-
 spair giving boldness to the *French*. The Battle was long doubtful;
 whilst the *Gascons*, in the sight of the *German* Auxiliaries (who are re-
 ported to have sat as idle Spectators on that day, and with their Pikes
 lifted up in the Air to have tamely yielded themselves), gave the last
 Proof of the Valour natural to their Nation: But as the Horse, by being
 pent up in too narrow a Space, exerted little Vigour, at length an
 unlooked for Accident put an end to the Fight: For, just at that
 moment, ten large *British* Men of War happened to come into the
 Road; who, seeing the Battle at some distance, let fly a Broad-
 side as they passed, upon the Right, where Our Troops thought
 themselves safe; and at length, the Foot growing faint, the Ranks
 disordered and the Horse dispersed, Our Main Body began to give
 ground; and, the Horse first running, the Infantry after a long
 and obstinate Dispute was entirely routed. There were killed in the
 Action near fifteen hundred: More, who escaped the Enemy's hands,
 were barbarously murdered by the Peasants, and even by the Women,
 who had in their Eye the Ravages and Burnings just before committed
 by Our Troops: Some too were drowned in the Sea. The Chief
 Officers were almost all taken Prisoners; viz. *De Thermes*, *Villebon*,
Amebault, *Senarpont*, the Count *de Chaulnes*, and *Morvilliers*: Two
 hundred fell alive into the hands of the *British* Mariners; who, rather
 than drown them (as they might have done) chose to carry them into
Britain to the Queen, in order to adorn a sort of sportive Triumph.
 Nor was it an unbloody Victory to the Enemy; for more than five
 hundred were missing of them, and amongst the rest the *Sieur de Pelu*
 a *Flemish* Nobleman of great Valour. *De Thermes* was blamed, that,
 running so greedily after Booty, he had not prevented the Danger in
 time; but by a fatal slackness put off his Retreat too long; and that he
 had not at least decamped in the Night preceeding the Battle: But he
 stands excused, partly by his Distemper, partly, by what the Enemies
 themselves have recorded; viz. that he staid the longer, by the King's
 command, in *Flanders*, in full expectation of the Duke *de Guise's*
 joining him, according to the Agreement. This Success had the Battle
 fought at *Graveling* on the 13th day of *July*; whereby the Blow received
 in the former year, from which *France* had begun by degrees to re-
 cover, was redoubled; and the King, weary of Arms, which 'till then
 had favoured him, from a Love of Rest grew inclinable to Peace, tho'
 upon hard conditions. The Duke *de Guise*, who was sitting before
Vireton,

Vireton, receiving News of the Misfortune; and that the Enemies had *A. D.* assembled in great numbers about *Mareuil* and *Maubeuge* not far from 1558. the Town of *Guise*; when he saw an end put to the Scheme for invading the *Netherlands* on both sides; came by *Sedan*, *Mezieres*, and the Country of *Thierache* on the 28th day of *July* to *Pierre-pont*, a Place very fit for collecting the Troops and fortifying a Camp, between *Picardy* and *Champagne*; that he might be ready against all Events.

At the same time, whilst every Place resounded with Tidings of Miseries brought upon Us by a Foreign Enemy, that we might not be at rest in the mean while from Domestick Tumults; at *Paris*, when about the Evening a multitude of People (according to custom) had met together for Recreation, in a Place called the *Scholar's Field*, without the *Fauxbourg* of *S. Germain*; a few of them, who were addicted to the Protestant Religion (their Boldness increasing with their Numbers) began, as they walked, to sing the Psalms of *David* in *French Metre*. Such as favoured the Antient Religion looked upon this as done on purpose, that by the Novelty of the thing, which in light minds has a considerable influence, and by the sweetness of the Melody they might draw more People to them. Nor were they mistaken in their Opinion: For most of the Crowd began to lay aside their Sports, and, joining the Singers, to sing Psalms with them. On the following days a larger Company assembled there, and amongst the rest *Anthony King* of *Navarre* and *Joan* his Wife, who began already to be suspected of ill Sentiments in Religion. This the Clergy resented exceedingly; saying, that a method was found out, whereby the Sacred Offices, which, by antient Practice received from the *Roman* Mother-Church, had used to be performed in *Latin*, were now expressed in such a Language as the meanest of the People could understand; and would consequently fall by degrees into Contempt with the Vulgar. The thing therefore was represented to the King as Seditious; by whose order a Process was decreed against the Authors, and a Prohibition issued under pain of Death against all future Meetings and publick Singings of that kind.

During these Transactions, News arrived of the *English Fleet*; which, consisting of an hundred and twenty Ships of all sorts, under Lord *Clinton* Lord High Admiral, was seen from the Coasts of *Normandy*: For the Security of the Maritime Parts, and particularly of *Havre de Grace* and *Dieppe*, for which we were most in pain, the Duke de *Buillon*, Governour of the Province, was immediately sent thither. This Fleet, turning aside, after various Attempts for a Descent upon the Coasts of *Bretagne*, came at last to *Le Conquest* a famous Port of that Province, where at the Land's-end (as they call it) stands the Monastery of *St. Matthew*; and on the last day of *July* in the morning they landed Soldiers. There the Peasants to the number of an hundred and fifty, by the help of some Cannon, at first sustained the Enemy's Assault; 'till, about seven thousand Men running upon the unarmed People, and the Great Guns playing upon them from the Ships, the Townsmen, destitute of Hope, abandoned the Place; which the Enemy presently seizing, pillaged, the Churches not excepted, using all

A. D. all kinds of Cruelty and Lust in that Sackage: But upon the coming
 1558. up of *Kersimont* a Lord of that Country (who by lighting Beacons all
 along the Shore had drawn together a Body of six thousand Men), they
 were dislodged again with the Loss of six hundred Soldiers, and driven
 back to their Ships. Above an hundred were made Prisoners; and
 amongst them a certain *Dutchman*, from whom we learned, that about
 thirty *Flemish* Ships under *Wackenheim* had by *Philip's* Command joined
 the *English* near the Isle of *Wight*; who were charged, under Pain of
 Death, to seize *Brest* a strong Port in that Quarter, and had made a
 Descent for that very purpose. In the mean time, when the People
 of the Diocesses of *Leon* and *Cornouaille* had flocked together to the
 number of thirty thousand; the Enemy, who had received a Supply of
 thirty fresh Men of War, retired to the Isle of *Bast*, twelve Leagues distant
 from the Continent. The Peasants from the Land followed them with
 their Eyes, as far as they could, for fear of a Surprise at some fresh
 Place; and *John de Brosse* Duke d'Estampes, Governour of the Pro-
 vince, flying thither with a joint Body of seven thousand Horse and
 fifteen thousand Foot, so strengthened the Garrisons of *Brest* and
S. Malo, that he defeated the Enemy's Attempts.

After the Duke de Guise's Arrival, *John-William* Second son to *John-Frederick* the Elector, came also soon after to *Pierre-pont*, with seven
 Ensigns of *German* Horse, amounting to two thousand, mostly *Prussians*:
 There accompanied him, *Jacob d'Augsborg* (formerly Lieutenant-
 General to *Albert* of *Brandenbourg* that famous Ravager of *Germany*) an
 experienced Commander, with ten Companies of fine Infantry. The
 Prince of *Saxony*, attended with a Train of an hundred Friends of the
 first Nobility, was received in the most honourable manner by the
 King, who on the 7th day of *August* advanced out of the Town of
Marchez to meet him; and, after thanking him for those Auxiliaries,
 promised to return the Favour to Him and his illustrious Family, if
 there should ever be occasion. The next day the King reviewed the
 Army, which was the greatest that any of Our Kings in the memory
 of Man had ever numbered; even in the opinion of *Blaise de Montluc*;
 who says, that, when it was ranged in Battalia and extended along the
 Plain, it took up a League and an half, and that, to go round the
 Ranks from the Right Wing to the Left, no less than three hours were
 requisite. The whole Army resembled a Semi-circle: The Left-wing
 reached to *Laon* along the Road leading to *Crescy*; and in This were the
 Carbineers of *Faverolles* and *Trechasseau* to the number of two hundred,
 besides some Troops of Light-armour, each of an hundred Horse,
 under Captain *Pierio*, *John de Nogaret* Sieur de la Valette, *Rotigotty*,
Lagny, and the Bastard De Bueil: Behind followed four Ensigns of
 Horse under the Duke of *Lunenbourg*, and after him the Light-armour,
 conducted principally by *Anthony de Luxembourg* Count de Rouffy,
Lombay, *Truchepot*, *Thomas* of *Epirus*, *De Cleves* Count d'Eu, making
 about four hundred Men; with the Troop of Cuirassiers belonging
 to the Duke de Nemours, who commanded the Light-armour. In the
 Main-battle, led by the Duke de Guise, were the Troops of Cuirassiers,
 each

each consisting of fifty Horse, belonging to *De la Roche-sur-Ton*, *De A. D. Curton*, *De Randan de la Roche-foucault*, *Descars de la Vauguion*, *D' Hangeft* 1558. *Sieur de Fenlis*, *De la Roche-du-Maine*, and *Montmorency*: Then four more Ensigns of German Horse under *Scheneves*, which were followed by the Troops of the *Sieurs de Beauvais*, *Tarvanes* and *Bourdillon*; That of the Duke *de Lorraine*, and *De Guise's* own Troop, before which stood *Bandopratt* with fifty Horse for the Duke of *Guise's* Life-guard; and near him the like number of Musqueteers under the *Sieur de Ventou*. Below *De Guise* was posted the Prince of *Saxony* with seven Ensigns, and close by him the Regiments of *Reiffenberg* and *Falkembourg*, flanked by four Troops of German Horse under *Henry Stup*. Next in order were the Troops of the Prince *de Salerno*, and *Helionore Chabot Count de Charny*; and That of the Constable *Montmorency*, which was followed by ten Companies of Germans led by *Rockendorff*, and seven of Swiss by *William Frelich*. Here were placed fifteen Battering-pieces, with twelve Culverins and all the Ammunition; covered on one side by sixteen Companies of Pioneers, and in Front by four Ensigns of Volunteers: Eight Companies of French guarded the Right side, and behind the French nine Companies of Germans under *Recrod*; on whose left Flank stood four Ensigns under the Landgrave's Son. Then the Troops of the Dauphin, and the Dukes *d' Aumale* and *de Buillon* filled the Plain, each of an hundred Horse; below which were ranged the Regiments of *Lussebourg* and *Jacob d' Augsburg*, each consisting of ten Ensigns. Towards *Marle* (where was the Right-wing, and the Rear, commanded by the Duke *de Nevers*, and closed by *D' Aumale*) stood *De Nevers's* Own and *Saint-Andre's* Troops, each of an hundred Horse; Those of *Choiseul* and *D' Eschenets*, of fifty; and above them *Grumbach*, with four Ensigns of Horse; and again, above *Grumbach*, the Duke *de Montpensier's* and the Marquels *d' Elboeuf's* Troops. The Army being reviewed, after a joyful Discharge of the Artillery, the King returns to *Marchez*, and the Army marches towards *La Faire en Vermandois*.

On the other side, *Philip*, who was then at *Arras*, came on the 21st day of *August* into the Camp: There attended him, The so frequently mentioned General, the Duke of *Alva*, lately returned from *Italy*; besides those *Neapolitan* Lords the Dukes of *Semimara* and *Atri*, the Prince *di Sulmona*, Signor *di Policastro*, the Count *da Bagni* and *Ascanio della Corgna*: He had also in his Retinue the Dukes *Ernest* and *Erick* of *Brunswick*, *Otho* Count *de Scharwmbourg*, and the Embassador of *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenbourg*. As his Arrival put Us under Apprehensions, that the Enemy might attack some Place upon the Frontiers; seven Companies of Auxiliaries under the *Sieur de Bueil* of *Bretagne* were by *Montluc's* Diligence introduced into *Corbie*; into *Peronne*, where *De Humieres* commanded, were conveyed eight Troops of Light-armour with four Companies of Foot; and *La Ferte* with three hundred Musqueteers under Captain *Drenelles* was detached to *Dourlens*, where *De Bouchavane* and *De Crevecœur* were already. Thus, the Barrier being strengthened, the Enemy did not venture to make

A.D. any Attempt. *Philip* lay incamped not very far off, upon one of the 1558. Banks of the *Authie*; and both sides fortified their Camps with such Care and Earnestness, as if they each expected to be besieged by the Other; constantly renewing the mention of the Peace, which the Captive *Montmorency* and *Saint-André* heartily laboured. As to *Montmorency*, who, by reason of his Age and Averseness to Arms, was thought inclinable to peaceful Measures, as advantageous to the King and the Kingdom; he had already bargained for his Own and his Son's Ransom, engaging to pay an hundred and sixty five thousand Crowns; in which Affair he was very much assisted by the Duke of *Savoy's* Interest with *Philip*. For the Duke, solicitous for the Recovery of his Dominions, which he had no hopes of effecting but by the Reconciliation of the two Kings, had persuaded himself, that *Montmorency* would be of great Service towards bringing about a Pacification: *Montmorency* therefore, being set at liberty, passed frequently backwards and forwards. But *Christierne*, the Duke of *Lorraine's* Mother, acted as Mediatrix; and the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, introduced by her means to *Philip*, (as the Report goes) under colour of negotiating a Peace, had personally confirmed the Promise made to *Granvelle*.

Whilst the Armies continued in this Situation, the Duke de *Nemours*, who lay with the Light-armour at *Pecquigny*, taking with him the Troops of the Count d'Eu, *Tournon de Rouffillon*, *De Pelous*, *D'Hallerwin de Pienne*, *John Nogaret de la Valette*, *La Ferté*, *De la Tour Lagny*, *John Leomond Puygaillard*, and *de Banne*; and advancing with the strictest Silence, on the 4th of September in the night-time, towards the Enemy's Camp; after putting the Centry to the Sword, penetrated as far as the Artillery; and then, throwing down the Tents by cutting the Ropes, and putting the Van-guard into a prodigious Consternation, returned safe to the Main Army. At the same time the Bastard *De Bueil*, who had falsely assumed the Arms of *Burgundy*, (when towards the Evening he had come with his Troop to *Arras*, as if he meant to take some Refreshment), by a most bold Action pillaged and burned part of the Suburbs. After *De Thermes* had been taken Prisoner, *Francis de Vendôme* Vidame of *Chartres* was made Governour of *Calais*. He having conceived hopes of surprizing *S. Omer's*, by the help of some Frenchmen, who were kept Prisoners there; went for that purpose to *Ardres*, under pretence of fortifying the Place; and had appointed *De Cipierre* Lieutenant of the Duke de *Lorraine's* Troop, *Lagny* and *Thomas* of *Epirus* Captains of Light-armour, and also *De Mailly* Governour of *Monstreuil* (who was to bring twelve Companies of Foot) to meet him at *Deuvre*, whither the Army had also been assembled. When *De Cipierre*, who came first to *Deuvre*, after routing some Foragers of *Renty* by the way, had joined *Vendôme*; they all drew near to the Town: But a Discovery had been made of the Plot, unknown to Our Troops, who were upon the March, and to the Accomplices, who were in the Town: Accordingly the Prisoners, on the day appointed, took Arms, killed the Centry and seized the Castle:

Castle: But the Townsmen, who knew the Castle to be weak, immediately planted some Cannon, and opening the Wall put the Prisoners to the Sword. Thus *Vendôme* returned unsuccessfully to *Calais*; and *De Fours*, who had come with the Regiment of *Champagne* into the Camp, was detached thither about the same time: At length arrived ten Companies of *Swiss*; and as many of Veterans out of *Italy*, commanded in chief by *Boniface la Mole*, and under him by *Du Monestier*, the Baron *de Dorade*, *Bourdet*, *Bartholomew da Pesaro*, *Colincourt*, *Faunay*, *Mazey*, *Valseniere*, *Capelle* (lately killed near *Ferrara*) and *Beguin*: And it was reported, that new Auxiliaries flocked likewise every day from *Germany* into the Enemy's Camp.

But in *Tuscany*, *Cosmo*, with whom the Truce had not been observed with sufficient Sincerity, growing more secure after the departure of the *Turkish* Fleet, pressed the *Spaniards*, since Our Garrisons were so weak in those parts, to make Excursions along the Sea-coasts; and had written about it to *Philip*: By whose Appointment, *Chiappino Vitelli*, and *Simeon Rossermini* (who was besides in *Cosmo's* Pay) were commanded, that in conjunction with *Sancho de Leyva* and *De Londono* (Commander of fifteen hundred *Spaniards*, who were transported from the Kingdom of *Naples* to the *Milanese*) they should in their March reduce such Places as were held by Our Troops in the Maritime Parts. *Leyva* therefore and *Londono*, making no Attempt upon *Grosseto*, because of its distance from the Sea, attacked *Telamone*; the Garrison of which, consisting of thirty Men, immediately upon sight of the Enemy abandoned the Place: Then Cannon being planted against *Castiglione della Pescaia*, held by forty Soldiers, and a Breach made thereby in the Walls, the Garrison surrendered. *Francis da Este*, rightly thinking it a Diminution of his Honour, that, at the first Entrance into the Province, he should suffer the Posts committed to his Care to be taken before his Eyes, set himself to recover them: But *Cosmo* by a cunning Device baffled *Da Este's* Endeavours. For as *Castiglione* and the *Isle del Giglio* had been the antient Patrimony of the *Piccolominies*, separate from the Jurisdiction of the *Sieneſe*, and, by the Marriage of *Silvia Piccolomini* the Duke *di Amalfi's* Daughter with the Duke *di Capistrano*, were gone into another Family; *Cosmo* by a pretended Bargain purchased them both of their Lords; and, when *Da Este* was preparing Force, declared to him; that *Castiglione* was no longer in the possession of the *Spaniards*, but in His, and could not be recovered by Arms without a Violation of the Truce. *Da Este* acquiesced the more willingly under this Declaration, as he feared the Event of a War for which he was ill provided, and wanted an honourable Excuse for not taking Arms. When *Cosmo* had used this Contrivance, for the Preservation of *Castiglione*, he began also to manage the Temper of the *Sieneſe*; that by little and little he might inure them to his New Sovereignty; by affording them a greater Plenty of Provisions, than they had formerly enjoyed under the *Spaniards*; and by taking several Lordships from the *Florentines*, and restoring them to the Republick; even *Asina-lunga* and *Turrita*, which had usually been comprehended

in

A. D. in the Jurisdiction of *Lucignano*, a *Florentine* Fief: But the Love of 1558. their Pristine Liberty prevailed so far with them, that, although they  had experienced the worst of Hardships under the *French*, they were nevertheless ready to endure even more, provided they might recover their Liberty; so that there was no holding them to Obedience but by Force.

At the same time *Philip* by his Embassadors made a Tryal at *Venice*, whether he held the same Prerogative, which his Father *Charles V.* by reason of the Imperial Dignity had born, amongst the *Venetians* and other Potentates; viz. whether, even when the Empire was translated not upon Him, but his Uncle *Ferdinand*, he might not still obtain the Precedency before all other Kings. The *French* Embassador at this Juncture was *Francis de Noailles* Bishop of *D'Acqs*; a Man of singular Courage, and well-versed in Business; who bravely withstood the Efforts of the *Spaniards*. A Contention being raised upon this occasion and referred to the Senate, the Fathers, fearing the Displeasure of each Party, for a long time refused to determine the Dispute. At length, when the *Spaniards*, who saw how steadily *Noailles* by the Advantage of a Personal Interest and Possession, maintained the antient Rank of Dignity in the Assemblies, pressed the Matter to a Point; the Senate decreed (as *Peter Giustiniani* has recorded), that it had been a constant Rule ever since the Memory of Man, for the *French* Embassador in the publick Ceremonies to precede the *Spanish* at the Court of their Doge: Upon which *Philip* recalled his Ordinary Embassador into *Spain*, and did not send another to the most Serene Republick 'till a long time after: Which same thing *John-Baptist Adriani*, in the Seventeenth Book of the History of his Time, has likewise mentioned with Approbation.

And now the Negotiations for a Peace began to work; and, after a Meeting at *L'Isle* in *Flanders*, at length a more commodious place was chosen; viz. an Abby at *Cercamp* in the *Cambresis*; where, about the middle of *October* the Plenipotentiaries on both sides met to treat of a Peace. These were, on the King's part, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, *Anne de Montmorency*, *James Albon de Saint-André* Marquess of *Fronsac* and Marshall of *France*, *John de Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Claude de l'Aubespine* Secretary of State. In *Philip's* Name appeared *Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo* Duke of *Alva* Grand Master of the Palace, *William* Count *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, Knights of the Golden Fleece, *Roderick Gomez de Sylva* Count of *Melito*, *Anthony Perrenot* Bishop of *Arras*, and *Ulrick Viglius de Aytta* Sieur de *Zuicbem*, formerly celebrated as a Civilian, and of latter days no less for his Skill in Negotiations: For the Security of *Mary's* Interests, *Thomas Thirleby* Bishop of *Ely*, **Thomas* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* Lord Chamberlain, and *Nicolas Wotton* Dean of *York* were appointed; and for the Duke of *Savoy*, *Thomas Langusci* Count di *Stropiano*, and President of the Court of *Asti*. *Christierne* also and her Son *Charles* were present as Mediators and Friends. At

* *Cambden* calls him *William*.

the first Session, when the Face of two hostile Armies, so near each *A. D.* other, seemed little suitable to the Business in hand, it was agreed, 1558. that the Troops should be dismissed on both sides. Accordingly the Enemy's Army, going down the *Authie* towards *Abbeville*, turned aside from thence towards *S. Omer's*, and in the County of *Artois* was entirely disbanded. The King reciprocally, having disposed the Foot in Garrison amongst the Frontier Towns, sent the Cavalry home, that they might refresh themselves after their Fatigues. The *Germans* were disbanded, and the Care of conducting them committed to the Duke *de Nevers*. The Duke of *Lunenbourg* was however detained; because in the Camp at *Amiens* he had drawn his Sword upon the King's Chief General the Duke of *Guise*; and, being made Prisoner was committed to the Bastile at *Paris*. Amongst the Plenipotentiaries, the Contention for *Calais* had raised a mighty Controversy; the *French* desiring to retain it, as part of their antient Patrimony lately recovered in War; and the *English* seeming resolute against subscribing to the Articles of Peace, unless it were restored. Whilst This was in agitation, *Philip* sent the Duke *de Feria* into *England*, in order to visit the Queen, who was now sick; and also, since the *French* could by no means be induced to part with *Calais* again to the *English*, to propose Terms for the Marriage of her Sister *Elizabeth* to the Duke of *Savoy*. During the Debates amongst the Plenipotentiaries, happened the Death of *Mary*; which, as it put an end to this Quarrel, gave a new Form and Body to the proposed Conditions of Peace. For, as long as *Mary* lived, the *Spaniards* could not possibly drop the Restitution of *Calais*; but, after the Queen's Death, they did not seem likely to espouse it with any great Heat: And again, during her Life, the King's Daughter *Elizabeth*, who had been designed for *Don Carlos* the Son of *Philip*, was now, upon *Mary's* Decease, demanded in Marriage by *Philip* for himself. When *Philip* therefore was unwilling to seem to have immediately deserted the *English* Cause, and, before the conclusion of the Treaty, had a mind to see what Turn the *English* Affairs would take; it was agreed amongst the Embassadors, that the Negotiations should be dismissed for a time; and that they should meet again in the following month of *January*. As for *Mary*, when, through the rash Declaration of War against Us, she had lost *Calais*, and the other Towns and Castles, which belonged to the *English* on this side the Sea; and saw her Husband, whose absence she bore with impatience, involved in a War in the *Netherlands*; she had given herself up, as may well be imagined, to an excessive Grief: Besides, that she laboured under a Dropsy, which occasioning a Swelling, she took it at first for a Big-belly; and therefore applying no Remedies, and using an improper sort of Regimen, she fell into a slow Fever; which, growing upon her insensibly, at last put an end to her Life on the * 15th day of *November* in the morning: On which same day, about the third hour of the night, Cardinal *Reginald Pool* died of a kind of Consumption occasioned

* *Godwin* and *Burnet* say the 17th

A. D. by a double Quartan Ague. Between the Death of each of these Persons 1558. there did not pass above sixteen hours; that They, who in Life had been united in Affections and Similitude of Fortune, might be joined also in Death. *Poole* having from his youth struggled with variety of Chances, was with *Mary's* Good Fortune restored to his Country; a Person scarce to be equalled for Gravity and Sanctity of Manners, Prudence and Learning; and one, who for no other reason, but his singular Virtues worthy of the highest Post in the Church, had been excluded from the Papacy by the Ambition of his Rivals and the ever preposterous Pride of the Court of *Rome*: And the same sort of Crosses had been experienced by this pious and innocent Man to the end of his Life: For *Paul IV.* who had formerly so violently opposed his promotion to the Popedom (although he had with ample Commendations invested him with the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, finding him already sent Legate into *England* by *Julius III.*); when, by the violation of the Truce, the War, undertaken for the Pope's own sake, had broke out afresh between the King and *Philip*, and at last between Us and the *English*; was so provoked against *Poole*, whom he knew averse to Warlike Measures, that depriving him immediately of his Legatine Power he cited him to *Rome*, as a Person suspected of ill Principles in Religion; promoting to his Place one *William Peyto*, a Franciscan of ignoble Birth, whom he had chosen the year before into the College of Cardinals: At the same time, for the very same Cause, he vexed Cardinal *John Morone*, a Man of extraordinary Prudence and Gravity, and *Thomas San Felice* Bishop of *La Cava*, with a tedious Imprisonment in the Castle of *S. Angelo*; and upon *Morone's* account held *Giles Foscaro* Bishop of *Modena* for a long time in the Prison of the Inquisition. *Philip* indeed and the Queen used pressing Instances, that the Pope would change his mind; for that otherwise, if *Poole* were recalled, every thing would run to Ruin in *England*, and the Sinews of the Catholick Religion would be cut. And the Queen especially requested, that, if *Poole* had incurred his Suspicion upon a Religious Account, he would make her acquainted with it; for that She would take care, that agreeably to the Customs and Laws of the Realm he should be tried in *England* by an Ecclesiastical Court. At length, moved, not by any Good will of his own, but by the Disaster of his Subjects at *Segni*, and of Our Countrymen at *S. Quintin*, he remitted somewhat of his Malice against *Poole*: But the latter, tho' hindered by the Queen from going to *Rome* as he designed, yet, to shew his Dutifulness to the Pope, forbade the Silver Crucifix (the Badge of his Legation) to be carried before him, and abstained from the exercise of all the parts of the Legatine Power. *Ormaneto* being afterwards sent by him to *Rome*, to render an account of his Behaviour as Legate, and to clear him with the Pope of any Suspicions that might have arisen; the Pope declared himself entirely satisfied, and by the Example of Christ himself comforted *Poole* under his Calumnies; and released *Morone*, after a strict Examination before a Committee of Cardinals,

Cardinals, out of Prison. Some time before, when his Distemper *A. D.* grew upon him, *Poole* by his last Will, made on the 4th day of 1558. *October*, had appointed *Lewis Priuli* a Nobleman of *Venice* his Heir; a Person, with whom for his Integrity and Likeness of Manners he had contracted an Intimacy for above twenty six years; from which time *Priuli* had never departed from *Poole's* side, and could not be drawn from thence upon any Terms, no not when he was pressed by *Julius III.* to accept of the Purple: But *Priuli*, after *Poole's* Decease, refused the bequeathed Inheritance, and yet punctually executed the Will, employing full twenty Months, which he lived after his Friend, in collecting his dispersed Effects, and distributing them with the utmost Fidelity: An egregious Example of genuine and sacred Friendship: which having grown at first, not from any views of private Advantage, but from a sole regard to Virtue, could never be separated by any distance of Times or Places, but lasted to the very last Breath of each of their Lives.

Upon the Death of *Mary*, a prodigious Change ensued in *England*, and some Alterations were occasioned also in Our Affairs. For, with Us, the Queen of *Scotland* immediately carried herself as Heir of the Crown, and ordered the Titles and Arms of the Kings of *England* to be wrought in all her Moveables and Domestick Furniture; so that, at a time, when *France* was plagued with vindicating her Sovereignty in *Milan*, *Naples* and the *Netherlands*; for the accomplishment of Our Calamities, a ridiculous Claim was set up to the Crown of *England*; which a most excellent Writer Charges to the Account of her Unkles, who by this Instance of Vanity were willing to appear to have added a considerable Lustre to *France*. *Philip*, that the Honour of the *English* Name, which he had lost by the Death of *Mary*, might in some measure be retained in his Family, put his Uncle *Ferdinand* upon demanding *Elizabeth*, *Mary's* Sister, already proclaimed Queen, for his younger Son *Ferdinand*; which the Uncle also pursued with earnestness, sending the Count *de Lodron* into *England*: But the Desire of the *Austrians* was defeated (as People gave out) by *Elizabeth's* Oath; by which, at her Inauguration, she had obliged herself never to marry a Foreign Prince. That *Philip* himself had serious Thoughts of marrying *Elizabeth*, and with that View sent the Count *de Feria* to her, was a thing certainly believed in *France*; as appears by the King's Letters (of which I have a Copy by me) directed to *Philibert de Babou* Bishop of *Engoulesme* his Embassador with the Pope: Wherein his Majesty, having learned by experience, how mightily this Accession of the *English* Realm to the Power of *Spain* had hurt his Affairs, and fearing that, when the Forces of *England* and the *Netherlands* should by this new Match be united, *Philip* would with greater Vigour than ever resume his Designs against *France*; orders *Babou*, that by means of the *Theatine* or *Chietine* Priests, who had a wonderful Influence over the Pope, he would defeat the Project; and that, in order to hinder the Old Father, who was a most punctual and even stubborn Observer of rigid Discipline,

A. D. Discipline, from granting a Dispensation to *Philip* for marrying the
 1558. Sister of *Mary* his deceased Queen, he should throw in a Scruple
 from the Article of Religion; for that, as zealously as He was
 addicted to the Catholick Religion professed by his Ancestors, so
 heartily (according to the general Persuasion) did *Elizabeth* abhor it,
 and esteem the Doctrine of the Protestants: He besides admonished his
 Ministers to take care, lest *Philip's* Partisans should perceive the King
 to have meddled in the Matter, and by their means it should reach
Elizabeth's Ears; for, since it was uncertain what Effect this Proposal
 might have, he would not do any thing, whereby he might seem, in-
 stead of pacifying, to have irritated the Queen, who, by reason of the
 old Emulation and Animosities between the *French* and *English*
 Names, was already prone to take Offence.

The End of the Twentieth BOOK.



BOOK



BOOK XXI.

ARGUMENT.

The Duke di Sella's Actions in Piedmont. Moncalvo lost by Our People; which occasions a Quarrel betwixt the Sieur de Pecquigny and Baron des Adretz; in which, Adretz complaining of an Injury done to him by the Duke of Guise, suppresses his Resentment, 'till, a proper Opportunity of Revenge offering itself, he afterwards gave it vent. The Inauguration of Ferdinand in the Imperial Dignity, and his fruitless Embassy to the Pope, before whom by his Embassadors he enters a Protestation. An equitable Decision of the Controversy with the House of Brandenburg. The detestable Murder of Melchior Zobel Bishop of Wirtzburg. The Livonian War: Situation, People, and Origin of Livonia. The Springs of the Dwina, Wolga, Neiper, Lowat, and Don. The Beginnings of the Christian Religion in those Countries. The Teutonical Knights, called into Livonia by Bishop Albert, treacherously make War shortly after upon their Allies the Prelates, from whence ensue Wars betwixt them and the People of Riga. The Muscovites taking advantage of this, after the Pacification concluded at Dantzick in the Year 1348, invade the Province; but are bravely repelled by Walter de Plettenberg, who, making a Peace with them for fifty years, composes the Differences between the Knights and the Men of Riga. The Teutonical Order is afterwards abolished in Prussia by Sigismund King of Poland, in the 25th Year of this Century; and Sigismund-Augustus, in pursuance of his Father's Example, extinguishes the Livonian Order some years after. Luther's Doctrine from what Seeds dispersed in Livonia; how it first began at Treptaw, a neighbouring City of Pomerania, and from thence by the preaching of Andrew Cnoff reached to Riga, and at last to Derpt. The Causes of the Quarrel of the Muscovites with the Livonians. The Original of that People; the Succession of their Princes; the first Rise of Christian Piety amongst them, the Largeness of their Provinces, Method of Government and strict Discipline. Upon the Expiration of the fifty Years Truce, and the Refusal to prolong it, the Town of Narva, a Dependant of Livonia or Germany, is taken by the then reigning Czar

John Basilowitz; then Neuhaus, and lastly Derpt after a very long Siege is surrendered. Christian King of Denmark excuses himself from accepting the Protection of the Province. The Emperor Charles's Death, Praises and final Elogy. The Death of Men famous for Learning, John Bugenhagen of Pomerania, John Fernel, Janus Cornar, James Miccyllus, John Pena, Julius-Cæsar Scaliger, Lewis Lippomano Bishop of Bergamo, Andrew Tiraquel, John Vergara. Slight Skirmishes with the English in Scotland. The Protestants prevailing all this Year and the next, Seditions are raised in all parts. The People of Perth vent their intemperate Rage upon the Churches, and particularly a wealthy Abbey of Carthusians, which they utterly demolish. From thence both Parties come to Blows. The Regent advances to Perth, which, upon the dissolution of the Armies on each side, lyes open to her: From whence, after taking as full a Revenge as she could, and secured the Place with a Garrison, she returns in a sort of Triumph to Sterlin. The commodious Situation of Perth. James Stewart and the Earl of Argile, Favourers of the Protestants, who had held with the Queen, entirely revolt from her. The Armies drawn up against one another at Couper. Methods in vain tried for an Agreement; because many said that the Faith already plighted had been violated, and the Regent had nothing else to give, and did not think it consistent with her Honour to give any thing more. The Confederates therefore incamp before Perth, and take the Place by Surrender: With the same Success they seize Sterlin itself and Linlithgow, and change the Divine Worship there. The Regent retires to Edinburgh, and a Truce is made upon certain Conditions; which is so much the more religiously kept, as, by the breaking of the foregoing ones, they had all like to have been entirely ruined. News about this time arrives of Henry's Death.

A. D.
1558.



AFTER Fossano and Coni, in Piedmont, had been delivered from the close Siege, with which they seem'd to be pressed; the Duke di Sessa, that he might perform some considerable Action, advances with twelve thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, and on the 18th of August sits down before Centale, commanded by Pierrelongue, not far from Fossano; and after cannonading it, and drawing off the Water from the Moat, takes and then demolishes it. During the Siege, five hundred Horse and as many Foot, going from Asti towards the Enemy's Camp, fell in with Arthur de Cossé Sieur de Gonnor, the Marshall de Brissac's Brother, near Cerisoles, and were routed. From thence the Duke di Sessa, having in his March taken Sommariva, Rocquemont, Roques Sparviere, and Carail comes to Asti; where first paying the Soldiers their Arrears, he leads them directly to Moncalvo, a Town standing in the very Center of the Dutchy of Montferrat, and invests it. There were eight Companies of French, two Ensigns of Italians and as many of Germans in the Place; and the Commanders under A. Dailly de Pecquigny were the Sieur de l'Isle, and the Baron des Adretz, of whom we shall have frequent occasion

occasion to speak hereafter. Some Succours sent by Us from *Alba A. D.* were defeated by the *Spaniards*. At length, on the 2d day of *October, 1558.* twenty five Pieces of Cannon were planted; and, the Breach made by them not seeming large enough to encourage an Assault, the matter was put off to the next day; on which the Firing having been renewed 'till Noon, whilst the Duke was at Dinner, a few *Spaniards*, venturing out of the Trenches, after they had attentively viewed the Place, mounted the Breach on that side, which *Dailly* had undertaken to defend; for *Adretz* maintained the Other: When the Defendants, who were but few, had given ground at the sight of the *Spaniards*, other *Spaniards* advanced, and after them another larger Body; who, upon *Pecquigny's* retiring with more than a thousand Men into the Castle without striking a Blow, took the Town by Storm, with the Loss of scarce twenty five of their Men. *De l' Isle* was taken Prisoner, and likewise the Baron *des Adretz*, being surrounded from behind, from whence he had not the least Apprehensions; as trusting to *Pecquigny's* Care in the Defence of his own Quarter. From thence the Enemy marched up to the Castle, which Our People had neglected to fortify, and in which, depending upon the Strength of the Town, they had left hardly Provisions for a few days. An agreement therefore was made, that, if within two days *Brissac* did not come to their Relief, leaving the Great Guns they should be dismissed in safety, with their Arms, Colours displayed, and Drums beating. When *Adretz* had afterwards paid his Ransom, upon the Death of *Henry* he cited *Pecquigny* to appear before *Francis II.*; demanding to be repaid the Costs of his Release, and the Damages sustained by the Loss of his Furniture at the taking of *Moncalvo*; charging it upon His Mis-conduct, that the Town had been taken. When *Pecquigny*, who saw his Honour blemished by that Proceeding, protested against the Affront; *Adretz*, doubly injured, demands of the King, that, if the Other denied the Fact and complained of any Injury, they might with His Majesty's Leave put an end to the Controversy by a Duel. Upon this Occasion as the Chief Lords were variously inclined, the *Guiseans*, who governed every thing, took part with *Pecquigny*; and, through their Interest, Sentence was given by the King in *Pecquigny's* favour; setting forth, that *Moncalvo* had been lost through no Fault of His, and accordingly discharging him of the Baron's Suit, and forbidding them both, under the Pain of High-Treason, to proceed any farther against each other, upon that account, either by Word or Deed. The Baron took this Injury so impatiently, that, looking upon himself as wronged, not any longer by *Pecquigny*, from whom he owned himself to have received abundant Satisfaction, but by the *Guiseans*, he swore to be revenged upon them at a proper Season. This Many think to have been the Cause, that He, who had no manner of Inclination to the Cause of the Protestants, afterwards followed their Party, and at the taking of *Valence* bore a share in the Murder of *De la Motte Gondrin*, the Duke of *Guise's* Lieutenant. *Moncalvo* being taken through Our Fault and afterwards well garrisoned, the Duke

A. D. di Sessa decamps, and proceeds towards *Casal*, sending the Marquess *di Pescara* forward with the Horse, to lay the Country waste, and to hinder the introduction of Victuals into the City. There, a Sally being made by Our Troops under the Direction of the Captains *Beau-regard*, *De la Curee* and *La Cazette*, the Enemy's Camp was put into Confusion, and one Standard taken. The Rains afterwards beginning to fall, *Di Sessa*, who also wanted Money, as well as We, and for that reason had been forced to lay heavy Taxes upon the Province, departs from *Casal*; and, having upon the Road taken the Castle of *Pomaro*, comes to *San-Martino*; which he presently ordered to be fortified, that by the help of a strong Garrison, placed thus in the middle way between *Valenza* and *Casal*, he might incommode Our Troops. *Brissac*, besides a total want of Necessaries, laboured under This additional Hardship, that all his Demands, Admonitions and Complaints to the King and the Courtiers, were turned into Ridicule; whilst some said, that he ought to borrow Virtue of Necessity; and that there were more Fortresses in *Italy*, than the Royal Treasury, exhausted as it was by so many other means, could maintain. But when the Power of choosing fit Governours of the several Towns had been granted to him by the King, and *De Gordes* haply, in order to obtain the Lieutenancy of the Constable *Montmorency's* Troop, had resigned the Government of *Montdovi*; the *Sieur de Pelous* was notwithstanding appointed to succeed him, and *Laval*, *De Gordes's* Brother-in-law, whom *Brissac* had nominated, injuriously displaced. This vexed the Marshall to the Heart; who, having hitherto been exceedingly esteemed by his Men, began from hence to fall by degrees into an universal Contempt; insomuch that the five Cantons of *Swiss*, who saw that the King took no care of the Military Men in that Province, recalled their Troops. Thus he was almost deserted by his Men; and such as remained went every day from their Garrisons to *Turin*, and despising his Commands refused to return to their Quarters. For this reason, his Brother the *Sieur de Gonnor* had been sent to Court, to acquaint the King personally with the present State of Affairs; that so, if any Misfortune should happen thereupon, it might not be imputed to Him, who had given timely Warning of it.

In *Germany*, when the Electors, in pursuance of an Agreement with *Ferdinand*, had assembled at *Francfort*; thither, on the 24th day of *February*, the Festival of *St. Matthias*, came likewise the formerly mentioned Embassadors, the Prince of *Orange*, *Selde* and *Haller*, with *Charles's* full Powers, in order to resign the Imperial Dignity in his Name, and transfer his Right upon *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. This Day had been particularly chosen, because it had been ominous and fortunate to the Emperor: For on That, he was born at *Ghent*, had come off Conqueror at *Parvia*, and received the Imperial Crown from *Clement* at *Bologna*, and lastly at *Aix la Chapelle* had procured his Brother to be chosen King of the *Romans*. Upon the Receipt of *Charles's* Instructions, when after some Deliberation the Electors had
upon

upon certain Conditions consented to his Request; nothing remained, *A. D.* 1558. but to perform the Inauguration with the antient Customs and Ceremonies. In the Market-place therefore a boarded Pavilion was erected accessible by Steps, and covered with Carpets and Gold and Silken Tapestry; which *Ferdinand*, on a day appointed, clothed with the Imperial Ornaments and attended with a numerous Retinue, mounted, and sat down in a Throne prepared for him. Then the Electors, with a great Body of Horsemen, and the Banners (as usual) carried before them, when they had thrice galloped round the Imperial Throne (the Trumpets of *Ferdinand* and the Electors sounding all the while), leaped from their Horses, and in Order accosting the Emperor in his Seat, took an Oath of Fealty upon their Knees. This being done, the Emperor writ to his Brother *Charles*; and, with Thanks, promised, that *Philip* should be dear to Him and the States of the Empire, and that he would regard him as one of his own Sons. He then writ to the Judges of the Chamber at *Spiers*, acquainting them with what had passed, and ordering them in his Name and by his Authority to pursue their Judicial Function, and to use *Charles* the Vth's Seal, which they had in Custody, 'till a new one should be transmitted to them. The Convention being then dismissed, the Emperor, falling down the *Danube* came about the Month of *November* to *Vienna*, where he was received with Tokens of the highest Congratulation by the States of his own Dominions.

After which, that, according to the Duty of his Office, he might pay the antient Respect to the *Roman* See, he sends his High-Chamberlain *Martin Gusman*, to inform the Pope at large of his Brother *Charles*'s Abdication, and the Inauguration of Himself, who had been already created King of the *Romans*, into the Imperial Dignity. His Instructions were, to declare, that as the Emperor's Ancestors had been the especial Patrons, Guardians and Defenders of the *Roman* Church and all others in the very worst of Times, so he himself, bearing the same Affection to the Pope and the Holy See, was ready to pay the accustomed Obedience; and to add, that the Emperor would not omit, by the first opportunity, after the antient and received Usage, to send an honourable Embassy to the Pope and the Holy See concerning his Coronation. Tho' these Instructions contained the fullest Assurances of Friendship and Regard, and accordingly merited, by the common Rules of Humanity, to meet with a favourable Hearing and Acceptance from the Pope; nevertheless, by reason of the late Misunderstandings with the House of *Austria*, not as yet sufficiently composed by the last Pacification, the morose Old Man, who had already got a Scent of the true Causes of this Embassy, without giving *Gusman* an Audience, proposes these Questions to be discussed by the Consistory; "Whether *Gusman*, who declared himself sent by his Most Serene Master *Ferdinand* to Him and the Holy See, should not first discover, "what *Charles* V. in the Abdication of the Empire had negotiated "with his Brother, or what *Ferdinand* had reciprocally covenanted; as "well as, on what Conditions he had accepted the Renunciation made

A. D. " by the Emperor : Again, when he should have given Satisfaction
 1558. " upon these Points, whether *Ferdinand's* Inauguration, made without
 " the Consent of the Pope and Holy See, could be esteemed rightly
 " and lawfully performed, or whether for other Reasons it was not
 " to be reputed invalid." The Cardinals chosen for this purpose,
 being accustomed to pronounce Sentence according to the Pope's In-
 clination, and otherwise zealous above measure for the Enlargement of
 the Papal Jurisdiction, after a long Preamble, full of the Importance of
 this intricate Case, answered ; " That it was necessary to be shewn by
 " Publick Documents, how by Renunciation or Cession *Charles's* Im-
 " perial Crown had become vacant ; again, by what Right *Ferdinand*
 " had succeeded to it : That in the mean while his Embassador ought
 " not to be admitted ; 'till it appeared, that *Charles*, the Resigning
 " Party, had lawfully parted with his Dignity ; in order that He, the
 " Succeeding Party, should be declared the lawful Successor" : To this
 they added, " That the Acts of *Francfort* were of no force for want of
 " the Authority of the Holy See, and of Christ's Vicar, to whom
 " the Keys of the Celestial and Terrestrial Empire were committed ;
 " without which neither *Charles* could be said to be legally discharged
 " of his Office, nor *Ferdinand* to have rightfully succeeded to it : For,
 " although *Ferdinand* had been formerly created King of the *Romans* at
 " *Cologne*, and *Clement VII.* had ratified that Transaction ; yet, before
 " he could succeed, it was necessary, that the Imperial Throne should
 " be vacant ; which could not happen but by Death, Renunciation
 " or Deprivation ; and the two last of these Cases belonged to the Pope
 " alone, and to the Holy See : That there was another Reason too,
 " why all the Acts of *Francfort* ought to be rescinded ; because they
 " were done by Men infected with Heretical Pravity, 'who had lost
 " all the Interest and Power, which they enjoyed before their Defection
 " from the Church of *Rome* : That for this Cause, and in order to
 " his submitting himself to a Tryal for the clearing of his Innocency,
 " *Ferdinand* had need of Repentance ; and that he ought not to doubt
 " of obtaining Pardon from the gentle Father : A Proctor therefore
 " should be sent by him, with full Powers to declare, that he renounc'd
 " the Transactions of *Francfort*, as of no validity ; and left the
 " whole to the Arbitration of the Pope, who by his Plenary Authority
 " could confirm the Inauguration tho' not rightly performed : That
 " the Commission, wherein *Charles* had renounced the Imperial Crown,
 " ought to be laid before the Pope ; which, tho' directed to the
 " Electors only, yet (since that Defect could be abundantly supplied
 " by Him, who had a fullness of Power in all Cases of this kind)
 " might be extended to the Pope himself." After this, upon *Gusman's*
 pressing for an Audience, the Pope answered, " That, since *Charles*
 " could not resign the Imperial Dignity to any one but Him, and
 " *Ferdinand* could not accept it without His Consent, the latter ought
 " within three months to give Satisfaction upon the Heads proposed
 " by the Cardinals, and that in the mean time *Gusman* himself could
 " not be admitted." At the same time *Philip*, to lend an helping
 hand

hand to his Unkle *Ferdinand* by the officious Espousal of his Cause, *A. D.* had commanded *Francis de Vargas*, his Embassador with the State of *1558. Venice*, to repair to *Rome*, and with earnest Intreaties to recommend the Affair in his Name. But the Pope paid no regard to his Intreaties; on the contrary, when *John de Figueroa*, sent to him by *Philip*, was preparing to enter the City, he ignominiously excluded him; saying, that by having imprisoned one of the Papal Notaries, when he was Governour of the *Milanese*, he had incurred the highest Censures of the Church: Although some People ascribe this to the Management of *De Vargas* (who upon the Rejection of *Figueroa* expected to be appointed his Successor), assisted therein by some Cardinals and even the *Caraffaes*, at whose beck he had promised to conduct his Master's Affairs. But *Ferdinand*, as soon as he had notice from *Gusman* of the Pope's Disposition, immediately writes back, and commands his Embassador, if within three days after the receipt of this Order he should not be admitted by the Pope, to settle his private Affairs and leave *Rome*; making this previous Declaration, "that, since He, who
" had been solemnly dispatched by the Emperor to the Pope, on
" purpose to tender his Filial Respect according to the practice of his
" Ancestors, could not, after a long time (to the Diminution of the
" Imperial Honour) be admitted to execute his Commission; he
" therefore departed from *Rome*, that he might communicate what
" had passed in this Business to the Emperor; who in a short time,
" in Concert with the Electors, would do what should be thought
" suitable to the Imperial Majesty." When *Gusman* therefore insisted upon an Audience, which if refused, he had an Order from the Emperor to retire from *Rome*; at length, not publickly but privately, as the Emperor's Embassador (for he would allow of no other Form) he was admitted to an Audience before seven Cardinals on the 13th day of *July*. Then the Pope, in a long Speech, "excused himself, by
" the Importance of the Cause, that he had not sooner satisfied his
" Petition; but, since he had not had time to weigh the Articles propounded by the Cardinals, and the Embassador himself could not
" conveniently stay any longer at *Rome*, he was welcome to depart,
" when he pleased; and that he would shortly send a Legate to the
" Emperor"; for so he called *Charles* even after his Abdication. This ended, when *Gusman* had declared his Instructions in relation to the Protest, the Pope answered, he lik'd it very well, as what would turn to his own Advantage and That of his Imperial Majesty. *Gusman* therefore having made the Protestation, according to his Orders, and taken leave of his Friends, quitted the City. Upon the Death of *Paul IV.* shortly after, *Pius IV.* confirmed the Translation of the Imperial Dignity from the Emperor to his Brother *Ferdinand*, and gave an honourable Reception to his Embassadors at *Rome*, as to the Ministers of a lawful Emperor.

At the first Entrance upon the Government, *Ferdinand* passed a memorable Judgment full of Equity. For when upon occasion of the former Wars, wherein *Albert* had in a most outrageous manner har-
rass'd

A. D. rais'd *Franconia* and the bordering Provinces, there had arisen a Controversy between the now deceased *Albert's* Kinsmen, (to whom in pursuance of an antient League the Princes of *Saxony* and *Hesse* had joined themselves) and the Bishops of *Franconia* and the Senate of *Norimberg*; because the former contended, that the Estates taken from their Cousin ought to be restored to them, and the Damages sustained by the destroying of his Castles to be made good; and These on the contrary, having acted nothing inconsistent with the Pacifick Constitutions and the Imperial Decrees, demanded, that the Charges of executing the Imperial Sentence against the out-lawed *Albert* should be refunded: Here the Emperor considered, that this Dispute was not a matter of Private Right, but affected the Publick Tranquillity; and although what had been done by the Confederates against *Albert* had been rightly done, nevertheless, as by his Death the Crime seemed to be extinguished, and the Scandal in some sort expiated; that he might preserve Concord amongst the chief Princes of the Empire and the Bishops and Free Cities, he ordered an Estimate to be made of the Losses suffered by the House of *Brandenbourg*; and notwithstanding that, in the month of *March* in the preceeding year, the Confederates had already restored the whole Country to *George-Frederick*, *Albert's* Cousin and Heir, he moreover decreed, that for the Castles demolished they should pay an hundred and seventy five thousand Florins to the Marquess of *Brandenbourg*: With which Sentence at last, to avoid the trouble of a ruinous War, they complied, submitting their private Concerns to the Publick Repose

In this same year, on the 15th day of *April*, *Melchior Zobel* Bishop of *Wirtzburg* and Duke of *Franconia*, was murdered in his own City by fifteen Ruffians: An Instance of Villany unheard of in *Germany* for many Ages! For since the Misfortune of the Emperor *Philip*, Duke of *Swabia* and *Tuscany* (who on the 22d day of *June*, in the year of Salvation 1207. was traiterously put to death in his Castle of *Bamberg* by *Otho* Count Palatin of *Witelsbach*), and the Murder of *Engilbert* Archbishop of *Cologne* by a Stratagem of *Frederick* Count d' *Yssenberg* twenty two years afterwards, nothing of this kind was remembered to have happened in the Empire. This Accident has ever since so alarmed the Princes, that They, who thought themselves safe enough before in the Fidelity and Affection of their Friends, began now to maintain Guards. The Case was as follows. When *Zobel* from his Castle, beyond the *Mayne*, had come into the City to hear Causes; and in his Return was passing in his Coach by a Publick Inn; some Fellows, who on Horseback were calling for a parting Cup after the Country-fashion, set upon him, and killed him with two Horsemen besides and wounded some others. When a Tumult arose hereupon, and the People without knowing the Cause were running thither as it were to extinguish a Fire (for That Cry was given out by the Ruffians in their Flight); they escaped by a Gate, which was kept by their Accomplices. Making their way through secret Vallies and winding Paths, they met by chance with *John Zobel* Brother of the murdered Bishop,

Bishop, whom they attacked, and took; and then, as if he had been *A. D.* a Prisoner of War, demanded his Right-hand as a Pledge of Honour, 1558. that he would appear at such a Place and Time as they should appoint. The Author was at first undiscovered; but, the Heinousness of the Fact encouraging a diligent Search, *Christopher Kretzen* an Emissary of *William Grumbach* was charged with the Crime, and publickly outlawed for it at the Diet of *Augsbourg* in the following Year; and after a long Concealment he was at last taken, by the dexterity of one *Kugelsbach* a Scout, in the Castle of *Schawmbourg* upon the Confines of *Lorraine*. The condign Punishment, which he would have suffered, he prevented by a desperate Action; for, upon the Road to *Wirtzburg*, whilst his Keepers were asleep, he hang'd himself, after he had first declared the Names of the Conspirators. This appeared then to have been done by the Command of *Grumbach* a *Franconian* Knight, who had a Quarrel with Bishop *Zobel*; because the latter refused to pay a Legacy left to his Wife by *Conrad Biberach* Bishop of *Wirtzburg*, and had deprived him of his Estate as an Outlaw, whilst he was ravaging with Fire and Sword in company with Marquess *Albert*.

To the Affairs of *Germany* Those of *Livonia* bear some Relation; which Province received exceeding Damage this Year from an Invasion of the Grand Czar of *Muscovy*: But, before I pursue the Story, I think it convenient to premise a few things of the Position and State of that Country. Along the Side of the *Vistula*, which parts *Germany* on the East from the *European Sarmatia*, towards the North there stretches out a long Tract of Land, which by *Ptolomy* is stiled *Borussia*. Here live the *Borussi*, now by a small Turn of the Name, called *Prussians*; and beyond the *Cronus*, now vulgarly the *Memel* and at the Mouth of it named the *Rufs*, lies *Samogitia*; which, though at this time subject, as well as *Prussia*, to the Kingdom of *Poland*, is claimed by the *Saxons*, and placed as part of the Empire in the Circle of *Saxony*. In the middle of the *Prussians*, *Samogitians*, *Lithuanians*, and *Russians* or *Muscovites*, stands *Livonia*, terminated on the West by the Bay of *Windaw*, and on the East by *Narva* and a Desert full of Forests, and of Lakes, which lye between it and *Russia*; a woody and flat Country, well water'd with Rivers and rich in Pastures. The principal Nations, which it comprises, are the *Courlanders*, *Litlandians* and *Esthonians*, different from each other both in Manners and Language, though in the whole it is generally *Saxon*. That part called *Courland* is divided from *Litlandia* on the North by the River *Dwina*, which, descending by a long and winding Course from the Lake of *Ruthen* thirty miles above *Moscow*, runs through *Lithuania* into *Livonia*, and two miles below *Riga*, the Capital of *Litlandia*, discharges itself West-ward into the Sea. From the same Lake, at no great distance (tho' others say from a vast and marshy Wood called *Wolkoscka*, ten miles farther), rises the *Wolga* an *Europ-Asiatick* River, which by a contrary and much longer Course East-ward slides through *Muscovy* and *Tartary*. This when it becomes navigable, and indeed from *Wologda*, is more than a thousand Paces broad; encompassed with Banks of Clay and Rows of Oak and Birch-

A. D. Trees; and at length, taking a new Turn towards the South, and 1558. swollen by the Accession of seventy Rivulets, enters the *Caspian* Sea near *Astracan*. Again, the *Neiper* from the same Lake or Wood bears away to the South, and (washing *Smolensko* a Town famous for so many Battles fought between the *Polanders* and *Moscovites*, and *Kiow* formerly the Metropolis of *Polonian Russia*), forty miles below *Circassia* is swallowed up in the *Euxine* Sea. Lastly, not far from hence, another River, vulgarly called the *Lorwat*, passing by *Wielki* and through the Lake of *Ilmen* by *Great Novogrod*, and then changing its Name to *Wolchow*, empties itself into the Gulph of *Finland* above *Coparia*. To these some add the *Don*, deemed by the Antients the Boundary of *Europe*; which, rising a little below the *Wolga*, fetches a shorter Compass, and is lost in the *Euxine*. Beyond the *Dwina* is *Litlandia*; and therein the City of *Riga*, *Kokenhaus*, *Wenden*, *Wolmar*, and the *Livonians* properly so called, who gave a Name to the Country, and who formerly inhabited the Sea-coast from the Mouth of the *Dwina* towards *Salis* and *Pernaw*. *Revel* is the Capital of the Province of *Esthonia*, situated above *Litlandia*, where stands the City of *Hapsel*, a Bishop's See, formerly settled at *Leal*, and afterwards removed to *Ofel*; which is an Island opposite to the Continent, of fourteen miles in Compass, the Estate at present of the Bishop of *Hapsel*: To the East is *Derbat* another Episcopal See, bordering upon *Moscovy*, which from hence forward we shall call *Derpt*. The whole Country takes up ninety *German* miles in Length, and fifty in Breadth. A Friendship commenced, for the sake of Commerce, between the Natives, particularly the *Livi*, and the neighbouring *Germans*, and *Bremeners*; which latter, as their Annals testify, were driven by the Accident of a Storm into the Gulf of *Livonia*, and by a League obtained of the Natives an Immunity for their People, and the Merchants, whom they should bring with them: In an Island at the Mouth of the *Dwina* they even built a Chappel; where Divine Worship was performed after the Christian Way. Through the Example and Admonition of these People most of the Petty Lords of the Province came to profess the True Religion, and desired of the *Bremeners*, that a Person of conspicuous Piety might be sent amongst them, to preside over the Church in their Countries. This was one *Menard* of *Segelberg*, a Monk, by the Archbishop of *Bremen* consecrated Bishop of *Livonia*, in the times of *Frederick Barbarossa* and Pope *Alexander III.* who propagated the Gospel in those Parts, and fixed his Seat at *Uxkul* near a Bank of the *Dwina*. To him succeeded *Bertold*, sent in like manner from *Bremen* out of the Monastery of *St. Paul*; at the same time that *Adalbert* Archbishop of *Hamburg* had sent a good number of Bishops into *Futland*, and into the Peninsula of *Schonen*, taken by the Antients for an Island, and called *Thule* (for you are not to imagine *Thule*, which yet was *Scaliger's* Opinion, to have been what we now call *Island*), in order to disperse the Name of CHRIST among those Regions; as *Adamus* writes in the fourth Book of his Ecclesiastical History, where he also makes mention of *Menard*. *Bertold*, I say, was deputed

deputed thither; who thinking fit to proceed, not by the Word of A.D. GOD, but by Force against those savage People, was killed by the 1558. Heathens in the Year of Salvation 1197, as it stands recorded in the History of the Archbishops of *Bremen*, wherein *Bertold* is also stiled Bishop of *Livonia*. In his Room succeeded *Albert*, invited thither from the College of *Bremen*, who built the City of *Riga*, and fenced it with Walls, as appears by the same Record, at the time that *Hartwick* filled the See of *Bremen*. This *Albert* trod in the Steps of his Predecessor, but with more caution; taking to his Assistance *Egilbert* and *Theodorick* of *Tisenhausen* his Kinsmen, by whose Advice he made an Alliance with the *Teutonic* Knights; who, descending from the Templars formerly instituted by *Falco* King of *Jerusalem*, had been detached into the Northern Regions for the Enlargement of the Christian Faith. *Albert* by a League grants to the Knights a third part of the Province, when it should be conquered; prudently enough for the Time, though the Bishop's Successors repented of it afterwards. Under his Protection a College of Knights being founded in *Livonia*, *Vinno* was created the first General and Master of the Order. After his Creation, vast Progress was made by the help of their joint Forces in those Countries; the Castle of *Torpa*, formerly subject to the *Russians*, being taken by the Chevalier *Volquin*, *Kokenhaus* seized, and the *Russians* for their Infidelity entirely banished. Bishop *Albert* was succeeded by *Nicolas*, and *Nicolas* by *Albert* the second, whilst *Vinno*, who was traiterously murdered, gave place to *Volquin*. Then *Riga* was erected into an Archiepiscopal See, and the *Prussian* Bishops of *Warmlandt*, *Culm*, *Pomesanen* and *Szamlan* submitted themselves to the Prelate of *Riga* as their Metropolitan, and the *Livonian* Fraternity became united with the *Teutonic*: Thus, when *Volquin* was killed by the *Lithuanians*, *Herman Valk*, a *Teutonic* Knight, who had governed *Prussia* for seven years, was made their Head. He restored to the *Danes* the Town of *Revel* founded by *Waldemar* II. King of *Denmark*, as also *Wesenberg* and *Narva* planted by a Body of Troops sent twenty years before into the Northern Parts of *Livonia*. From that time, the Prelates and the Masters of the Order maintained a faithful Alliance and Friendship together; as long as they were involved in Foreign Wars with the *Lithuanians*, *Russes*, *Samogitians*, and *Semigallians*: But, Things abroad once pacified, Emulation immediately put them upon Civil Wars; the Knights, elated with so many Victories, not enduring any longer to submit their Military Profession (which they are bound to by a solemn Vow) to a Company of Pacifick Gownsmen: And, when upon *Sulman Meleck's* late Conquest of *Tolemaida*, where the Grand Master of the *Teutonic* Order formerly kept his Residence, their Seat came to be removed at first to *Marpurgh* and afterwards to *Mariembourg*; living there, as it were at Court, and under an immediate Dependence, they could hardly bear the Yoke of Priests, and Men whom they looked upon as their Inferiors. Accordingly *John* Count of *Swerin* was obliged by the Knights to fly to *Rome*, and after him *Isaurus* into *Denmark*: Lastly, *Frederick* of *Bohemia* dwelt for thirty nine years together at *Rome*; in whose absence, the
People

A. D. People of *Riga*, being attacked by the *Teutonick* Knights, and calling in 1558. the *Lithuanians* to their Aid, maintained several Battles with variety of Success: In the midst of these, happened That Insurrection of the Peasants, in which almost all the Nobility and Gentry throughout *Harnlandt*, *Virlandt* and *Osel*, with their Wives and Children, were murdered. At length, after long Debates, when the Cause was referred to *Charles IV.* and *Pope Clement VI.* and determined in favour of the Prelate of *Riga*; *Fromild*, who then held the See, and the Prince of *Prussia* (when the latter about the same time had redeemed *Narva*, *Revel* and *Wesenberg*, from *Waldemar IV.* King of *Denmark* by the payment of nineteen thousand Marks of Silver, and had joined them to *Livonia*) came to this amicable Agreement at *Dantzick* on the 7th day of *May*, in the Year 1348: That, the entire Jurisdiction of the City remaining with the Archbishop, the Master of the Order, on his part, should for the future be discharged from the Fealty hitherto paid to the Archbishop by his Predecessors. This however did not put an end to their Quarrels; but served as a sort of Step, by which those Men of Arms arose by degrees to make farther Incroachments upon their unarmed Antagonists. For when *Sifrid Blomberg*, Successor to *Fromild*, had with the Pope's Consent changed the Habit of the *Præmonstratian* Brothers into the *Augustinian*, the Knights took occasion from thence to make War again upon the Prelate, and drove him into Banishment. The Brethren of the Order were then chosen into the College; and *John Walerod*, a *Teutonick* Knight, either by Violence or in Favour of the Master of the Order, was consecrated Archbishop by *Pope Boniface*. From this time the Prelate by little and little was stripped of his Territories; and at length *Hemming Sherffenberg*, upon the Receipt of a Sum of Money from the Master of the Order, resigned all his Possessions beyond the *Dwina*, and also *Semigallia*, in the Year 1424. Then *Silvester de Torn*, *Hemming's* Successor, twenty six years afterwards, submitted to Terms imposed by the Knights, and solemnly promised, that He, his Successors and the Brethren of the College should for the future use the same Habit with Them: At last, *Fromild's* Transaction being rescinded, after he had renounced all the Rights and Priviledges gained by the Determination of *Charles IV.* and *Clement VI.* he yielded half the Jurisdiction of the City of *Riga* to the Master of the Order; so that he was no longer stiled Prince of *Livonia*, but forced to take the more Powerful Party into a share of the Honour. Yet the Men of *Riga* did not for all this drop their Courage; but, enraged with the continual Outrages of the Knights, at length after a long Siege took *Dunmond* Fort built by *Everard Monchem* Master of the Order, and, to satisfy their Revenge, demolished it. Among these Transactions, in the 95th Year of that Century, *Walter de Plettenberg*, a Man of excellent Virtues (who after *Vimmo*, the first Master of the *Livonian* Knights, and *Herman*, who joined that Order with the *Prussian*, may be reckoned another Founder of the Order, and was placed far above all Detraction and Envy) composed the Differences between the Knights and the People of *Riga*, by joining to the City That Fort, which had been destroyed and

and rebuilt by them; and, having in the beginning of this Century *A. D.* defeated the *Moscovites* in two great Battles, the first in *Livonia*, 1558, and the other at *Pleskow*, extorted from the Czar a Peace of fifty years, no less advantageous to the *Livonians* than honourable to himself. After which, by the payment of a Sum of money to That *Albert*, whom we have formerly mentioned, he discharged the *Livonian* Order from the Alliance or Subjection, which it owed to the Master of *Prussia*; and, becoming a Prince of the Empire, governed *Livonia* prosperously both in Peace and War, 'till the 35th Year of this Century: But, twenty years after, when between *William* of *Brandenburg* the Archbishop, *Christopher* of *Mecklenbourg*, and *Henry Galen* Master of the Knights, the old Animosities broke out again; *William* and *Christopher* were taken Prisoners by *William* of *Furstenberg* Master of the Order; tho' in two Years after, they were set at Liberty and restored to their former Dignity, by *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, who came with a powerful Army, and obliged the Master to accept of no very honourable Terms of Peace. These Quarrels so often renewed, which created Trouble to their more powerful Neighbours, and opened a Door for the Czar to invade those Provinces and ravage *Poland*, as they were at first pernicious to the Bishops, proved at last fatal also to the Knights. For in like manner, as *Sigismund* by a salutary Resolution (as he thought) had thirty three Years before abolished the Teutonic Order, creating his Sister's Son *Albert* of *Brandenburg* Beneficiary Prince thereof, and reduced *Prussia* under the Jurisdiction of *Poland* (with which it had been continually at War) to the exceeding Benefit of those Provinces; so *Sigismund Augustus*, following his Father's Example, at length extinguished the *Livonian* Order, and created *Gotard Ketler*, the last Master of the Order, Duke of *Courland*; and, that all Grounds of Emulation might for the future be taken away, he deprived also *Christopher* of *Mecklenbourg* of the Archbishoprick, subjecting all its Jurisdiction to the Kings of *Poland*: But these things happened afterwards.

I am inclined to believe, that this Alteration of the *Livonian* State followed upon the Change of Religion and the Reception of *Luther's* Doctrine some years before: But how that Doctrine penetrated into *Livonia*, may be worth the while to enquire. The City of *Treptaw* stands in the Eastern *Pomerania* (washed on all sides by the River *Rega*, which falls thereabouts into the *Baltick* Sea) and for the Pleasantness of its Situation and Fruitfulness of the Soil had been chosen for the University of the Country. To this Place the Youth from the neighbouring Province of *Livonia* flocked for the Advantage of Learning: And when *John Bugenhagen*, of whom we have lately spoken, was a Teacher there, *Luther's* Book of the *Babylonish Captivity* was brought thither; wherein, with the utmost Vehemence, sharpened by a fresh Provocation, he inveighs against the Pride of the Pope, and the Abuses introduced by the Court of *Rome* into the Western Church, which is subject to it. This being produced by *Otho Slutow* a Nobleman of *Treptaw*, and approved by *Bugenhagen*, and *Andrew Cnoff* (born at *Custrin* in the Conflux of the *Oder* and the *Wart*), and likewise pleasing most of the

A. D. Youth, which studied there; by degrees Assemblies began to be formed, 1558. and Prayers to be conceived in them after the Fashion instituted by *Luther*.

From thence, the Warmth of Youth helping forward the Fervour of Religion, the Students committed several Outrages, by Word and Deed, upon the Fellows and Monks of the College in that Town; stealing some Images by night out of one of the Churches, and throwing them into an adjacent Well. The Fellows of the College, looking upon themselves as affronted by this Conduct, and calling in *Erasmus Mandwel*, late Elected Bishop of *Camin*, the Ordinary of the Town, set the Populace into a Flame; and by the Threats of Death expell'd those Teachers, and the Youth which followed them, from *Treptaw*. *Bugenhagen* retired to *Wittenberg*, where, meeting with a kind Reception from *Luther*, he abode for a long time after, and even to his Death. *Andrew Cnoff* with *Joachim Moller* and his *Livonians* repaired to *Riga* to his Brother *James* a Fellow of the Ecclesiastical College. The Bishop, who thought that he had in a tolerable manner put a stop for the present to the growing Evil, soon found himself mistaken in his Account. For whereas these things had happened a little before the Death of *Bogislaus* Duke of *Pomerania*; afterwards, under the Government of his Sons *Barnim* and *Philip*, at an Assembly of the States held in that Town, the antient Religion was with Universal Consent abolished, and *Luther's* Doctrine received, in the 34th Year of this Century. But *Cnoff*, preaching at *Riga*, and frequently representing to the People the depraved Discipline and Doctrine of the Church (whilst he conniv'd at the received Rites and Ceremonies), by little and little slyly insinuated a Hatred of the Pope into the Minds of his Hearers; and at last, by the means of his Colleagues, especially *Sylvester Tegetmeier* a Man of a violent Temper, who had lately come from *Rostock*, the Design began to be carried on more openly: For He, professing publicly his Detestation of the Papal Constitutions, (and encouraged besides by frequent Letters from *Luther* himself) so inflamed the Peoples Minds already prepared by *Cnoff*, that they presently fell to casting the Images out of the Churches; and, possessed with Fury in the Shape of Piety, every where demolished the Altars. *Gaspar Lindt* was at this time Archbishop of *Riga*. The same thing was practised at *Derpt*, at the Instigation of a Tanner from *Wittenberg*, in *St. Mary's* and *St. John's* Churches; all the Ornaments of the Temples being openly and in the Market-place thrown into the Fire; that they might not seem (as they said themselves) to have raised a Commotion for the sake of Booty, rather than for the Abolition of a corrupt Worship. The same Outrages were committed by the Protestants upon the Churches of *St. Dominick* and *St. Francis* and a certain Nunnery, whilst the Senate of *Derpt* wink'd at these Proceedings: The Monks were every where expell'd; and many of them, miserably dispersed up and down the neighbouring Countries, as well Women as Men, took that occasion to renounce their Vow, and, embracing a Life of more Freedom, to marry. Thus by degrees the former Customs were abolished, and, new Ministers being ordained, the Church began to wear another Face. The Priests,

provoked with these Injuries, and especially the Archbishop of *Riga* A. D. (*John Blankensfeldt*, who had succeeded *Lindt*), sent Complaints to the 1558. Emperor; and, from *Philip* Marquess of *Baden*, who governed *Spain* in the Emperor's Absence, received a Mandate; whereby the Senate was enjoined to restore the Archbishop and his Collegues, to That Rank and Dignity, of which they had deprived them; under the Pains of Outlawry in case of Disobedience. The People of *Riga* made slight of those Threatnings, as knowing the Emperor to be involved in other Wars; frequently saying, that before he could reach *Livonia*, his Cavalry would be weary and fatigued; that, if he came with a numerous Army, it would perish with Hunger and Want; if with a small one, it might easily be defeated. When their Attempts had succeeded, carrying the Heat of Licentiousness farther, and growing fonder every day of That bewitching Madness, they even invaded the Churches, which the *Russian* Merchants had built for themselves in *Riga*, *Revel* and *Derpt*, and where Divine Worship had been usually performed after the *Greek* Way; and after sacking them laid them level with the ground. At *Derpt*, that the demolished Temples might no longer be of Use, they set apart the *Dominican* Church as an Arsenal for the Stowage of Cannon, and That of the *Franciscans* for the burning of Lime; and, turning the *Moscovite* Church into an House of Office, let it out to the *Germans*, for the greater Mockery, as a Receptracle of Dirt and Ordure. When the News of this Action was brought to *Basilius* Duke of *Moscow*; he is reported to have fallen into a violent Passion, and to have solemnly sworn, that as soon as ever the Truce should be expired, he would, neglecting every other Thought, make war upon them in Revenge of so flagrant an Affront: But these Resolutions were seasonably prevented by his Death: For as these things happened in the Year 1523, he died within twelve years after, and was succeeded by his Son *John*, a Person full of the same Resentments; from whom (as I have related) a Truce for five years was at first obtained. But before we proceed farther, it will be necessary to say a few things of the *Moscovite* Empire, since this is the first opportunity, which has occurred for mentioning it.

From the *Russian Narva*, built by the *Moscovites* in the Year 1400. over against the *Livonian Narva*, and parted from it by a River, from whence they both took their Name; to the East and North lye the *Muscovite* Dominions, extended to the *Caspian* Sea, and as far as the Hords of the *Tartars*. They derive their Appellation from a Castle called *Moskow*, and a River of the same Name, which runs into the *Occa* and the *Volga*; where, above two hundred Years ago, *John* the Son of *Daniel* built a Castle, as *Sigismund Herberstein* relates from their Annals; not from the *Moschi*, beyond the *Caspian* Sea, bordering upon the *Colchians*, mentioned by *Strabo*, and whom *Plutarch* records to have been subdued by *Cneius Pompeius*. In these Regions, the *Russians*, sprung perhaps with a small Variation of the Name from the *Roxolamians*, established their Power: Their Princes refer their Pedigree to the *Varagi*, a transmarine Nation, as their

A. D. Annals testify, and fixed their Seat first at *Novogrod*, then at *Kiow*, and 1558. lastly at *Wlodimir*, before it was removed to *Moskow*. *Rurick* a Man of that Nation, having succeeded in a War against the *Bulgarians*, was so taken with the Pleasantness of the Country, that he set up his abode there; whilst his Children, which he had left at home, were in the mean while driven from *Novogrod* by one *Wlodimir* a Slave, the Son of a Maid-servant, with whom he had intrusted the Custody of the City. From Him They derive their Race, who afterwards bore Sway in that Empire, divided into twelve Principalities according to the Number of *Wlodimir's* Sons; *Jatopolck*, *Rurick's* Son, and his Posterity in vain endeavouring to recover their Hereditary Kingdom. In Process of time, they were seasoned in the Christian Faith by the means of a Match no less fortunate than honourable, which *Wlodimir* their Prince, who had fixed his Seat at *Kiow*, contracted in the Year of CHRIST 990. with *Ann* the Daughter of *Basilius Porphyrogenitus* and Sister of the Emperor *Constantin*; from whence they preserve even to this day the Rites of the *Greek Church*. Thus the *Russian*, and after them the *Polish* Annals relate the Fact; tho' the *Byzantine* History is altogether silent about it; insomuch that one cannot help wondering, how a matter so memorable should have been passed over in Silence by those foolish and giddy Writers, who have otherwise recorded many things, agreeable enough with the Accounts given by Us of the *Russians*. For *John Zonaras* writes, that *Nicephorus Phocas* desired the Prince of *Bulgaria* to deny Passage through his Territories to the *Hungarians* and *Turks*, who were making an Irruption into *Thrace*; and that, when the *Bulgarian* alledged his Weakness and Alliance in excuse, by the means of *Calocyus* Son to the Prince of the *Chersonesus Taurica* he solicited a Dynast of the *Rossians* to make war upon *Bulgaria*: That accordingly *Sphendostable* (so he calls the *Rossian*) gathering a vast Army entered the Country, and ravaging it far and wide returned with innumerable Spoils. At length, upon the Death of *Nicephorus*, the same *Zonaras* says, that, in the time of *John Zimiska*, the *Rossians*, having subdued the Nation and Province of the *Bulgarians*, resolved, together with their Leaders *Borises* and *Romani*, forgetting their own Country, to fix the Seat of their Empire there; through the Impulse of *Calocyus*; who, if he might be saluted by them in quality of *Roman* Emperor, promised to resign to them *Bulgaria* and to make a perpetual League with them: But that *Zimiska*, when They had not only refused the honourable Terms proposed by him, but had unworthily abused his Embassadors, undertook a War against the *Rossians*; and that, the *Tauroscythians* being terrified with his Approach, *Calocyus* fled for Refuge to the *Rossians*: Lastly, that in a Battle joined at *Drister* upon a Bank of the *Danube*, the *Rossians* were routed, and *Drister* thereupon besieged by *John* for a long time; and at length the *Rossians*, labouring under an universal Scarcity, through the Advice and Influence of *Sphendostable* tried the Chance of another Battle; which after a long and doubtful Dispute ended in their Defeat: That afterwards *John* agreed with *Sphendostable* upon these Conditions; That leaving

leaving *Bulgaria* he should return home; but that He and all the *A. D.* *Rossians*, being waylaid by the *Pazimace*, were entirely cut off in their 1558. Return. These things says *Zonaras*; which wonderfully tally with what the *Russian* Annals relate of *Rurick's* Expedition, and coincide with the second Year of *Zimiska's* Reign, that is, the Year of CHRIST 972. At this time *Basilius Scamandreus*, after the Patriarch *Theophylact* Son of *Romanus Lecapenus*, presided over the Church of *Constantinople*; by whom also, the *Russian* Annals say, that the *Russian* Race was brought over to the Christian Religion. Afterwards *Andrew* Duke of *Susdal*, a Descendant of *Wlodimir*, making a League with eleven of his Kinsmen, and deposing *Micislaus*, who held *Kiow*, first translated the Seat to *Wlodimir*, and established the Empire in the House of *Susdal*. Although he exercised no sort of Sovereignty over the other Generals his Cousins, yet, assuming the Title of *Grand Duke*, he had obtained this Point likewise, that they should pay a civil Respect to His Majesty. But when the *Tartars*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, making an Inroad into *Russia*, on the 17th day of *May* in the Year of CHRIST 1224, and of the World (according to the *Russian* way of Calculation) 6732, had given a remarkable Defeat to *Cottianus* Duke of the *Poloscians*, and *Micislaus*, *Roman's* Son, Duke of *Siernaw*, and many other Auxiliaries; and again, thirty years after, under the Conduct of *Battis*, subduing the *Rosanian* and *Wlodimirian* and almost all the other Commanders, had reduced all *Russia* to a tributary Subjection; from that time, the Great Dukes, which used to be taken out of the House of *Susdal*, began to be fetched from the *Tartars*. At length, in the Year 1304, upon the Death of *Andrew*, *Alexander's* Son, when *Michael*, *Jaroslaus's* Son, Duke of *Tweren*, and *George*, *Daniel's* Son, Duke of *Moskow* held a Contention for the Great Principality of *Wlodimir*, and each demanded it of the *Tartar*; at first Sentence was given for *Michael*: But, after some space of time, *George* obtained it, to the Exclusion of *Michael*, in the Year 6825, according to the *Greek* Account. This Person removed the Imperial Seat to *Moskow*, and left the Great Principality to his Posterity, notwithstanding the Opposition made at first by the whole Body of *Russians*, who contended, that this Honour ought to have been restored by the Prince of *Tartary* to the *Susdalian* Family. From This *George* sprung *John*, *Daniel's* Son (if he be not the same Person), who first built the Castle of *Moskow*; to whom another *John*, and, to *John*, *Demetrius*, and, to *Demetrius*, *Basilius*, who married the Daughter of *Witolen* Duke of *Lithuania*, succeeded orderly in a Right Line. *Basilowitz* the Son of this *Basilius*, by the means of a Conspiracy formed between *Demetrius Siemach*, his Brother *George's* Son, Duke of *Sewierski*, *John Andrew's* Son, Duke of *Mosaisk*, and *Borissus*, *Alexander's* Son, Duke of *Tweren* was dethroned, and deprived of his Eyes; but afterwards, through the Assistance of the *Novogrodians*, he recovered the Crown, and enjoyed it peaceably to his Death. To him succeeded his Son *John*, who first stiled himself *Prince of Universal Prussia*, by reason of which he obtained the Name of *The Great*. Under pretence of revenging his Father's Injury he dispossessed the Duke of *Tweren*, out

A. D. of whose Family he had taken a Wife, of his Principality; and not long
 1558. after by a deceitful Surprise made himself master of *Great Novograd*:
 Then taking advantage of the Quarrels, which happened amongst the
 Princes of *Russia*, he reduced most of them to Obedience; and at
 length shook off the Yoke of the *Tartars*, from whom his Ancestors
 had used to derive their Right and Inauguration; persuaded thereto by
Sophia, an high-spirited Lady of the Race of the *Palæologi*, whom, after
 the Death of his former Wife of the House of *Tweren*, he had married.
 He was generally victorious and fortunate; if you except the Blow
 received a little before his Death in *Livonia* and at *Pleskow*, which he
 repaired by a Truce of fifty Years. *Basilowitz*, his Son, with the
 same good Fortune, in our Age, annexed to the Empire the Princi-
 pality of *Smolensko* and whatever else remained of the Duchy of *Se-
 wierski*, assaulted the People of *Casan* by Land and Sea, and stripping
 all his Relations of the Share which they still held of the Realm, reduced
 the City of *Pleskow* to Servitude, and lastly assumed the Title of *Czar*,
 which in the *Sclavonian* Language signifies King, whereas his Predecessors
 had only called themselves *Kneezes*. *John* his Son succeeded upon his
 Death in the 25th Year of this Century; who in the Propagation of
 his Empire added to the Arts of his Ancestors Cunning, Industry and
 severe Discipline; insomuch that he not only retained what he had re-
 ceived from Them, but enriched his Patrimony with considerable
 Accessions; for by using a new Method of making War, unknown
 to those People, he subdued the Kingdoms of *Casan* and *Astracan*,
 which his Father had with a mighty Force in vain attempted. Almost
 the whole *Caspian* Sea being reduced to his Obedience, he extended his
 Empire as far as *Persia*; performing many other famous Actions, tho'
 not without the stain of Cruelty, as we shall relate in the Sequel.
 The *Moscovites* moreover are employed in continual Wars against the
Precopensian, *Crim* and *Nogayski Tartars* and the *Turks*; which when
 they have finished, they usually turn their Arms upon the *Lithuanians*
 and *Livonians*. Their Prince can well maintain a numerous Army for
 a long time, as he gives his Soldiers no Pay, but, by letting out Lands
 under a small Rent, engages them to Military Service by their Tenure.
 In this manner the Levies are made. The enlisted Soldiers appear
 every one before the Prince, and give him a piece of Money, called
 in their Language a *Dung*, worth about a *Polish* Gilder, which at their
 return from the War they again demand of him: And thus the Prince
 knows for a certainty the exact number of the Slain and Dead, be-
 cause he retains the Money of such as are wanting. Besides these, he
 raises Troops out of the poorer sort in every Province, and, under the
 pretence of Wars, makes a List every year of such Persons; who serve
 for very small Wages. But he uses greater Severity towards the Lords
 and Gentlemen; for whosoever is sent for to Court, or commanded into
 the Army, or to a distant Embassy, must defray his own Expences:
 But when any one receives a Letter under the Prince's Seal; whether
 the Messenger finds him dining, or supping or even sleeping; without
 making the least delay, he calls for his Arms in the Messenger's Sight,
 and

and mounting his Horse sets forwards with his Squire: Such as dis-
 obey are immediately put to Death with horrid Torments. No Prince
 is more cruel in the Punishments, which he inflicts upon his Subjects:
 None experiences greater Fidelity and Affection from them; not even
 They, who use their People with more Humanity and Indulgence.
 The reason of which when I was enquiring, the Neighbours, besides
 the Severity of the Punishments, gave this account of it: First, that
 they detest as Barbarians all such as differ from them in Religion, even
 Those of the *Roman* Persuasion, which We profess: Accordingly the
 Prince (who encourages his Subjects in that Opinion by his Example),
 as often as he admits Foreign Embassadors to a Conference, has some
 Water ready in a Basen; with which, when the Embassadors are dis-
 missed, he washes his hands, as polluted with the Contagion of their
 Company. To this may be added, that the *Moscovites*, by the Prin-
 ciples of their Religion, think they owe the same Homage to their
 Prince, as they pay to Almighty GOD: So that they no less com-
 mend the Constancy of Those, who to the last have served their Prince
 (as thinking them to be immediately snatch'd up to Heaven upon
 the dissolution of Soul and Body), than they do the Constancy of such
 Disciples of CHRIST (see the Madness of the Men!) as have perse-
 ver'd to the very End of their Life in a singular Faith and Piety towards
 the Saviour of all Men. This Opinion the Princes nourish by the
 strictness of their Government; not suffering their People to hold any
 Commerce with Foreigners, nor to travel into Foreign Countries, ex-
 cepting such as they employ in Embassies; to whom nevertheless they
 assign Keepers, without whose presence they are not at liberty to dis-
 course with any one. Hence it is, that not being acquainted with
 the Gentleness of other Sovereigns, nor with the sweet Taste of Liberty,
 they prefer their present Circumstances to better, and what they know
 to Uncertainties: Besides that the Czars use this Caution, that whom-
 soever they send abroad in Embassies or into the Wars, or prefer to
 any Post, they keep with them the dearest Pledges of such Persons, as
 their Wives, and Children, in the place of Hostages; whom they tor-
 ture with the most exquisite Pains, if the Parties commit any Offence,
 and don't punctually conform themselves to Their Will and Pleasure.
 Thus every brave Man, the fonder of Liberty and the more im-
 patient of Injury that he is, is held to his Duty, either by Religion,
 the Fear of Punishment, or the Danger of his Relations.

John therefore, when he saw the Truce, made by his Father after
 those terrible Defeats already mentioned, would expire in the 50th
 Year of this Century; and understood, that the old Quarrels were
 breaking out afresh between the Archbishop of *Riga* and the Master of
 the *Livonian* Order; looking upon this as an Opportunity not to be
 neglected for enlarging his Territories, had from that time been pre-
 paring the Necessaries for a War. But by the Ingenuity and Industry
 of *Jodocus Rek* (created Bishop of *Derpt* by *John Rek* Master of the
 Order), who was nearest to the Danger, a Truce was obtained of the
 Czar

A. D. Czar for five Years upon These Terms: That the ruined Churches of 1558. the *Moscovites* at *Riga*, *Revel* and *Derpt* should be rebuilt, and the Tribute usually paid (thus he expressed it) out of the Province of *Derpt*, should for the future be paid without Fraud, and Satisfaction given upon all other Complaints. All which if faithfully observed, the Czar, at the End of the Truce for five Years, promised a Peace of fifteen Years. At the Expiration therefore of this Truce, Embassadors were again sent by the Master of the Order and *Herman* Bishop of *Derpt*, to treat with the Czar for prolonging it. But when the Czar at first refused, because (as he said) the *Germans* had not stood by the Covenants, as not having either rebuilt the demolished Churches, or paid the stipulated Tribute; at length a Truce for three years was granted upon the same Conditions: A Tax of one Mark was set besides upon every Head in the Diocese of *Derpt*, excepting the Catholic Priests, whom that cunning Prince, in order to feed the Domestick Dissensions of the *Livonians*, had exempted from that Burthen. These Articles were ratified by the *Livonians* in the presence of his Embassadors, by the Solemnity of an Oath and the Ceremony of kissing the Cross, but still were not observed. The three Years therefore being elapsed, the Czar denounces War against the *Livonians*, sending a formal Declaration, wherein he reproached the Master of the Order, the Archbishop of *Riga*, the Bishop of *Derpt* and the other Prelates and all the *Livonians* in general with the Violation of Treaties: "That it had been provided (for example), that they should restore
 " and make good whatever they had unjustly done towards Him and
 " His; allow the *Moscovite* Merchants a free Trade, and make Ex-
 " changes of all sorts of Merchandize, as Wax, Tallow, Coats of
 " Mail, and Arms: That the Bishop of *Derpt* should raise the Tribute
 " due for all the past Years from his Diocese; take care that the *German*
 " Mark, assessed upon every Head, should in the third Year of the
 " Peace be sent to the Czar, and be duly paid every year for the
 " future without Delay: That they should afford free Access to all
 " People from whatsoever Nation, who might travel towards *Moscow*,
 " either to offer their Service to the Czar, or for any other Cause: That
 " they should in no wise send any Succours or Assistance to the King
 " of *Poland*, or the Duke of *Lithuania*, or their Successors. Since then
 " they had violated these Conditions so often corroborated by an Oath,
 " the Kiss of the Cross, extended Right-hands, and Instruments under
 " the Seal of each Nation, he was forced to take Arms, to revenge the
 " Injury done to God and himself; after frequent and vain Admonitions
 " on His part, that they would not give cause to the Effusion of inno-
 " cent Blood, which as became a Christian Prince he above all Men ab-
 " hor'd: That he hoped, since this Fault could not be imputed to Him,
 " but to Those who had broken the Faith, God would undoubtedly
 " inflict the Punishment upon the Authors of the Calamity." This Declaration, dated in the Month of *November*, in the Year (according to their way of numbering) 1567, being received by the *Livonians*,
 alarm'd

alarmed them, as one may well imagine, to an exceeding degree. For *A. D.* when upon the close of the Truce *William of Furstembourg*, the Master 1558. of the Order, retained in his Service six Ensigns of *Germans*, which he had used against the King of *Poland*; by his Embassadors sent into *Moscovy*, to demand the Czar's Resolution concerning the Enlargement of the Truce, he had received This Answer; "That if he desired a Peace, he should disband his Soldiers; for the *Moscovites* would not appear to be forced into a Peace." This being debated in Council by the *Livonians*, they differed in Opinion; for whilst the greater part thought, that the Troops ought not only to be kept on foot, but augmented; others, amongst whom was *Furstembourg*, declared for disbanding them, that no handle might be given to the Czar for making War: That, if Then the Czar gave any trouble, there was still Force and Courage enough left to baffle his Attempts. Which Opinion being embraced by the Protestants, who composed the Majority, they resolved upon a splendid Embassy. The Chief Embassadors were *Elard Cruisen* and *Nicolas Franck*, who arrived with great Pomp, and were entertained with greater. The Czar, in a Hall magnificently adorned, sat in a golden Throne, bearing his Crown and Scepter, and dressed in a Priestly Gown. At his Left hand, near a gilded Table, twelve Kneezes or Chief Counsellors clothed in Habits of Gold, like Levites, stood, as they were ordered, before two Interpreters well versed in both Languages the *German* and Vernacular. By these the Czar haughtily asked the Embassadors, if they desired Peace: Upon their answering, that they were come on purpose to treat of a Peace, and offering some gilt Cups as a Present from the Master of the *Livonian* Order and the Bishop of *Derpt*; he forthwith ordered the Cups to be carried into an adjoining Dining-room: Then, reproaching the *Livonians* to the face with their Perfidy, in having so often violated the Articles, and never observed the least tittle of any thing that they had religiously promised, and confirmed with their Seals; he took notice of the Religion, Faith and Valour of their Ancestors, and artfully shewed how far they had degenerated from Their Piety and Virtue, in the most exaggerating Terms; for instance, that they had abolished the received Worship, overturned Temples, prophaned and spoiled Monasteries and Nunneries; in short, that they were not Ecclesiastical Princes, but more cruel than the wildest Barbarians, and consequently unworthy to have Peace granted to them. To these things the *Livonians* replied, that having diligently turned over the Records of their Ancestors, and examined their Account-books, they could not find, that any Tribute was due to the Czar: That they would complain to the Emperor, under whose Protection they stood, of his refusing a Peace. At the Emperor's Name the Czar laughed, as knowing that his Aids would come too late. However, taking his advantage from hence, he again reproached them with Impiety, telling them, that they would in vain implore the favour and assistance of the Emperor, when they had so impudently despised his Authority, by destroying and violating the Temples and injuriously treating the Priests. Nevertheless if they would pay forty

A. D. thousand *Joachimicks* for the Debts of former years, and every year 1558. afterwards a thousand *Hungaricks*, for the Diocese of *Derpt*, he was ready to give them Peace. But in a few days, as if he repented him of the Favour, he sends Messengers to the Embassadors, to demand the Sum assessed: Upon their saying, that they had not so much Money by them, but were ready to give Sureties for the Payment of it, and would not depart 'till it was actually paid down; the Czar, who wanted a Pretence, orders the Embassadors to be told, that, since he had been so often deluded, he would not any longer take the word of perfidious Men; they should therefore return home by the first opportunity; and he would soon follow them, and himself take from them the promised Sum. Thus the Embassadors were opprobriously dismissed; and, being misled by their Guides, did not reach their own Country 'till very near the end of *February*: Which was subtilly contrived by the Czar, that in the mean while he might fall upon the Enemy unadvised and unprepared: For presently mustering a vast Army, on the 9th day of *February*, before the Return of the Embassadors, he entered the Territories of *Derpt*, and meeting with no Resistance, laid the Country waste with Fire and Sword, burnt the Granaries, put the Men to the sword, and killed the Flocks and Herds, which could not be driven off. Boys within ten years of Age were slain; Youths arrived at twenty were disposed of as Slaves to the *Tartars*: Such as exceeded twenty, were murdered without Mercy; the Villages in the mean while blazing all around, the Ruins smoaking, and the Woods resounding with the Skreams of Women and Children. The same Face and horrid Spectacle appeared on all sides, if you except *Derpt* and a few Castles, for the compass of more than sixteen Miles. But the chief Rage was vented upon the *Germans*; upon the taking of whom, they cut off the Arms of the Men, and the Breasts of the Women; sometimes they even hacked the Women in pieces, and, for a Terror, scattered the yet throbbing Members in the High-ways. Such as escaped the Fury fled in Crowds to *Derpt* with their Wives and Children; and, when the City was not large enough to hold them, above ten thousand took shelter in the Dikes of the City; where having long struggled, during a very hard Winter spent in the open Air, with Nakedness, Cold, Snow, and at last with Want, at length through the Sharpness of the Weather and Hunger the greatest part of them perished. Those, whom the Distempers and other Hardships had spared, the *Moscovites* arriving did not think fit to spare; but rushing into the Dike with Lances, Swords and Arrows, stabbed and pierced the unarmed Multitude; the Townsmen not daring to stir abroad, but containing themselves within the Intrenchments, and only thundering upon the Enemy with frequent Peels of Artillery. The *Moscovites*, repulsed, fell into the Territories of the Master of the Order through *Litlandia*, and ravaged it with the same Fury; that one would say, they were glutting a Revenge and Resentment of many years. At length fetching a Compass through the District of *Narva*, *Virlandt*, and part of the Diocese of *Riga*, they reduced every thing by

by Fire to a heap of deformed Ruins; and from thence, laden with *A.D.* Spoils and Booty, returned home. To compleat the Mischiefs already 1558. suffered, a new Alarm was taken from a vast Comet, which appeared about that time, drawing a long and terrible Tail of Fire after it. Which being looked upon as a Prefage of worse fortune, all the States of the Province met at *Wenden*, to consult of what was fit to be done. Here, their Minds burning with Revenge for the late Slaughter, the general Opinion at first was, that, an Army being sent into the Enemy's Country, the Damage and Desolation should be returned in kind, and the innocent Blood of their Countrymen revenged with equal Cruelty: Others, by a less honourable but safer Counsel for the present, voted for bearing the Injury, and, in order to avoid a worse Disaster, for buying a Peace of the greedy Enemy with a Sum of money; and This Resolution was confirmed by the common Suffrages: A Courier was then sent to the Czar by the Master of the Order, to desire a Truce of four Months, and free Access into *Moscow* for Embassadors to be sent thither to treat of Peace. With the Czar's Consent Embassadors were dispatched about the beginning of *May*. But as they were making this long Journey (for an hundred and fifty *German* miles are reckoned from *Derpt* to *Moskow*, the Seat of the Empire), an Accident happened, which destroyed their Hopes of a Pacification. In the *Livonian Narva*, over against the *Russian* Town of the same Name, there were three hundred Soldiers in Garrison with an hundred and fifty Horse, who kept diligent watch, that they might not be surprized by the Enemy, who was so near: These, when they saw an unusual Multitude of *Russians* in the neighbouring Town of *Narva*, either fearing an Invasion, or mad with wine, discharged two loaded Culverins upon the *Russians*: The Noise being heard, the adjoining Garrisons of the *Livonians*, supposing the Truce to be broken, after the Example of the Men of *Narva* got ready their Arms, and with Volleys of Artillery killed many of the Enemy; who making no opposition, that they might not break the Truce, presently sent the Czar word of what had passed. The Complaint was brought to *John*, at the same time that the *Livonian* Embassadors were introduced to him. He therefore, charging it as done with deliberation, and not imprudently and without the Privy of the Embassadors; and again upbraiding them with Perfidy and Defection from the received Worship (saying, that since their renouncing the Religion of their Ancestors the *Livonians* had likewise divested themselves of all Honour and Shame), dismissed the Embassadors without Effect; and, loading them with Reproaches, ordered them to return home, with the Money which they had brought: Immediately he draws out a prodigious Army, reported to consist of three hundred thousand Men, viz, four Bodies of *Russians*, two of *Tartars*, and the last of Pikemen and Musqueteers to the number of twelve thousand. All these, by reason of the Sovereigns Absence, were commanded by one *Peter* a famous Pyrate; who, because he had long cruised with seven large Gallies in the *Euxine* Sea, had been surnamed *Sisegalender*; tho' others call him *Zersigal*. With these Forces and a vast Train of good Artillery besides, he

A. D. he marches directly towards the *German Narva*; into which, on the 1558. eighth day after the beginning of the Siege, he orders artificial Fire-works to be thrown. These, meeting with Fewel in a Town built mostly of Timber, caught every part in a moment; and, setting fire to the Gates, opened an Entrance to the Assailants. The Townsmen fled into the Castle with the Auxiliaries; who, upon the failure of Victuals, capitulated upon these Terms; That they and the *German* Soldiers should have their Lives and Effects secured: Nevertheless, when the Castle was surrendered, they were stripped of all their Goods; the *Commendator* of the Order, who was Governour of the Place, in vain protesting against the violation of Faith. Such as remained in the Town were forced to take an Oath to the Czar. The Territory of *Narva* being wasted, the Army invaded the Diocese of *Derpt*, and encamped at *Nieubaus*, the Bishop's Castle, eighteen miles from *Derpt*. At the same place, about an hundred and twenty one years before, it was a constant Tradition amongst the *Livonians*, that the *Moscovites* had been overthrown with a prodigious Slaughter: For, when the Garrison of the Castle had been reduced to the last Distress, the Governour, imploring the Divine Assistance, drew his Bow, and, sending an Arrow into the Enemy's Camp, shot the Prince himself: With which Casualty the Soldiers being terrified, as with a Dart sent from Heaven, shamefully broke up the Siege with Loss. Whether this were a Truth or a Religious Fiction, I shall not say: Certain it is, that for the perpetual memory of the thing a Bow was preserved hung up in the Principal Church of the City. But this Siege had by no means such a Conclusion. For when the Townsmen and about nine regular Soldiers had sustained it near a Month, and no Relief appeared (for the *Livonian* Master lay incamped six miles off at *Kierap* Castle, where he had staid for twenty days together, not venturing to draw nearer); they at length surrendered upon the Terms of Life and Liberty for themselves and their Women: At the News whereof, the Master, unequal in numbers, retired into the Heart of the Province. Shortly after, upon the Flight of the Garrisons, *Wesenberg*, *Tolsbourg*, *Warnebeck*, *Newhaus* and *Ringen* lay exposed to the *Russians*: who advancing thirty Miles farther, and laying the adjacent Country waste, encamped six miles from *Derpt*; and, for the greater Terror, catching some *German* Men and Women, dismissed them with their Arms and Breasts cut off, that others might be admonished by their Example to submit, under pain of undergoing the like. The Bishop had taken into the City sixty Soldiers under a Captain of *Groeninghen*, to whom also out of an opinion of his Valour he had committed the Chief Command. But the Citizens within differed amongst themselves on the account of Religion; and the Bishop and Fellows of the Sacred College agreed but ill with the Consuls of the City, who were superior in Power. For These would have the Doors of the Church to be shut, and no Service to be performed therein but after the Rites used by the Protestants. They on the contrary, adhering tenaciously to the Piety of their Ancestors, detested the Counsels of the Others as pernicious, murmured loudly against

against the Senate's Resolution, and openly said, that, since the Change *A. D.* of Religion, all things had fallen into Ruin, and that the Miseries *1558.* suffered from the *Russians* were owing to no other Cause. At length, This method of Concord was set on foot; That, since their present Struggle was not concerning Faith, but for their Country, Altars and Families, every one should be at liberty to continue stedfastly in That Religion, which he thought true and salutary to himself: After which Agreement, they gave mutual Assurances, that they would fight for the Common Safety to the last Breath, and make no Capitulation with the Czar. On the 11th day of *July*, under Shelter of a Mist, the Enemies drew nearer to the City, and intrenched themselves at *Andrew's Gate*. There, as usual, several slight Skirmishes passed for four days together; and many *Russian* Horse were killed and wounded by the Artillery from the Place. Then the Ordnance was planted by the Enemy, and not directed at first against the Wall, but raised with the Mouths upwards; that the Balls, (which two stout Men could hardly lift from the Ground) falling with their Weight upon the Tops of the Houses, mostly built of Timber, might overwhelm the Women and Children with a sudden Crush. At length, on the 17th day of *July*, Mines were carried on towards *Andrew's Gate*, and the Walls battered with a violent and continual Cannonading. When the Women and Children, running about the Streets, filled every place with the most lamentable Cries; the Senate, fearing the Event, addressed the Bishop and the Fellows of the Church, and laid open the State of Affairs: "That they were unable to sustain the Siege, and ought not to wait, 'till they should be driven by Extremities to take Counsel from Necessity; That the Danger ought to be prevented in time, that so they might obtain better Conditions from the Enemy." When These refused, and charged the Senate with acting contrary to the Engagements; the Senate, which had drawn the Bishop, a Man of a more tractable Temper than the rest, into their Opinion, sends Deputies to the Enemy, in order to a Capitulation, and, upon Terms of Security for Life and Goods, promises Submission. The Czar's usual Demands were, that the Parties surrendering should renounce Obedience to the Pope and the *Roman* Empire; to which Terms when the Deputies declared the readiness of the Inhabitants to swear, the General of the *Russian* Army promised Peace. But the thing being noised about through the City, a prodigious Tumult and Sedition was raised by the Sacred College, and the Governour, who had sixty regular Soldiers at his Command; crying out, that they were betrayed by the Protestants, who, not content with having revolted from the Catholick Religion to Lutheranism, were now, with no less Impiety than Perfidy, revolting to the Czar: That for Their part, whatever should be the Event, they were ready to endure the worst Extremities, and would not do Any thing, from whence Posterity might accuse them of having preferred Life to the Religion of their Ancestors, the Liberty and Love of their Country. Although the Enemy rejoiced exceedingly at the News of this Quarrel; yet their Joy was checked a little by the Apprehension, lest, through the Desperateness

A. D. of One Party, the rest, tho' differing with them, might be driven by
 1558. the Fear of their own Danger to sustain the Siege. He remitted therefore
 that Condition, and declared to the Besieged, that he would force no
 body to renounce the Pope and the *Roman* Empire and to swear Allegiance
 to himself: That he was absolutely determined, with or without the
 Consent of the Townsmen, to gain the Place: That such as would not
 do Fealty to the Czar, should be allowed to pass securely through the
 midst of the whole *Russian* Army into *Germany*; such as were ready
 to be obedient, should have their Lives and Effects secured; but They,
 who refused either of these Terms, must expect certain Destruction:
 That the Gates should be forced open on the next day; 'till which
 time, they should consider what was fit to be done. At last, on the
 18th day of *July*, the Surrender was made, after a most obstinate Re-
 sistance on the part of *Groeninghen's* Soldiers, and the Ecclesiastical
 Fellows: And even after the Capitulation there followed a remarkable
 Contention about Religion: For two hundred Men of the Chief No-
 bility, and as many Women, chose to be deprived of their Country,
 rather than renounce the Pope and submit to the *Moscovite* Yoke. At
 their Departure, a most miserable Spectacle presented itself to view;
 when Relations were separated from one another, when the Husband was
 torn from his Wife, the Sister left her Brother, and Children were deserted
 by their Parents. The rest, who made little scruple of abjuring the
 Pope, whom they did not acknowledge; although in other Articles
 they could by no means agree with the *Moscovites*, yet chose to yield
 to Necessity, rather than abandon their Country. The *Tartars* saw all
 this with Regret, as having already devoured in their Hopes the Pillage
 of the Town: They were accordingly preparing to present their Bows
 against such of the *Livonians* as went out upon the Publick Faith; when,
 a hideous Yell being set up by the Women and the more helpless sort,
 the General caused the Trumpets to be sounded, and restrained the
 Fury of the *Tartars*. The wretched Exiles, being conducted through
 the midst of the Enemies, after escaping the Ambuscades laid for them
 in the Road by the *Tartars*, arrived safe at *Revel*; from whence some of
 them retired to *Lubeck*. *Herman de Wesel*, of the House of *Reck*, who was
 Bishop of the City, after remaining in Custody for some time in the
 Abby of *Palkenaw*, was at last carried away into *Russia*. Thus *Derpt*,
 a City antiently belonging to the *Russians*, and forcibly taken from
 them by *Volquin* Master of the Order, and made an Episcopal See in
 the Year of CHRIST 1230 by *Herman*, returned in the three hun-
 dred and twenty eighth Year after to the *Moscovite* Obedience. When
 one Party loaded the other with the Blame of this signal Disaster; that
 is, when the Priests and their Favourers threw the Cause of all those
 Calamities upon the Knights, and Those, who embraced the *Augustan*
 Confession; there were not wanting Others, who laid the Fault upon
 them Both; in that, breaking the Vows of Celibacy, they fell into a
 licentious Wantonness, and wallowed in Lust and Riot: That, when
 their own Revenues were insufficient, they devoured the poor People,
 vexed them with Services and Taxes, beat them with Clubs and
 Scourges, and never ceased to harraß them with all kinds of extra-
 vagant

vagant Oppression; and lastly did every thing to provoke the just A.D. Anger of GOD, who by slow Steps pursues his way to Vengeance. The 1558. other Cities of the Province, terrified with this Success, and distrusting their own Force, when they had no hopes of Succour from the Empire, were forced to implore the Aid of Foreign Princes. The People of *Revel*, against whom the Czar had lately denounced War in the most threatening Terms, together with the Nobility of the Diocese, sent Deputies to *Christian III.* King of *Denmark*, offering to put that City, with the Territories of *Harnlandt*, *Wirlandt* and *Esthonia*, under his Royal Protection and Sovereignty; and setting forth, that they were not only compelled by Necessity to do so, but were led to it by Motives of Piety and a grateful remembrance of the Benefits received from the *Danes*: For that *Revel* had been founded by *Waldemar II.* and the chief Privileges, enjoyed by the Nobility of *Esthonia* and *Wirlandt*, had been granted by Him. But this unambitious Prince, being now old and near his Death, excused himself by the Infirmities of Age, which disabled him from undertaking so weighty a Care; that he had no fondness for the Possessions of Others; and was not strong enough, as they imagined him to be, to defend a remote People from so powerful an Enemy. Presenting therefore the Deputies with some thousands of Crowns, a Quantity of Provision, and with Powder which they extremely wanted, he courteously dismissed them. In the mean time *De Mecklenbourg*, who had succeeded *William* Archbishop of *Riga*, encouraged by *Frederick Wolkersam*, musters his Troops with fresh Courage; and, entering the Diocese of *Derpt*, near the Village of *Torefer* defeats the *Russians*, and recovers the Castle of *Ringen*: But, by the immoderate foulness of that dismal Winter, his farther Advances were prevented; and shortly after the *Russians*, by a contrary Inroad into the Territories of *Riga*, when the Rivers were frozen, in the beginning of the next Year revenged the Affront.

At length *Charles*, the Father of *Philip*, worn out by Diseases, departed this Life on the 21st day of *September*, the Festival of *St. Matthew*; when, in the month of *February* preceeding, had died his Sister *Eleanor*, who had been married first to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, and then to *Francis I.* King of *France*. Before *Charles's* Death, on the 13th day of *August*, in the Evening, under *Berenice's Hair*, appeared a Comet (the Tail directed to *Spain*), which, bearing away by little and little to the East, on the 5th day of *September* disappeared. In this Prince, Fortune contended with Virtue, that it might crown his Merits with the highest Pitch of Felicity: Nor indeed do I think, that in This Age, or in the Records of past Ages, there can be found an Example of a Prince more perfect and formed to every good Quality, or more fit to be proposed as a Pattern for the Imitation of all Those, who aim at Empire by the way of Virtue. For what did he want to compleat his Commendation upon those Accounts, whether we consider his Sagacity and Prudence in Counsel, his Constancy in Adversity, Moderation in Prosperity, Presence of mind in Dangers, his Temperance, and, what compleats all the Virtues of a Prince, his Justice. His Life almost from his Childhood was serious, exercised in important Affairs and a Variety of Enterprises: And we may say

A. D. say without Flattery, that, ever after his Promotion to the Imperial
 1558. Dignity, Piety was the Principal Object of his Concern; and that most
 of the Actions, performed by him in Peace and War, are deducible
 from that Motive: His Care, for Example, that a lawful Council
 should be celebrated, in order to repair by that means the Breaches of
 the Church's Peace; which business, though obstructed, either by the
 insincere Conduct of the Popes, or by the unhappy Wars so often
 renewed with the *French*, was afterwards constantly resumed by him:
 So that no one ought to wonder, if the Counsels, Speeches and
 Actions of a Person, who had so holy an Intention, were enlighten'd
 by the immediate Assistance of the Deity; nor, when he behaved him-
 self in such a manner all his life, had his Eye for ever upon Piety and
 Justice, and left to his Son a Government supported by Ministers bred up
 under his own Example to the like Virtues; that the same Felicity, which
 he had experienced in Life, should be propagated by him in a Family so
 well instructed in the Lessons of Honour. The Emperor was however
 thought by many Persons to be a little too cautious, and more cunning
 than became his Station; and for that reason he is said to have been
 highly delighted with the History of *Lewis XI.* written by that politick
 Knight *Philip de Comines*; in which, as I cannot deny, but that many
 Precepts of Prudence are delivered, so it must be allowed, that more
 Examples of Disingenuity, little suitable to a Royal Character, are to be
 found in it. The Emperor is accordingly blamed for that Fox-like
 Passage through *France*, when he hastened to quell the Insurrection of
 the Citizens of *Ghent*; wherein he imposed upon *Anne de Montmorency*;
 who, deceived by the Emperor, involv'd *Francis* in the Deceit, and was
 banished for it to his own House; though This also had its Excuses.
 But the chief Objection is the close Imprisonment, which *Philip* Land-
 grave of *Hesse*, for five whole years together, contrary to Publick
 Faith, suffer'd under a Guard of insulting *Spaniards*, upon a Cavil
 founded on the Letter of his Safe-conduct: Which did not only re-
 flect Shame upon the Emperor (who in that matter made use of the
 Counsel of others, viz. the Duke of *Alva's* and *Granvel's*, not his own)
 but at last proved fatal; when *Maurice*, whom for the Establishment
 of his Authority in *Germany* he had employed as his principal Assistant,
 revolted for that cause from him, and snatched the Fruit of so many
 Years and Victories out of his hands; which Misfortune was followed
 by the unhappy Siege of *Metz*, and in the following year by the
 doubtful Battle of *Renty*. But these, like Moles inseparable from Human
 Frailty, are no very great Deformities in a Character so fair and
 worthy of immortal Praise. But, as every part of his Life was
 highly commendable, so he discovered his Magnanimity by nothing
 more, than by the Close of it; wherein, He, who had been ac-
 customed to conquer Others, overcame himself; and, having a better
 Life in view, renounced this frail one, before he died; and, as he
 had lived to the Common-wealth, began to live to himself and to
 GOD. Accordingly for two whole years before his Death, he enter'd
 into a Fraternity of the Monks of *St. Jerom*, and under the direction
 of one *Constantin* his Confessor, solaced himself chiefly in reading the
 Works

Works of Our Countryman St. Bernard, and, casting his whole Heart *A.D.* upon GOD, reasoned in this manner; "That He indeed was un-1558.
 " worthy to obtain the Kingdom of Heaven by his own Merits; but
 " his Lord GOD, who held it by a double Right, *viz.* by Inheritance
 " and the Merit of his Passion, was content with one Title, and gave
 " the Other to Him: That under His Gift he might justly lay claim
 " to it, and relying on these Hopes should not be confounded; for
 " that the Oil of Mercy could only be put into a Vessel of Faith, that
 " is, the Faith of a Man who renounces his own Strength and rests
 " in his Lord: That otherwise to rely upon one's own Merits, was
 " not of Faith, but of Infidelity: That Sins were remitted through
 " the Indulgence of GOD, and consequently we ought to believe, that
 " Sins cannot be blotted out and forgiven but by and through Him,
 " against whom alone we have sinned, and who is himself incapable
 " of Sin." Therefore, when to a lingering Decay an acute Fever was
 superadded, in that condition he fixed his Eyes and Thoughts intently
 upon a Crucifix, embracing and kissing it, and declaring, that he
 placed all his hopes of Salvation in CHRIST alone; and, when he
 had received the Sacrament, said, *Continue in Me, sweet Saviour, that I*
may continue in Thee. With which Words he fainted, and render'd his
 Soul to GOD, the Giver of it; after a most glorious Life of fifty eight
 Years, six Months, and twenty five days; and when he had ruled his
 Hereditary Dominions forty years, and the Empire thirty six. Ten
 years before, when he was at *Augsbourg*, after the Reduction of the
 German Princes as it were to Order, he had even then, from the Con-
 sideration of Mortality, made his Last Will; wherein he exhorted his
 absent Son to assume the Government, recommending to him the
 Care of Piety before all things; and since, for the Composure of Re-
 ligious Differences, after the Tryal of all other Remedies, none could
 be found so proper, as the holding of a Council; he gave Orders,
 that if he himself should die first, his Son should join with the Emperor
Ferdinand and other Christian Princes, that the laudable Work begun
 by Him might be happily compleated: That his Son should cultivate
 Peace, which GOD had so strongly recommended; nor ever enter into
 a War, but with difficulty, for the justest reasons, and out of necessity.
 Next he left Rules for his Son's behaviour towards the King of the
Romans and his Sons, the other Princes of the Empire, the *Germans* and
Swiss Cantons, the Most Serene Republick of *Venice*, the Dukes of
Florence, *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, the States of *Genoa* and *Siena*, the King
 of *France*, and lastly towards the Popes, who by reason of the *Prag-*
matick of Castille, and the controverted Rights in the Kingdom of
Naples and in *Sicily*, were to be regarded with an Eye of Jealousy and
 Suspicion; yet, that he should not regard their Manners, but bend
 his Mind to the Obedience of the Holy See; under which Ar-
 ticle he complained of *Paul* the III^d's want of Sincerity in procuring
 the Celebration of a Council. He then shewed, what it became him
 to do in the Case of the Duke of *Savoy* and his Son, that they might
 be restored to the antient Possession of their Dominions; that the League

A. D. should be preserved with the *English*, and a Friendship cultivated with 1558. the *Scots*; and that no expostulations should be used with the King of *Denmark* for the Injuries, committed by his Predecessor; that the *Indies* should be govern'd by honest Vice-roys, averse to all avarice and rapaciousness; and, as those Countries were remoter from the Sovereign, the greater Care should be employed in the Administration of them. Next, he treated concerning the Marriage of his Daughter; and persuaded *Philip* himself to marry either the *French* King's Daughter, or the Heiress of the House of *Albret*, a Virgin of established Health, extraordinary Accomplishment, born to Virtue and endued with noble Parts (such is the Character which he bestowed upon her); on condition, that his Rights should be adjusted: For This was the single Aim of that wise Prince, that at the same time the Family of *Albret* should have Satisfaction for the injurious seizure of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and That Portion of *Spain* might by an indissoluble Bond be united to the other Kingdoms; for which reason he desired to be Master of *Joan*, with the good liking of her Father *Henry*. Afterwards, as Death approached, he made a Codicil, which is repeated in the last Will of his Son *Philip*; wherein, after premising, that he thought *Navarre* to have been reduced by his Grandfather *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, for very just Causes; he nevertheless requests *Philip* to give Satisfaction to the Parties, from whom it had been taken; yet upon such Conditions, as (whether at that very time annexed for the purpose, or afterwards more subtilly than honestly interpreted away) were the cause, that the *Spaniards* have hitherto baffled the Hopes of recovering that Kingdom, conceived not only by our Kings, but by those, who had a more especial Interest in it. He left three Children by *Elizabeth* of *Portugal*, *Philip* the Heir of his Kingdoms, *Maria Augusta* the Wife of *Maximilian* II. her Cousin-German, and *Joan*, who was married to *John* Prince of *Portugal*, and bore a posthumous Son *Sebastian*, who succeeded his Grandfather in the Realm. Before Marriage he had privately begotten *Margaret*; who was married first to *Alexander di Medicis*, and then to *Ottavio Farnese* Duke of *Parma*: And, during his long Widowhood before his Death, he at last became the Father of *John* of *Austria* by a Woman of *Ratisbon*: In which Affair he used such extraordinary Modesty, that the Name of *Margaret's* Mother was unknown to All but his most intimate Confidants: And as for *John*, he never spoke of him, till within a few days of his Death, when by some Friends he recommended him to *Philip*. A memorable Instruction especially for Princes, whose way of Living sets an Example to the Subjects, that, if they offend at all, they should do it in secret! *Charles's* Death was soon followed, viz. on the 18th day of *October*, by That of his dearest Sister *Mary* of *Hungary*, who did not survive her Brother a whole Month: A Woman of primitive Manners and Gravity, and besides valiant far above her Sex. Although she had all her Life been a strict Punisher of Immodesty; yet by Our People (in revenge for the Inroads, frequently committed by the Imperialists, during her Government of the *Low-Countries*) she was falsely accused in scurrilous Pieces and Camp-Ballads,

Ballads, as if she entertained a Familiarity with *Barbanfon* a very handsome Person, and one still more eminent for Valour and Honour than *A. D. 1558.* for Beauty: On the contrary, such was her Aversion to That Crime, that she could never be persuaded by the Emperor to pardon a certain young Nobleman his Favourite, who had debauched one of her Maids of Honour; openly threatening, that, if ever she found him, even tho' in her Brother's Retinue, she would order him to be put to death. For a Father, so well deserving of his Son and the whole Christian Commonwealth, *Philip* caused Solemn Obsequies to be performed at *Brussels*; a Ship being framed with wonderful Art, under the Direction of *Hope* standing at the Prow, *Faith* sitting in a Throne at the Mast with a Cross in her hand, and *Charity* holding the Rudder; signifying by this Figure, what I have just said, that this excellent Prince had no other View in the tempestuous Sea of Human Life, nor his Labours any other Aim, than that he might by all possible means promote and magnify the Glory of GOD.

This Year was likewise famous for the Death of Learned Men: For, on the 21st day of *March*, *John Bugenhagen*, born at *Wollin* in *Pomerania*, and adorned with Moderation of Mind and singular Erudition, died at *Wittenberg*, in the seventy third year of his Age. On the 6th day after, with Us, died *John Ferniel* of *Amiens*, the King's Chief Physician, aged fifty two, and was buried in *Paris* at St. *James's* in the Market; who, after many years reputably employed in Philosophical and Mathematical Studies, at last dedicated himself wholly to Physick, which he both practised happily, and compleatly described in very learned and polite Writings; And although he was hinder'd by Death from publishing them All, even those extreamly wanted Books of his own particular Observations; yet by what he did publish he gained so much real Honour all over *Europe*, that the *Parisian* College of Physick will always justly boast of so considerable a Pupil of her Discipline. He was followed in the same year by *Janus Cornarus* of *Zuickaw*, a celebrated Physician too, who, by publishing many *Greek* Pieces of the antient Philosophers, Physicians and Divines, with *Latin* Versions, procured no inconsiderable Esteem amongst Studious Persons: He died in his own Country, on the 16th day of *March*, in the same year of his Age and of the Century. Before him, *James Micyllus* born at *Strasbourg* in the 3d Year of this Century, an intimate Friend of *Joa-chim Camerarius*, when he had long professed the Studies of Humanity at *Heidelberg* with Reputation, and illustrated them with various Writings, died in this year on the 28th day of *January*. A little after, *John Pena*, descended from a Family of the *Long Robe*, and born at *Aix*, departed this Life: He was distinguished by his Skill in the Mathematicks; a Love and Relish of which, whilst he taught in the *Prælean* College at *Paris*, he had instilled into *Peter Ramus*, by putting out several hitherto undiscovered Remains of *Euclid* with a *Latin* Translation and Notes; and especially the *Catoptricks*; in the Preface of which, he very learnedly demonstrates several Properties of the Cylindrical Glass, hardly credible, and which deceived many superstitious People: Whilst farther

A. D. farther things were expected from his admirable Genius; in the very 1558. Flower of his Age, being only thirty years old, he was snatched away by a violent Fever, on the 23d day of *August*, and was interred in the Porch of the *Carmelites* Church. In the same Month died at *Rome* in the sixty ninth year of his age, *Romulus Amaseo*, born at *Udine*, the native place of *Robortello* and *Luifino*, but originally of *Bologna*; in which City he for a long time with high Commendations professed the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages; and took a Wife of the House of *Guafta-villani*; for which reason being restored to his first Country by a Postliminary Right, he became intitled to the antient Priviledges and Immunities: Afterwards, under *Paul III.* he was employed in the Tuition of his Grandson *Alexander* the Cardinal, and even discharged some honourable Negotiations at the Courts of the Emperor, the other Princes of *Germany*, and the King of *Poland*; and, under *Julius III.* having buried his Wife, held the first Place amongst the Learned at that Court. He made good his Claim to those Honours by many publick Writings; and at his Death made it over, as it were by Hereditary Right, to his Son *Pompilio*. After this, on the 21st day of *October*, *Julius-Cæsar Scaliger*, in the 75th year of his age, died at *Agen*, where he had married a Wife: A Man, to whom Antiquity scarce had a Superior, and the present Age certainly never saw an Equal. For, to omit his noble Birth, upon which all men are agreed; in Parts, and Strength both of Mind and Body, he easily excelled all his Contemporaries: His earliest Youth was spent in a Course of Military Employments, with the highest reputation of Bravery and Diligence; and, tho' he applied himself late to Letters, yet through the Happinefs of his Genius he made such a vast Proficiency, that to the most exact Knowledge of every part of Philosophy he added the most perfect Skill in the Languages, particularly the *Greek* and *Latin*; and, in the practical Use of them, whether he wrote in Prose or in Verse, excelled in each kind: He inveighed with some bitterness against *Erasmus*, (for a cause perhaps just enough, but which ought not to have imbroiled Men of their Character) not only in That Speech, which is every where handed about, but in a Second, which is more rarely to be found; in which, penned with equal Sharpness, he professes himself the Author of the former. But He, who from his Race derived a Sense of real Honour, repented him afterwards of his Impetuosity; and, by a written Piece, expressed his Sorrow, that he had not been reconciled to so valuable a Man before his Death, whose prodigious Erudition, singular Piety, exquisite Judgment in Learning and upon all Learned Subjects, and in short whose God-like Abilities he above all Men admired. This Divine Person, to compare him with the Antients (amongst whom there is no single one, who can match him for Ingenuity and Valour), may without Vanity be equalled to *Xenophon* and *Masimissa*. By *Andiete de Rocques Lobeiac*, a Woman of Quality, whom at the age of thirteen years he married in his own advanced age, he had many Children; the last Survivor of whom at this day is *Joseph-Justus Scaliger*, who next to his Father holds the principal place at this

this time without Controversy in the Learned World; the real *Apollo* A. D. of Scholars, as a polite Writer calls him: But neither his own Modesty, 1558. nor the many Favours conferred by him upon Me, suffer me to say more concerning him; although I am under no Apprehensions of being thought to give him an untrue Character, since it will be universally allowed, that whatever I shall say of him must fall short of the Truth. Better, that contenting myself with a transient Mention of so great a Name, I should seal up the Veneration, which I bear to the divine Parts and rare Probity of my Friend, as we usually do upon sacred Occasions, in a Reverential Silence. I shall only add, that the Son had the same Sense, as his Father, of *Erasmus*, and of the Difference which I have just recited. The Sorrows of this Year were increased by the Death of *Lewis Lippomano*, Bishop, first of *Modon*, then of *Verona*, and lastly of *Bergamo*; a Man eminent for Integrity and Learning; who during the various Embassies, which he discharged with an extraordinary Character for Prudence, did not intermit the Love of Letters or the Diligence of Writing; having in the midst of these occupations finished a most laborious *Chain* upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and the *Psalms*. About the Close of this Year, *Andrew Tiraquel*, a Gentleman of *Fontenay* in *Poitou*, paid his last Debt; one adorned with a variety of general Learning, and particularly the most celebrated Lawyer of his Age; upon which account alone he was chosen into the Parliament of *Bordeaux* under *Francis I.* and into That of *Paris* by *Henry II.* where he maintain'd a good reputation to old age, equally fruitful in the Progeny of his Mind and Body, as presenting the Commonwealth every year with a Book and a Child; to the great Ornament not only of his Country at present, (which besides the *Tiraquels* has produced those rare Luminaries of Civil Law, Mathematicks and Polite Learning the *Imberts*, the *Brissons*, the *Viettes*, and the *Rapins*) but to the everlasting Honour of *France*; which by a kind Dispensation distributed what it received from *Monsieur de Fontenay*, throughout the whole Christian World, wheresoever the Light of Learning shone. Before all these, at *Toledo*, in the principal Church, of which he was Canon, died *John Vergara*, on the 21st day of *February*, in the sixty fifth Year of his Age; who about thirteen years before, in the very same Month, had buried his Brother *Francis*, an excellent Scholar in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues: Each of them had done admirable Service in the *Complutensian* Edition of the Bible together with *Ferdinand de Valladolid* and *Anthony de Nebrija*.

The State of *Scotland* this Year was such, that there rather seemed to be no Peace, than actually a War; the Force of each Party being employed in driving off Cattle and burning Villages. Yet in some, not unbloody, Skirmishes that happened, two young Noblemen were carried off Prisoners by the *English*, viz. *William Keith* the Marshall's Son, and *Patrick* the Head of the *Scottish* House of *Gray*. At the same time the *English* sent a Fleet under Sir *John Clare* to infest the Coasts of *Scotland*; which landed in the Isles of *Orkney*, and burnt *Cracoviack*, the Bishop's Seat in *Maynland* the biggest of those Islands, and the only walled

A. D. Town in that part of the Country. But Vengeance soon overtook them: For a violent Storm suddenly rising forced the Ships from their Anchors, before the Parry, which had landed, could get on board: So that the Fleet, after struggling with the Flats and Winds, sailed back towards *England*; and they, who tarried behind, were all cut to pieces by the Inhabitants.

In this Year too, the Business of Religion was rather agitated, than explicitly determined. For whilst the Clergy by the Punishment of several Persons, as of *Walter Mill* (who was condemned upon the Information of *Alexander Sommerville* and executed), and by the cruel usage of *Paul Mefan* (whom they put under an Interdict), sought to uphold their Authority and restrain the Populace; others, who differed from them, used licentious Expressions, and such as tended to Sedition against the Clergy: As it happened in a solemn Procession performed at *Edinburgh* on the 1st of *September*, a Day dedicated to *St. Giles*; on which, *St. Giles's* Coffin was taken by Force from off the Shoulders of the Bearers, and thrown into the Mud. By which Action although they perceived their antient Power to be declining, yet, just as if their Dignity was still armed with all its Force, they summoned an Assembly to meet at *Edinburgh* on the 8th day of *November*; intending to try, if by feigning a Confidence they could not find out some Remedy for the deplorable State of their Affairs. On the contrary, such as favoured the Protestants, and amongst these some Gentlemen of *Fife* and *Angus*, and also a good number of Substantial Citizens, going about through all the Lordships of the Kingdom, exhorted the People to embrace what they called the Purer Promulgation of the Divine Law; and not to suffer themselves and their Friends, Partakers of the same Communion, to be ruined by a few impotent Persons: That if the Adversary would act in a Legal way, they should be superior; if by Force, they should not be unequal. To such as were of this Mind, they offered Instruments drawn up for the purpose and subscribed: These were the first, who assumed the Name of *The Congregation*. Next, a Draught was made of Demands from the Allies of the *Congregation*; for the conveyance whereof to the Queen they pitched upon *James Sandelands* of *Calder* an elderly Knight; who repairing to her, after excusing the Deputation by Necessity (for that otherwise there would not be so much as the Face of a Church left, nor any way to restrain the Populace from Sedition) amongst other things requested; That, in the Publick Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, the Ministers of the Church might use the Vulgar Tongue, which the People could understand; and that the Election of the Ministers themselves should be lodged, according to the antient Custom of the Church, in the People. There, after considerable Debates, the Regent, tho' she cherished the Cause of the Papists, and promised them, upon all seasonable occasions, her best Assistance; yet, thinking it necessary to yield somewhat to the Times, for fear of an Insurrection, ordered the opposite Faction to say Prayers, give the Sacraments, and do their other Offices, in the Language of the Country. The

same

same Demands were presented by the Nobility to the Divines, who *A. D.* were at *Edinburgh*: To which, on the Head of Elections, this 1558: Answer was given: That they ought to stand by the Decrees of the Canon Law and the Council of *Trent*. When These therefore shewed an Abhorrence of the Protestants, *John Areskine* of *Dun*, a Man of Learning, was sent to pacify them in some Measure; who, by the common Piety which they owed to God, and the Charity due to Men, besought them, that at least they would not take it ill, if, when the People met together at Prayers, God, according to his own Command, were worshipped in the National Tongue. The Divines, remitting nothing of their accustomed Severity, rejected this Proposal; and the Regent, either by their Persuasions, or that, upon gaining the Decree of the Matrimonial Crown, she seemed to have assumed a new Temper of Mind, did the same; all that former Courtesy, so acceptable to every Body, degenerating into an imperious and universally hated Arrogance; which proved either the real or pretended Cause of a violent Storm, that broke out in the following Year One thousand *A. D.* five hundred and fifty nine: For when a Convention of the States had 1559: been summoned by Proclamation to meet at *Sterling*, on the 12th Day of *May*, several of the Nobility were sent to it; that, out of Respect to their honourable Names, the Petition might be more easily obtained; viz. *Alexander Cunningham* Earl of *Glencairn*, and *Hugh Campbell* a Knight of Distinction. There, when the Regent declared her Resolution to recover the Royal Honour which had been impaired by the Licentiousness of former Times, and was forward to threaten those, who rebelled under Colour of Religion, openly bragging that she would banish the Preachers; and they on the contrary, in a suppliant Posture, besought her to remember her Promises; she at last subjoined, that the Performance of Promises ought to be required of Princes, only so far as it suited their Conveniency: Whereupon the Deputies replied; "Then we disclaim all Obligations and Allegiance to you; and it is Your Business to consider what a Train of ill Consequences this will draw after it". Struck with this bold and confident Answer, she said she would think of it; and the first Fury of her Passion seemed a little to have cooled; when News arrived, that the *Pertbians* had publickly received the Protestant Worship: Flying hereupon into a violent Passion, and particularly against *Patrick Ruthven*, the Governour of the Town, to satisfy her Anger in some Degree, she orders *James Halyburton*, Governour of *Dundee*, to apprehend and bring before her *Mefan*, who had gained a secure Refuge in that Town: For the rest, she writes to the Assembly, that they should celebrate the ensuing Festival of *Easter-Day* in the usual Manner: Which having been universally disobeyed, she commands all the Ministers to appear to a Process at *Sterling*, on the 10th Day of *May*: When a larger Company, than she expected, had flocked thither, not only of Ministers, but of those who patronized their Cause; the Regent fearing, lest she might be over-powered by the Multitude, treats with *Areskine* of *Dun*, who had a vast Influence over them, that he would send home the unnecessary Rabble; promising, that no harsh Sentence

A. D. Sentence should pass upon them in their Absence. But when the Laird 1559. of *Dun* saw, that, notwithstanding this, such as did not appear to the Citation, were against all Faith out-lawed as contumacious; he withdrew himself, and hastened to the Lords, who as yet were at *Perth*; shewing them what they ought to expect from the Regent's Honour, and implacable Hatred against the Protestants; when she paid no Regard to common Honesty, and measured her Obligations by the present Conveniency. A Resolution was then taken among them, since the Thing could not any longer be transacted by false Colours, to prepare Force against Force. When the Commonalty and the Nobles were already of themselves incensed, *John Knox*, by an elegant and vehement Harangue, set them all in a Flame: After which, when the Nobles had retired to Dinner, and the Rabble continued furious in the Church, a Quarrel was designedly raised between the Priest, who was going to say Mass, and a young Man; upon which occasion, the Multitude in a violent manner insulted the Priest, and, flying upon the Images and Altars, broke them all to pieces in a moment. In the heat of their Fury they ran to the Franciscan and Dominican Monasteries; and, the Statues and Altars being demolished, the poorer sort fell to pillaging, and carried off a very rich Booty. The Carthusian Monastery was likewise plundered by the meanest of the People; in which, the regular Troops, though they kept their hands from the Spoil, made amends by their Eagerness in demolishing those large Buildings, and carrying off the Rubbish; insomuch, that within two Days there hardly appeared the marks of the very Foundations. With this Fact the Regent, as may well be thought, being inflamed, could not forbear solemnly Swearing, that she would revenge that horrid Villany by the Blood of the Citizens, and the Burning of the Town; and so much the rather, as the Example of the *Perthians* began to infect the other Towns, and the Inhabitants of *Couper* in *Fife* had broken the Images in their Churches. Having raised Troops therefore, by the means of *Hamilton*, and the Earls of *Argile* and *Arhol*, she resolved to advance to *Perth*, though by slow Marches in expectation of the brass Cannon. They, who were at *Perth*, writ to their Friends, setting forth the Danger of Religion and publick Safety, if Succours were not sent in time. As these bestirred themselves with incredible Zeal, so none were so forward as *Alexander Cunningham*; who immediately collected two Thousand five Hundred, part Horse and part Foot; and, marching through By-ways, Nights and Days together, avoided the Regent's Camp, and arrived safe at *Perth*. The Regent, when she saw the contrary Faction too strong to be crushed by Force, (as being assured by Spies, that above seven thousand stout Men were in the Protestant Camp) sends to them *James Stewart*, and *Gillespick Campbel*; who, though Favourers of the Protestants, yet, out of an Opinion that the Differences would be better settled amicably than by War, had remained with the Regent. These treated with *Cunningham* and *Areskine*, and agreed upon the following Terms; That, the Forces being disbanded on both Sides, the Town should be open to the Regent, 'till she and her

Retinue,

Retinue should by a few days Rest have recovered from the Fatigue contracted by so long a March; that none of the Townsmen should receive any Damage or Molestation; that no *Frenchman* should enter the Town, nor approach nearer than three thousand Paces; and that the rest of the Disputes should be referred to the next Assembly of the States. Thus, the Tumult being ended without Blood-shed, the Regent made her Entry into the Town, and was honourably received. But when, through the Insolence of a Soldier, the Son of a substantial Citizen had been killed, and at the sight of the Dead Body the Regent shewed no Tokens of Indignation; from thence most people conjectured, that the Stipulations would not be long observed; and the Event confirmed the Truth of this Persuasion: For, in three days after, she turned every thing upside down, spoiling some and banishing others, changing the Magistrates at pleasure, imposing a Garrison of Mercenary *Scots*, and restoring the Priests in the first place; and from thence she departed towards *Sterling*. Flattering herself with the convenient Situation of the Place, she seemed little to regard the Observance of her Word: For *Perth* standing in the Center of the Kingdom, and encompassed only with Walls, was full of warlike Citizens, averse to the received Religion: In other respects, it was commodiously situated for the Conveyance of Forces both by Land and Sea, the Tide coming up to it, by the River *Tay* which washes the City, and opening a Door to Foreign Commerce. Besides, it is the only Town, which from the very utmost Borders of the Realm is on all sides inaccessible by Land. For, to the other Towns, the Ways are interrupted by long Creeks and Branches of the Sea, over which the Passage is necessarily very slow; because there is no where a sufficient number of Vessels, to convey a large Body of Men all at once; but it often happens, that by contrary Winds or the violence of Storms, Passengers are kept back for many days together. For these reasons the Queen was desirous of possessing the Place by her own Troops: From whence however she did not reap so much Benefit, as she gained Ill will by the perfidious Breach of the Truce; and from that day she entirely lost the Affections of the Nation and fell into universal Hatred and Contempt: For *James Stewart* and the Earl of *Argyle*, who had hitherto continued with her, thinking their own Honour to be blemished, because the Truce had been made by their Advice; immediately deserting the Regent, joined the opposite Faction. Upon their Information, that the Regent designed with the *French* Forces to seize *Corupier* and *St. Andrew's*, whereby the Churches in *Fife* would be exposed to imminent Danger; the Allies resumed their former Purposes, and making their first Attack upon *Carail*, a Town standing in the most distant Corner of *Fife*, overturned the Altars and Images: Then advancing to *St. Andrew's*, after plundering the other Churches, they demolished likewise the *Franciscan* and *Dominican* Monasteries, in the very sight of the Archbishop; who, tho' attended with a good Body of Horse, when he saw the Zeal and the Concourse of the Populace, retired, without daring to shew the least Displeasure, to his Friends in *Falkland*. The Regent, hearing of this, and transported

A.D. beyond the Bounds of Patience, without farther Deliberation musters
 1559. the *French* Troops in all haste, and proclaims her Resolution to march
 early the next morning by Sound of Trumpet to *Cowper*. In her Camp
 were two thousand *French* under *Henry Clutin d' Oisel*, and a thousand
Scots commanded by *James Hamilton*, the late Governour, but now
 stiled Duke de *Chastel-Erault* in *Poitou*. The Protestants, informed
 of the Regent's Intention, had already come first to *Cowper*: Advancing
 from thence the next morning with their Troops, which at *Dundee* were
 joined by a thousand others, and afterwards by *Patrick Lermouth* Gover-
 nour of *St. Andrew's* with five hundred armed Citizens, they surrounded
Oisel's and *Hamilton's* Men, parted only by a small River; opening a
 wide Front, and leaving behind them the Camp-boys and Baggage-
 tenders, who to a distant Eye appeared like a numerous Army.
 At this sight, the Regent, who had halted at *Falkland*, (upon the Ad-
 monition of her Friends, that it would be extreemly hazardous to venture
 a Battle with an Enemy so strong and so seemingly full of Alacrity)
 consented, that three Lords should be sent to *Hamilton*, and especially
 such as had Relations or Children in the Enemy's Army. Upon this
 Occasion the Regent found to her Cost, how much it is the Interest
 of Princes to preserve inviolable the Honour of their Word: For when
 she was extreemly desirous of coming to an amicable Composition,
 no Methods could be proposed as a sufficient Ground of a Treaty:
 Whilst the Protestants, having been so often deluded, as they said, re-
 fused to give credit to any Covenants; and the Regent had it not then
 in her Power, or if she had, did not think it suitable with her Honour,
 to give any other Security: And there remained still farther Difficulties
 behind: For when the Confederates required, that Foreigners should
 depart the Kingdom, the Regent without the *French* King's Consent
 could not engage for that Article; and the Truce appeared to be
 desired, not for the sake of promoting Concord, but to give time for
 Succours. A middle way therefore was found out by *James Stewart*,
 that the Regent, drawing off the Garrison from *Perth*, should leave the
 Town free: For that the Scandal of the thing lay upon Him, who
 had advised the Treaty; and all these Troubles had sprung from that
 Cause. When this did not by any means please the Regent, the Protestants
 bent their Course thither, invited by the Townsmen, who complained
 of vexatious Usage from *Kisan*, the Governour placed over them by the
 Regent, and the connivance given by him to the Licentiousness of the
 Soldiery. The Town therefore was besieged, and after a few days
 surrendered; and, upon the Expulsion of *Kisan*, the Government was
 restored to *Patrick Rythven*, who held it before. From thence they
 led the Army to *Scoon*; which Town, because one of the Protestant
 Party had been killed there in violation of the Faith, was sacked and
 burnt: And when they understood, that the Regent had resolved to
 introduce a Garrison of *French* into *Sterling*, with a view of separating such
 as were beyond the Frith of *Forth* from their Confederates; *Stewart* and
Campbell, in order to prevent her, moved from *Perth* in the depth of
 the night under the strictest Silence, and seized *Sterling*, levelling forthwith
 the

the Monasteries of the *Mendicants* there, and demolishing the Statues *A.D.* and Altars in the rest of the sacred places: And three days after, 1559. entering upon the way which leads to *Edinburgh*, they came to *Linlithgow*, a Town in the Road, and changed the Divine Worship there, settling Preachers every where, who should administer the Holy Offices after a new Fashion. Our Countrymen had retired with their Baggage to *Dunbar*, waiting, 'till the Storm of Sedition should abate; when the News arrived of *Henry's* Death, of which we shall afterwards give a particular account: Upon this, the Minds of the Protestants being given up to Joy, their Forces, as if all Grounds of Fear had been removed, began by degrees to moulder away; of which the Regent taking the advantage, when she saw the Industry of the Enemy to be slackened by too much Confidence, marches directly with the Troops which she had with her to *Edinburgh*; and, when Matters seemed to be brought to the Point of fighting, through the Interposition of Duke *Hamilton* and *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton* it was agreed, that no Battle should be fought on that day. At length, after long Debates a Truce was concluded on the 24th day of *July*, which was to expire on the 10th of *January* following: These were the Conditions of it: That no body should be forced to use a Religion or Worship, which he did not like; and that no Garrison of Soldiers should be placed in *Edinburgh*: That the Priests should meet with no Obstruction in the free Enjoyment of their Revenues, and it should not be lawful for any one to demolish Churches or transform them to other Uses: Likewise that on the next day the Block for the Coinage of Money, and the Royal Palace with all its Furniture should be restored to the Regent. These Articles the Regent thought it necessary to observe with more than ordinary Care, because she remember'd, how through the violation of former Covenants she had lately been reduced to the most pressing Difficulties.

The End of the Twenty First BOOK.



BOOK



BOOK XXII.

A R G U M E N T.

Christian III. King of Denmark dies at Coldingen: His Manners and famous Actions; his Reconciliation with the Captive Christiern, who dies also about the same time. The Original of the Dithmarsian War carried on this Year. The Situation of Dithmarsen; the Disposition of the Natives; the earliest Lords of the Province. The taking of Meldorp, at which Wolfgang Schonwelen is killed. Brauns-butter taken. Tielbruck falls into the hands of the Danes. Heiden forced after a sharp Dispute. From thence, having subdued the Champion Country, the Conquerors proceed to the Marshes, whither the Old People, Women and Children had retired with their Effects for Refuge; with whom at length, after a Month from the beginning of the War, an Agreement is made upon Terms honourable to the Conquerors, and salutary to themselves; which were afterwards ratified by the Emperor Ferdinand. A wonderful Change follows at Rome, where the morose Pope, alienated from his Relations, deprives them of all their Dignities. New Bishops constituted in India, and in the Netherlands also to Our Prejudice; which is believed to have given rise to the ensuing Troubles in that most flourishing Province of Europe. To the Diet of Augsbουργ the King sends Imbert de la Platiere Sieur de Bourdillon and Charles de Marillac Archbishop of Vienne, to treat concerning the renewal of the antient League, and to interpose their Offices with the States of the Empire, if any Controversy should be moved about the three Cities, seized by the King in pursuance of the Treaty concluded with Maurice. Ferdinand's civil Answer to their Speech; wherein, contenting himself with barely mentioning the Restitution of those Cities, he did not pursue the point with any warmth, but answered, that the States would upon no account depart from the King's Friendship. Funeral Obsequies for Charles V. performed by his Brother with great Pomp; and the Acts of the Convention of Worms publicly recited; from whence there appearing no hopes of a Reconciliation, the Emperor undertakes to procure the renewal of an Oecumenical Synod, and mildly requires, that they would all promise to obey the Decrees of it. When the Protestants, on the other hand, urged the Diet of Passaw, and the

the Decree of Augsbουργ for the Peace of Religion, and proposed such Conditions for the Council to be holden in Germany, as could not be granted; and in the mean while desired, because of the Defect in the Celebration of the Council of Trent, that all its Decrees and Acts might be annulled; the Emperor, when he could not do otherwise, confirmed the last Decree of Augsbουργ. The Livonians in vain desire Aid of the Emperor against the Muscovites; disappointed of this hope, they applied to Sigismund-Augustus King of Poland, and laid even then the Foundation of the Change, which afterwards followed in that Military Constitution; Gotard Ketler, who, after William of Furstembourg still living, had been created Master of the Order, shewing himself by no means averse to the secret Conditions proposed to him. The Cause of Final agitated at the same Diet by Alfonso del Carretto. The Deceits of David-George of Delf, a principal Impostor of the Anabaptist Sect, detected after his Death, and stigmatized by a publick Sentence, which ordered his Body to be dug up and burnt: His detestable Tenets. After the Death of Queen Mary of England, upon Philip's making but little Opposition, the Article of Calais is settled: As is That of the Sieneſe State soon after; where the Hopes of Liberty conceived by the miserable Exiles are eluded; and lastly That of Savoy. A secret Scheme for the Extirpation of Heresy; for which purpose the Mercurial Convention is summoned; which, having been instituted of old times for the sake of Discipline, gave occasion for bringing the latent Evil to Light. Upon the King's appearance the Opinions vary, and some of the chief Counsellors of Parliament are thrown into Prison; amongst the rest Anne du Bourg, whose Cause by the means of frequent Appeals is thoroughly discussed. The King receives a mortal Wound at a Tournament, and is struck speechless. His Temper, Manners, right and wrong Actions.

IN the beginning of January, Christian King of Denmark A.D. (the Son of That Frederick, who by a Publick Decree of 1559. the States had succeeded Christiern expelled by his Subjects for Cruelty) a Prince of the utmost Candour and Moderation, yielded to Fate at Coldingen, a Town of Jutland, when he had lived fifty six years, three months, and twenty days, and had reigned twenty four years: His most remarkable Actions are These: That he took Prisoner the Pirate Clement, the Ravager of Jutland, and, condemning him to Death, laid him upon four Wheels: That at Alsens a City of Fuinen he with a great Slaughter defeated a very fine Army of the Lubeckers and Christopher of Oldenbourg, which had invaded his Paternal Dominions; and that, having settled Peace, he procured the Holy Bible to be translated into the Danish Tongue; and founded the University of Copenhagen, and in it a Library. A little before he died, he made a kind Visit to his captive Cousin-German; when, after much familiar Conversation, they mutually requested a Reconciliation, and forgave each other their Injuries. By his Wife Dorothy Daughter of Magnus Duke of Saxony, Christian had five Children; Frederick the Heir of the Crown, Magnus (who was Bishop of Hapsel in Livonia), and John;

A. D. *Anne*, who became the Wife of *Augustus* Elector of *Saxony*, and *Dorothy* 1559. of the same Name with her Mother, who was bestowed upon Duke *Henry* of *Lunenburg*. Within a few days after, on the 23d of *January*, *Christiern*, aged seventy seven years, followed his Cousin, after a tedious Imprisonment endured ever since the 32d Year of this Century: An egregious Example and Lesson to Kings and Princes! that, if they would govern well and happily, they should command their Passions, and not indulge themselves in an exorbitant Lust of Dominion; should be firmly persuaded, that Divine Vengeance is at hand, which delights in dethroning even the proudest of Princes, if they abuse the Power committed to them. The *Danish* King being dead, a Prince far removed from all Ambition and the desire of acquiring or invading another's Property; *Frederick* his Son, either pressed or forced by his Relations, turned his Arms against the *Dithmarsians*. Of which War before I speak, some things are to be premised concerning the Country, and the Original and State of the People.

Beyond the Mouth of the *Elbe*, towards the North, between the *British* and *German* Seas, there runs out a long Tract of Land, in the shape of a Peninsula, which in length reaches twelve days journey, and in Breadth six. Here the *Cimbri*, famous for the doubtful Battles maintained by them against the *Romans*, had their Habitation; the same People with the *Cimmerians*, as they are called by the *Greeks*, and derived from the same Original: Who (for example) from *Asia*, where they gave a Name to the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, crossing the Lakes of *Maotis*, seized the *Chersonesus* called from them the *Cimbrian*. Being afterwards worn out with frequent Eruptions and Expeditions into *France* and *Italy*; after various Defeats, They, who before sought after the Dominions of others, lay exposed to the Inroads of their Neighbours; falling at length under a Foreign Yoke; when the *Saxon* Borderers, divided from them by the Rivers *Elbe*, *Trave* and *Bile*, invaded their Country. In this Tract are the *Dithmarsians* and *Holfsteyners*; so called at this day from their Position; because the latter possess the higher and dryer Grounds, full of Forests and Woods; and the former the lower Places, namely ouzy Marthes, and Quagmires; in which, to prevent Inundations, they fence against the Force of the River, which runs by them, by separate Banks and very high Mounds. As to *Holfstein*, it is encompassed on all sides by four Rivers, the *Bile* on the East, the *Stor* on the West, the *Elbe* on the South, and on the North by the *Eider*, which is reckoned to be the antient Boundary of *Denmark*; although Others, and amongst these *Aaron* the Writer of Our History, make the Barrier to be That Rampart, remarkable to this day for its Walls and vast Heaps of Earth, vulgarly called the *Danes-work*, which with amazing diligence was raised by King *Godfrey*, in order to stop the Progress of *Charlemagne*, and carried from an Arm of the *Baltick* Sea called *De Syle*, not far from *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*, as far as *Hollingstede*, which is washed by the *Eider* just before its entrance into the Sea. But *Dithmarsen* reaches seven Miles in length, and little less in Breadth, and is strongly fortified by its natural Situation; being surrounded, on the East

East by the *Eidor*, on the West by the *British* Ocean, on the North by *A. D.* the Dikes and Mounds which I have mentioned, and lastly on the 1559. South by the *Elbe*. This Province the *Saxons* held after the *Cimbrians*; and again, after the time of the *Saxons*, the Government fell to certain Earls created by the Natives, who were generally ill treated by that fierce People: *Dedo*, one of them, was killed in a popular Insurrection; whose Wife, *Ida* of *Swabia*, greedy of Revenge and full of high Spirits from her noble Birth (having for her Unkles, the Emperor *Henry III.* on the Father's side, and Pope *Leo VIII.* on the Mother's), when she had afterwards married Count *Eicler*, brought the same Misfortune into the House of her new Husband; who was likewise murdered by the *Dithmarsians*: A little while after this, Marquess *Rodolf*, who possessed the Country by Hereditary Right, and his Son also, experienced the same Fate; with this additional Indignity, that the *Dithmarsians*, not content with the Death of them both, demolished the Castle of *Bolkelnbourg*, where the Murder had been committed; and, basely disfiguring *Walpurgis* the Wife of *Rodolf* by cutting off her Nose and Ears, flung her into a River. With which Barbarity *Hartwick*, *Rodolf's* Brother and Heir, being terrified, resigned all his Interest in *Dithmarsen* to the Archbishop of *Bremen*, upon receiving the District of *Stade* for a Compensation. *Dithmarsen* was afterwards subdued by *Henry Leo*, by whose Liberality some Villages were also granted to the Bishop of *Stade*; upon which Account when the latter came to demand the Pension due to him, he was with the same savage Cruelty killed by the Country-people. At last, by *Adolf III.* of the House of the Counts *de Scharzbourg*, which in the Year of CHRIST 1131. succeeded the Posterity of *Herman Billing* in the Principality of *Holslein*, the *Dithmarsians* in the 55th year after were reduced to Order; but, rebelling again, they expelled all the Nobility. Then they fell under the Power of *Hartwick* Archbishop of *Bremen*, by whom being imperiously treated they revolted to the King of *Denmark*; but did not continue long under his Obedience: For about the Year of CHRIST 1227. when King *Waldemar* near the Village of *Bornhorvede* was sharply engaged with *Adolf IV.* Earl of *Holslein* and the *Lubeckers*, he was most treacherously betrayed and deserted by the *Dithmarsians*, upon a Promise from the Earl of Liberty and Immunity. Having gained their Freedom, though at the expence of their Allegiance, they retained it inviolably for sixty two years, 'till *Henry* Earl of *Holslein* and *Stormar*, and *John* Earl of *Wageren*, began to think of recovering their antient Rights from the *Dithmarsians*. Accordingly they fell into the Country in an hostile manner, but were defeated by them, and with a great Slaughter put to a shameful flight. After an Interval of one and thirty years, an intestine Quarrel breaking out between the Earls of *Holslein*, the *Dithmarsians*, taking the advantage of it, entered the neighbouring Territories with great Fury, and advanced as far as *Kiel*; but, having driven off a large Booty, whilst they were returning home, upon the Road not far from the Village of *Bornhorvede*, they were surprised and surrounded all of a sudden by *Gerard* Earl of *Holslein*, and came off with exceeding Damage: For they
lost

A.D. lost near five hundred Men by the Sword; and most of them, either
1559. driven into the River, or throwing themselves into it, were drowned.

~~~~~ Gerard, elated with this Success (as having overcome an hitherto invincible Nation), two years after, taking into his Alliance Henry Duke of Mecklenbourg, makes war, and penetrates into the Heart of the Enemy's Country: When the People twice ventured to shew their Faces, he routed them each time; and, killing seven hundred, forced the rest at last into a neighbouring Church fortified in hast with slight Works. When he had brought thither a quantity of Wood, and was upon the point of setting fire to it; the Peasants, frightened with the Danger, promised to surrender, if they might have hopes of Mercy, and to submit thereafter to the Earls of *Holstein*. But when Gerard, either out of Pride, or that he could not trust the Promises of an untameable Race of Men, rejecting all Conditions, demanded, that they should submit to his Discretion; and the Leads of the Church began to be melted by the nearness of the Flames, and to drop through the Breaches of the Roof within: Then the Besieged took counsel from Despair, and, in order to make one final Effort, rushed out with so much Fierceness, that, finding the *Holsteiners* in a careless Posture occasioned by their Confidence, they killed near two thousand of them, and amongst the rest twelve principal Commanders. At *Tirpeft* some years after they maintained a sharp Conflict; which ending with equal Damage to both Parties, they became from thence more moderate, and under their Seals agreed to a Truce, of which These amongst others were the Articles; That neither Party should give Reception to the Enemies of the Other; to which the Earls of *Holstein* likewise bound their Heirs. But this People, naturally haughty and fierce, pretending the Truce to be broken by *Albert* of *Holstein*, because of an Incursion made into their Country in the Year 1404. by *Erick* Duke of *Saxony*, *Albert's* Father-in-law, and having returned the Inroad upon the Adversary; the Dispute brought on a fresh War; though the *Dithmarsians*, who, when they had taken satisfaction, seemed inclinable to Peace, at first prayed a forbearance of Violence. Fortune in that War smiled in the beginning upon the *Holsteiners*, who took *Meldorp*, *Delfibourg* and *Hammerow*, Towns of the *Dithmarsians* strongly fortified, from whence and from *Tielbruck* and *Suavefede* they very much annoyed the Peasants. But, *Albert* dying shortly after in his Return, at *Northamme* in this Country, of a Hurt received by a fall from his Horse; Gerard, desirous of mastering a Province stained with his Brother's Blood, full of Confidence attacks the Country-people: In which Enterprize, when his Men had rambled far and wide with too great Licentiousness and Security, the People getting together in a Body beset the narrow Passes of the Woods, and unawares attacked the straggling *Holsteiners* in their Return; and killing Gerard himself (who suspecting no such matter was hastily advancing without his Helmet at the Cry of a Boy his Armour-bearer), surrounded the *Holsteiners* on all sides and cut them to pieces. Twelve Knights, and three hundred of the Gentry were slain; and, as *Christian Cilicius* himself writes, the choicest of the Soldiery throughout the Principality  
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of *Sleswick* and all *Holstein*, and the whole Flower of the stoutest Youth *A. D.* were in this Battle extinguished. Their Rage vented itself in unheard of Cruelties upon the Dead Bodies; and Leave could hardly be obtained either by Money or the Tears of the Widows and Relations of the Slain, that their Bones might be gathered, and interred in the nearest Monastery. *Delfibourg* being destroyed, a new Agreement upon the Foot of the antient Leagues was concluded with this People. But in the tenth year after a War broke out afresh upon This occasion. The *Friselanders* had put to death a Gang of *Dithmartians*, who, as they pretended, had committed several infamous Roberies and Villanies. The *Dithmarsians*, affronted by these Proceedings, summoned all their Villages to Arms; and, having at first received a Defeat, marched with so much the more Fury against the *Friselanders*, and laid every thing waste with Fire and Sword. The Damage was estimated at two hundred thousand Marks. At length, having exacted a vast Sum of Money from Those, with whom they had the Quarrel, they added also these unequal Conditions of Peace, amongst others; That, when ever any Controversy arose between them and the *Friselanders*, twenty Arbitrators chosen out of Their number, and one only out of the *Friselanders*, should determine it. *Adolf* Earl of *Holstein* resented this highly; but, having a Dispute at that juncture with the King of *Denmark* in relation to the County of *Sleswick*, he was forced to dissemble the Injury, and to put off his Revenge to a more convenient Season. In that Quarrel, the *Dithmarsians*, elated with so many Successes, carried their Arrogance so far, as to interpose their Mediation between the King and the Earl of *Holstein*: But afterwards, unfortunately for them, *Christiern I.* King of *Denmark* by his Succession to *Adolf* acquired *Holstein*, and received it under the Title of a Dutchy, and not any longer of an Earldom, through the favour of the Emperor *Frederick III.* From which time the *Dithmarsians* (as being, with the People of *Stomar*, comprehended within the Limits of *Holstein*) had the Kings of *Denmark*, not the *Holsteimers*, for their Enemies. This *Christiern* accordingly, by virtue of the Emperor's Authority and his own Power, in the Year 1474. summoned the *Dithmarsians* to *Rendsbourg*, in order to their doing Fealty to him: But They, pretending a prior Obligation of Allegiance to the Archbishop of *Bremen*, refused. Hence it came, that, twenty six years after, *John* the Son of *Christiern*, when after the Reduction of *Sweden* he had resolved to revenge the Injuries done to his Father and Ancestors (for he thought himself concerned in the Sufferings of the *Holsteimers*), declaring War, with a vast Army invaded *Dithmarsen*. In his Camp, besides his own Troops, he had six thousand Foot and two thousand Horse of Foreign Mercenaries. Thus appointed, and encamping before *Meldorp*, he took the Town. But, when the Peasants on the other side had raised a Rampart for their Defence; the King, unhappily pressing forward amongst the Marshes and the Defiles incumber'd with impassable Woods, was intercepted and defeated with the whole Army between *Meldorp* and *Hemingstadt*; through the Discovery made of his Circumstances by a certain *Friselander*, whom the Natives had taken



A. D. and tortured. There were missing in the whole about four thousand 1559. Men, and amongst the rest *Adolf* and *Otho* Earls of *Oldenbourg*, *Brede Rantzow*, Brother to That *John*, whom we shall afterwards speak of, and sixty more of the Principal Gentry of *Holstein*. King *John* and his Brother *Frederick* Duke of *Holstein* with much difficulty escaped the danger, by finding a way through the vast Heap of Carcasses. To *John*, shortly after, succeeded *Christiern* II. the same, who for his Cruelty was deposed by his Subjects: In whose room when his Uncle *Frederick* had succeeded, things continued quiet for some time in *Denmark*; because the new King, being apprehensive of the Emperor *Charles*, *Christiern's* Brother-in-law, did not think fit to stir any thing in the Realm or with his Neighbours. To *Frederick* succeeded his Son *Christian* III. a Prince of a mild Disposition; who, either from a more tender Conscience than ordinary, or his ill State of Health, was always averse to Arms; and could never, whilst he lived, be persuaded by his Brother *Adolf* Duke of *Holstein* (a Man eagerly bent from his earliest Youth upon revenging the Injuries of his Ancestors) to consent to make War upon the *Dithmarsians*: And although in the Year 1548. *Adolf* had obtained from the Emperor, who either had forgotten or else dissembled the Injury of his captive Brother-in-law, a new Grant of the Honour bestowed (as I have said) by *Frederick* III. nevertheless the King constantly obstructed the Counsels and Endeavours of his Brother, whose Heart was entirely set upon that matter. For the latter, six years before, departing from the Siege of *Metz*, in which he had served the Emperor, had taken into his Pay two Gentlemen, Colonels of Foot, *George Holle* and *Hildemar Munckhausen*; and had fixed a day, when they should be ready to attend him upon the Frontiers of the *Bremeners*; but, as his Brother the King opposed the Design, his Military Preparations were to no purpose.

Upon *Christian's* Decease therefore, before *Frederick* II. the intended King was inaugurated, without the Privy at first either of Him or his Brother *John*, *Adolf* with the utmost silence makes the necessary Preparations for War; taking into his Counsel only *Maurice Rantzow* and *Adam Trutzger*; and, having (as it is thought) communicated the thing beforehand to *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick*, to whom at his Castle of *Wolfsenbuttel* he had made a Visit for that purpose. Then, by the means of *Daniel Rantzow* Governour of *Peim* Castle, an experienced Soldier, he takes into his Pay *Wolfgang Schonwesen* a Veteran Officer with one Regiment, and *Joachim Blanckenbourg* with a Troop of Horse: And, that he might not want Money, it happened luckily that a solemn Meeting of the *Holstein* Nobility was held at that time at *Kiel*; at which the richer sort, upon Pledges, Mortgages and other Securities lend out their Money every Year, to such as desire to borrow; and either take an annual Consideration in the name of Interest, or else receive back the Principal from their Debtors. *Adolf*, repairing thither, takes up all the Money he could get, under pretence of a certain Purchase, but in reality for the Uses of the ensuing War; and, having in a short time raised a vast Sum, began to think seriously of the proper Measures and Operations: He did it at first with all the Secrecy possible;

possible; that the *Dithmarsians*, a sagacious and warlike People, might A. D. be taken unprepared: Yet the Business could not be carried on so secretly, but that a flying Report of it reached the Ears of *John Rantzow* and his Son *Henry* the King's Governour of *Holstein*; who immediately wrote King *Frederick* an account of his Uncle *Adolf's* Design, and desired, that with his Majesty's leave they might treat with him and discuss the Matter at large, hearing and weighing the Reasons on both sides. Accordingly *John Rantzow*, and *Bertram Seefeld* one of *Adolf's* Privy-Counsellors deputed by his Master, met at *Nieumunster*: There *John* urged the Difficulties, if *Adolf* alone should undertake so important an Enterprize; for that he would meet with a terrible Enemy in the *Dithmarsians*; and, his Nephew the King and his Brother would not take it at all well, if without their Privy Troubles should be raised in *Denmark*; that besides, in all probability, the maritime Cities of *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, and lastly the Duke of *Lunenbourg* would oppose That Person, who should first kindle a War in the Neighbourhood: Upon this, *Seefeld*, who was related to *Rantzow*, and knew that the *Rantzows* had no disinclination to the War, having answered his Arguments, admonished *John* to remember his own Character; and how he had formerly promised *Adolf* to command his Army, if ever a convenient and honourable Opportunity should offer itself for that War. *John* did not deny it, nor refuse even Then to accept that Office, if the King and *Adolf's* Brother *John* should consent to the Expedition; advising, that *Adolf* should communicate his Counsel to Them (that no Offence might arise from thence between Princes so nearly related), and exhort them to undertake a War with joint Forces and Charges, for revenging the Injuries of their Ancestors and asserting the Dignity of the Realm; with which *Adolf* afterwards complied. After this, *Henry Rantzow* and *Andrew Barbey* Bishop of *Lubeck* the King's Chancellor, laying their Heads together (without the knowledge of the King, of whose Consent they were assured) ordered Levies to be made: The Care of this they committed to *Anthony* Earl of *Oldenbourg*, *John Barners* Governour of *Pinnenberg*, and *Francis Bulow*; and, by *Adolf's* Advice, opened the matter to *Augustus* Elector of *Saxony*, desiring the favour of his Sentiments upon it. *Adolf* himself, in pursuance of *John Rantzow's* Counsel, writes to the King and his Brother *John*; and at the same time, by Agreement, *Henry Rantzow* and *Andrew Barbey* repair to the King; that, when he should deliberate about the Enterprize, they might be present, and confirm him in that opinion. The Matter therefore being brought before the Council-board, they argued in This manner; That out of three things, the King must necessarily chose One, that he should think fittest to be done and most for his Honour; either to oppose his Uncle's Counsels as rashly commenced and contrary to his Authority, or to be quiet; or lastly, to join in a War, which was indeed of itself a just one: That since his Uncle was already so well prepared, it would be dangerous to raise other Forces and employ them against him; for thus a Door would be opened to a Civil War, which is easily begun, but extinguished with exceeding Diffi-



A. D. Difficulty; the Result whereof would be, that, the Troops of each Party being consumed and worn out against one another, the *Dithmarsians*, whom there was now a fair prospect of subduing by the help of *Adolf's* military Preparations, might from so favourable an opportunity resume their antient Vigour and Courage for the attempting of some considerable Exploits, tho' now perhaps they were far from entertaining such a Thought: But if he judged it best to lye still, care should be taken, that he might not seem to have ill consulted his Honour and Interest, by giving away the whole Benefit and Glory of that subdued Province to *Adolf*: It remained therefore, that, joining Forces with his Unkle, he should undertake the War with Alacrity, as if he himself had from the beginning been the Principal Mover of it: To this Opinion the King at last was persuaded; and *John Seefeld*, *Bertram's* Brother, was dispatched to *John* the Brother of *Adolf*, to acquaint him with the King's Resolution, and to invite him into a share of the War. At length, on the 28th day of *April*, at a Conference holden by the Ministers on both sides at *Nortorp*, an Alliance was concluded upon These Terms; that in the first place the Expences of the War already defrayed, estimated at eighty thousand Talers, should be refunded to *Adolf*; and the future Charges rated in common; that the Country of *Dithmarsen*, if reduced, should be divided into three Shares, one for each of the Confederates, as it should be determined by Lot. The League being made, *John Rantzow* was appointed Generalissimo, although from the beginning he would have excused himself, by reason of his declining Age: The Lieutenant-General assigned to him, upon *Bertram Seefeld's* refusal of that Burden, was *Francis Bulow*. Two Persons were also chosen by each of the Princes, to make Draughts out of the Troops assembled; by the King, *Nicolas Rantzow* and *Holger Rosencrantz*; by *John*, *Otho* of *Timme* and *Gaspar Bokwalden*; by *Adolf*, two *Rantzows*, *Nicolas* surnamed *the One-eyed*, and *Paul* the Son of *John*: Four Colonels of Regiments were also employed, viz. *Wolfgang Schonwesen* already mentioned, *William Walterthumb*, *Reimers de Walde*, and that old Commander *Christopher Wrisberg*, who by the Battle of *Dracembourg*, although defeated, had gained a considerable reputation. Then, by fortifying the most commodious places on the Frontiers, and ordering the Nobles throughout *Futland* and *Fuinen* to be in Arms, and by stationing some Ships of War at the Mouth of the *Elbe*, Provision was made by the Generals against all Events; that they might be enabled both to attack the *Dithmarsians*, and, if need were, to repel any Foreign Invasion. Word was likewise sent to *Anthony* Earl of *Oldenbourg*, that, as soon as he could do it conveniently, he should pass the *Elbe* with fifteen Cohorts of Soldiers, six Field-pieces, and two large-sized Pieces of Ordnance: A thousand Pioneers also, and a number of Pontons were got ready; and a Stock of Provisions for many months was prepared by the Governours of *Holfstein*, and the Conveyance of it secured with extream Care and Diligence, because there was no hope of getting a Supply of Corn from the Maritime Cities, who did not favour this War. It remained, that, according to the Treaty,

Treaty, the King should come to a Conference at *Nortorp*: This he *A. D.* was hindered from doing very soon, by some Persons of weight, who *1559.* represented it as a dangerous thing, for a King unarmed to meet an armed Enemy (so they called the Duke of *Holstein*); for that they had abundant Proof, by several Tokens and even Letters, of a Conspiracy formed against his Majesty. The King, retarded for some time by their Arguments (as the Ears of Kings are generally open to receive Accusations and Calumnies) being at length confirmed in his resolution of taking the Journey by *Henry Rantzow* the Lord Lieutenant of the Realm, when first by intercepting those before-mentioned Letters he had been convinced of the Falshood and Malice of the Charge, put himself upon the Road; and, that he might not seem negligent of his own Security, or the Advice of his Friends, went with a Guard of five hundred Horse. *Adolf* on the contrary, who had heard of these flying Reports, that he might take away all handle of Suspicion, went thither with only two Coaches. Measures being reciprocally concerted betwixt them, they departed; and the King, passing through *Segelberg* Castle, came with his Retinue (in Coaches drawn for the greater haste by six Horses) to *Coldingen* a Town of *Jutland*; and there, when he had met almost all the Gentry, which at the Summons had repaired to the Standard out of *Jutland* and *Fuynen*; thanking them for their ready Obedience, he dismissed them all, as not caring to make use of them in this War. Then matters being put into such a Posture at home, that every thing was left quiet at his back; after mustering, and paying the Army at *Segelberg*, he came to *Nieumonsster*; where he reviewed his own Royal Troop of Horse, and distributed Offices to the principal Men of *Denmark* and *Holstein*; and on the 17th of *May*, at a Village called *Hohenwested*, they all in general rendezvoused. The next day it was unanimously determined, that, on the fifth day after, Hostilities should be commenced against the *Dithmarsians*. In the mean time Letters were drawn up and corroborated with three Seals, containing a Declaration of War. Therein a Recapitulation was made of antient Injuries, which however the Princes declared that they meant not so much to revenge by this War, as to animadvert upon rebellious Subjects, who also by their Rebellion annoyed all their Neighbours. The Letters were sent by a Criminal condemned to Death, who went very unwillingly, because of his apprehensions from the Rage of the Country-people; and by him, as by an Herald, they were delivered to the Council of Forty Eight, assembled at *Heiden* the strongest Town of the Country. In three days an Answer was returned; wherein this People, formerly so haughty, foreboding as it were the ill Success of the War, in the humblest Terms prayed a forbearance of Violence; and tho' they denied themselves to be subject to the Kings of *Denmark*, and pretended the antient Stipulations with the Archbishops of *Bremen*, yet they offered to submit the Controversy to any reasonable Arbitration; beseeching GOD, who protects the Innocent and governs the Minds of Princes, that he would turn their Hearts, and divert them from injurious resolutions; or at least that he would inspire Them with Courage



A. D. enough to repel the Injury, and make head against Violence and Oppression. This Answer being received, the King and his Kinsmen, on the 22d day of May, incamped at the River *Stor* near the Village of *Oerischstorp*, and the Army marched in the following order. Behind the Forerunners, sent out to skirmish, who were picked out of every Regiment, *Maurice Rantzow* led the Van-guard with a Troop of Horse, together with the Pioneers and Field-pieces; close upon whom followed the Regiments of *Wolfgang Schonwesen* and *Reimers de Walde*: In the middle were, the King with the Royal Troop, and the Troops of Horse belonging to his Kinsmen, finely appointed and accoutred: The Rear was closed by the Regiments of *William Walterthumb* and *Joachim Blackenbourg*, with *Theodorick Holle's* Troop of Horse. To these were added fifteen Cohorts under *Anthony* Earl of *Oldenbourg*. Thus marching, about sun-set they came to the Village of *Alverstorp* on the Borders of the *Dithmarsians*. First the Oxen were driven off, Depredations made, and some Peasants besides taken Prisoners, who were put to the torture, that they might discover the Condition of the Enemy. Then *Walterthumb* with his Regiment, and *Blackenbourg* with a Troop of Horse, entered the Enemy's Country, to see with their own Eyes, if what they had heard from the Prisoners was really true. In all that Region there were only three strong Places fortified by the Peasants with Ramparts and Moats, and built near those streight Passes, by which the way leads out of the Champion Country into the Marshes. First the King advanced against *Tielbruck*, a Town not so very strong; from whence the Peasants, distrusting its Security, had carried their most pretious Moveables into the Heart of the Country. Here *John Rantzow*, who feared, lest the Vigour and Spirit of the Soldiery might be broken in the taking of an inconsiderable Town, and in future Services might flag; advised the King, that leaving this Place behind him, he should attack *Hamme*, a Fortrefs by its natural Situation and the Labours of the Inhabitants the best fortified of any in all *Dithmarsen*. But afterwards altering his mind because of the Difficulty of the Undertaking, after a long and sharp Dispute (when *Breda Rantzow* dissented, and contended for attacking *Tielbruck*), it was at last resolved to go against *Meldorp*: For the better forming the Siege of which Place, when through the Information of Deserters intelligence had been gained of the Avenues, Forces were sent at the same time towards *Hamme* and *Tielbruck*; that, whilst the Country-people were held in an uncertainty, on which side the first Onset would be given, and which way they should first advance, their Forces in the mean time might be divided and their Counsels disturbed: Nor did the Stratagem fail of Success: For the Peasants, who were in pain for *Tielbruck*, presently wrote to the *Meldorpians* for Assistance, and received from them a Reinforcement of four hundred Men; and Thus, as much as the Inhabitants of *Tielbruck* were unprofitably strengthened, so much the hands of the *Meldorpians* were weakened for the Support of the Siege. The Army was led about by three different ways, in order to invest the Town. *Schonwesen*, *De Walde*, and *Walterthumb* with their Men, and the Pioneers, were de-

detached thither; as also *Theodorick Holle* Colonel of Horse, with *A. D.* Orders to make an Irruption on the North side, under the Guidance 1559. of *Bertold Petre* a Defetter. The Earl of *Oldenbourg* with *Francis Bulow* repaired to the Southern part, leaving the Village of *Winteberg* on one side; and *Maurice Rantzow* with his own Troop received Orders to follow him. The Princes with two Companies, advancing directly against the Town, took their Stations within Cannon-shot. Then the Pontons were brought up, and sixty Hurdles; that by the help of them, because the Avenues were incumbered with Morasses, the Troops, which had arrived by various Routs, when they should have come to the place, might assist one another, and be at hand, when occasion should require. About this time *Sebastian Ersam* came to the Princes in the Camp with a Message from the *Lubeckers*, to try, if some method of Agreement might not be set on foot; but, when he saw no hopes of an Accommodation, he returned to his Principals without Effect. *Schomwesen*, having first attempted to lay a Bridge in the night time, whilst he approached nearer to the Fortrefs (*Bertold* the Guide happening to be gone back, in order to mount a Horse, which he had left behind), was so annoyed by the Artillery, that to avoid its Fury he fell headlong into some blind and deep Sloughs, out of which the Soldiers, by wading up to the Neck, could hardly clear themselves: So that they were well nigh either swallowed in the Mire or entirely cut to pieces by the Country-men: But upon *Holle's* seasonable Arrival to the Relief of his distressed Comrades, the Peasants were repulsed: Tho' the Foot were rendered unfit for Action, and contented themselves (wet as they were, and their Musquets spoiled by the Water) with having escaped Death: *Schomwesen* himself, who by too much Haste had occasioned the Danger, when he had performed all the Duties of an excellent Officer and a stout Soldier, fighting with an Halberd at the head of his Men, received a Shot through his Body from a Brass Cannon, and died within four days of the Wound. His Regiment was afterwards bestowed upon *Wrisberg*. Next, the Wind-mills, which occur in great numbers all about that Country, were burnt; and then the Signal was given by *Henry Rantzow*, that all the Troops together, as it had been agreed, (for it was probable, that all had arrived by that time) should give an Assault. Whilst the Soldiers hesitated, and *Schomwesen's* Men were still disabled; *John Rantzow*, alighting from his Horse, encouraged his Men by the Motives of Shame and Emulation; and, causing a general Discharge to be made of the Artillery, leads up four Cohorts (who took courage from his Example) cross the Moats to the Rampart defended by the Peasants; who by the largeness and strength of their Limbs and the obstinacy of their Spirits were exceeding formidable, and carried with them besides the most powerful Weapon in the World, an Affection for their Country and a Love of Liberty. Nor did the Women fail to lend an helping hand; but, mixing with their Husbands, did Duty like Men; and one Woman was particularly observed on that day, who stabbed two or three Soldiers with a Knife. The Peasants at length, overpowered with numbers, abandoned the Rampart, which they had main-



*A. D.* maintained thus long by their Bodies rather than their Arms; and That  
 1559. being left destitute of Defenders, *Rantzow's* Men immediately rushed in,  
 and, the Gates being forced open, *Adolf* with four Troopers, and soon  
 after the King with the Royal Troop and *Henry Rantzow* followed. At  
 the first Irruption no Age or Sex was spared, the Streets every where  
 running down with Blood: Of the Natives four hundred, and of the  
 King's Forces one hundred were slain; and if the whole Army had  
 expeditiously given the Assault at the same time, without doubt  
 All, who were in the Town, would have fallen into the Conqueror's  
 Hands. But now the Remainder, being well acquainted with the  
 Ways, slipped away by the back-part of the Town, carrying with  
 them ten Standards displayed, and twenty Pieces of the largest Ordnance;  
 tho' many of These, falling in with *Oldenbourg's* Party and *Maurice*  
*Rantzow's* Troop which were advancing, lost three hundred of their  
 number, with twenty five Great Guns of all sorts, and a considerable  
 Quantity of Gun-powder. Thus *Meldorp* was taken by Storm on the  
 3d day of *June*. In the division of the Spoil the Victors could hardly  
 refrain from quarrelling, whilst the Foot, setting forth the Danger  
 which they had undergone, claimed the Victory as their Own, to the  
 exclusion of the Horse, who because of the inaccessible Situation of the  
 Place with regard to Cavalry, had not been able to bear a Share  
 in that Conquest. The Mutiny however being tolerably composed,  
 it was resolved, that on the next day the whole Army should advance  
 to *Braunsbittel*. *Reimers de Walde* with a Cohort and *Blackenbourg* with  
 a Troop of Horse were detached, on purpose, that, fetching a long  
 Compass through *Holstein*, they should join *Nicolas Rantzow* (posted at  
 that juncture on the Banks of the *Elbe*), and prevent the Country-people  
 from bringing Relief. *John Rantzow* himself determined to attack the  
 Town in Front; for which purpose, with *Wrisberg*, *Walterthumb* and  
*Maurice Rantzow*, advancing farther along the *Elbe*, on the 7th day of  
*June*, he met with a sandy and solid Bottom, which the Troops might  
 ford without hazard. This being observed, the Peasants, quitting their  
 Works, betook themselves to flight; and *Rantzow's* Troops slew about  
 four hundred of them that day in the Pursuit; took one Standard;  
 and retook several Waggon, loaded with Corn, which the Peasants had  
 intercepted some days before. *Rantzow* then with the Regiment of *Olden-*  
*bourg* seizes *Braunsbittel*, which was almost deserted; for the Peasants  
 had fled into the inner Parts of the Country. Thereupon *Blackenbourg's*  
 Lieutenant and *Maurice Rantzow* were sent with a choice Squadron of  
 three hundred Horse, to overtake the Run-aways; of whom near four  
 hundred had remained with the helpless Tribe of Women and Children,  
 and quitting the Road had gone to their own Cottages: These, in  
 confidence of the Morasses, which every way surrounded them, they  
 had fortified with Dikes, and some few hasty Works, as likewise with  
 Waggon link'd together, Beds, Coverlets, Rugs, and any thing that  
 came first to hand; and, within these, were making preparations for the  
 Defence of their Life and Liberty. But when they saw themselves  
 inclosed on all sides as in a Net, throwing away their Arms they  
 sub-

submitted to the Conqueror's Discretion. When it came to be considered, what was fit to be done with Persons in their condition, who had deserved extremities; *Breda Rantzow* moved, that their Lives should be spared; for that it would be a cruel thing to butcher an unarmed multitude, that had surrendered itself to Mercy: To which opinion the King also acceded. The Common-people therefore, with their Wives and Children, were by heaps put on board the Vessels, and, after they had been sworn, conveyed beyond the *Elbe*: The Leaders were sent into *Holstein*, and committed to different Castles, where they remained Prisoners 'till the end of the War. Fresh Delays arose again in the Camp, through the renewal of the Contention about the Booty; which being settled, to prevent such pernicious Quarrels for the future, the Colonels gave orders to the Serjeants, that the Prize should belong to Him, who had taken it from the Enemy; upon condition, that the Soldiers did not run upon the Spoil, 'till the Enemy was entirely defeated. Then the Council of War resolved to lead the Army to *Tielbruck*; and gave it in charge to the Earl of *Oldenbourg*, that with *Maurice Rantzow* he should come from *Meldorp* to the Royal Camp, and upon the Road make a feint of attacking *Hemmingstet*, where, in the memory of Men still living, *John King* of *Denmark* had been routed by the *Dithmarsians*. Hence *Rantzow* easily flattered himself, that the Peasants would imagine the Siege of that Place to be seriously intended by the Royal Forces, by way of Revenge for the former Injury, and in order to expiate the bloody Defeat received upon that occasion. Thus *Tielbruck* was taken with no trouble, as being maintained by a small number of Men: For the Report prevailing of the Design against *Hemmingstet*, almost all the Garrison-Troops had flocked thither. *Rantzow* advancing farther, after routing some Peasants in his March, gained a small River, which runs between *Heiden* and *Tielbruck*, and passed it with his Forces; and then, supposing *Heiden* to be destitute of Soldiers, he began to make a Repartition of Quarters. However, *James Blackenbourg* and *Afcanius Holle* Captains of Horse-volunteers were sent before; who riding on, from some Women which they met, discovered, that there were Men in the Town: And shortly after, at a distance appeared four Companies of Country-people, who came forwards against the Royalists with so much the more boldness (bringing even Cannon along with them), as by the false Information of Scouts they had been persuaded, that no more than two hundred *Holstein* Horse were approaching; nor could they at first find out the Mistake, because the Royalists lay concealed behind a Hill: By which means, venturing rashly to engage, they were routed. The King himself with his own Squadron advanced along a Hill, which on the Left overlooked a Morass, and marched directly to the very place, where the Cannon had been deposited by the Peasants: His Flank was covered by his Unkles *John* and *Adolf*. But *Joachim Blackenbourg*, taking a compass behind, round *Adolf's* Troops of Horse, had posted himself in the middle way between the Town and the Royal Squadron: So that, the Townsmen having their Communication with the Town cut off, were almost all put to the Sword. Near an hundred flung themselves into the Morass, and by their knowledge of the Country escaped;



A.D. not without considerable Loss on the part of the *Holsteimers*: For *John 1559.* and *Nicolas Truxen*, two *Danes* of Distinction, were grievously wounded, and *Erick Podebusch* and *Andrew Frieze* slain; through the Fault of the Musqueteers, who misbehaved themselves, and, in their Greediness of pursuing the straggling Peasants, carelessly discharged some Volleys upon the King's Squadron. The Fight was scarce ended, when some fresh Companies of the Country-people came into sight; whom that *Rantzow* might draw to an engagement, he placed Parties of Horse behind the three Hills, which hang over the Town, and for a long time held in his Men, to give the rallying Townsmen more room for spreading themselves. At last the Onset was made by the Foot and Horse at the same time; whilst the latter advanced to the Town towards the Left-hand, in order to cut off the Enemy's Retreat. Here the Peasants, though they saw themselves surrounded, did not by any means drop their Courage; but making a close compacted Body, in a Meadow well fenced with a Dike and an Intrenchment, they stoutly maintained the Fight, and repulsed the Royalists with Poles and Halberds, taking one Standard from them. *Adolf* seeing his Troops at a stand, flies towards them with a Few whom he used for his Body-guard; and, laying hold of the Standard-bearers, exhorts them to shew their Face to the Enemy; for that there was no other way left to escape Disgrace and work out their Safety; that all men knew, how much the Army had suffered through their Misconduct; the remembrance of which if they would abolish, and by some signal Exploit gain Honour to themselves and Peace to their Country, and at the same time oblige their Princes, it was in their power to do it: They had nothing to do but to dare, and to remember that they were fighting with Peasants, whom it would not be so honourable to conquer, as it would be shameful to be overcome by them. Seeing his Men to be little moved with these Words, that at least he might incite them by his Example, he ran forwards before the rest, and stabbed a Soldier, who happened to stand in his way: But the Fellow, nothing slackened by the Wound, darted a Pole pointed with Iron against *Adolf*, who had just passed him, and gave him a dangerous Blow in the Back above the Hip; for, as *Adolf* had put off his Armour because of the immoderate Heat, his Body was all exposed: Hereupon he was presently carried off in a Chariot and six Horses. The Soldiery, whom neither their own Danger, nor the fear of Disgrace, nor the Reproofs of their most valiant Prince had been able to move, being provoked with this Disaster, took courage; and tho' fatigued by the Heat of the Day and the Toil of a long March for a night and a day together, gave a fresh Onset, and forced the Rampart. The Peasants, who escaped the Sword, either threw themselves over the Mound, or fell amongst the Horse, so that few escaped on that occasion. During the fight, the Horse, greedy of Booty, dishonourably penetrated into the Town almost destitute of a Garrison, but were repulsed with the loss of *Mark Romanow* and others. At length, upon the Arrival of *Mark Rantzow*, whom we have mentioned to have gone to *Henningstet*, the Peasants, who had hitherto made

made resistance, now despairing of Safety, rushed furiously part of *A. D.* them into the midst of the Enemies; 'till falling amongst *Rantzow's* 1559. Cavalry they were almost totally cut off. Three hundred were killed; but in the Conflict *Theodorick Holle* received a mortal Wound. Such of the Peasants as survived the Slaughter, gathering together about the Evening into an advantageous Corner, put themselves again into a Posture of sustaining the Royal Army; against whom the Cavalry was detached. But *Rantzow*, an indefatigable Commander, that he might give the Enemy no time for collecting themselves and establishing their Courage, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of most of the other Officers, advanced with the Troops and Artillery to *Heiden*. Here ensued another sharp Battle, which ended in the burning of the Town and the Death of the Defendants either by the Sword or the Fire. The Place being taken (which as the principal Mart-Town of the Country, and for its Privilege of a Senate, and the Fineness of its Buildings is the most celebrated in all *Dithmarsen*); as soon as the Soldiers had refreshed themselves with the Ale and Mead, which they found there, they were commanded by *Rantzow* to return, and to betake themselves to the Cannon: For he was under apprehensions, lest Men of their obstinate Courage, who would venture to fight indifferently on advantageous or disadvantageous ground, in a Fit of Despair might in the night-time fall unawares upon his Soldiers rendered careless and secure by their late Success. Stations therefore were diligently disposed, that no unlooked for Accident might through Negligence arise, to disturb the Joy of three such Victories gained in one and the same day. Of the Peasants three thousand were computed, who fell on these occasions; besides the Wounded, and those who crawled away in the night. Of the Royalists near three hundred perished, and amongst them the renowned *George Alevelt* Cornet in *Adolf's* Troop of Life-guards; who being shot through the Loins died of his Wound on the ninth day after at *Rendsbourg*. Most of the Nobility received Wounds. From thence the Army made a movement towards *Hamme*; and *Adolf* in a yet doubtful State of Health went along with it in a Litter, and was visited by the King with extraordinary Humanity. The Highlands of *Dithmarsen* being conquered, there still remained the Fenny Part, called *Marshland*; into which, as of more difficult Access, the Remains of their routed Forces, and the weak Multitude of Old men, Boys and Women, had retired with their best Effects, preparing for a decisive Blow. Whilst the Method of invading it was under Deliberation, two deputed Priests came into the Camp to the Princes; each bearing a white Staff in his hand, and a suppliant Letter affixed to the Staff, but open and unsealed, with an Inscription, wherein the Chief Men of *Dithmarsen* acknowledged the Princes of *Denmark* as Sovereigns; which, to avoid Prejudicing their own Right and Liberty, they had hitherto not only declined to grant, but boldly refused. The Substance of the Instructions was, that the Princes would vouchsafe to hear their Deputies, and by Them convey Passports for such, as they should send to treat concerning Peace and the Terms of Submission, for their safe coming and going.



A. D. going. *John Rantzow* the Generalissimo was impowered in the name 1559. of the Princes to give the *Dithmarsians* the desired Safe-conduct. Accordingly, three days after, on the 16th of *May*, five of the forty eight Counsellors came in an humble posture to the Princes in the Camp, promising a ready Submission upon the Terms of having the Persons and Effects of their Countrymen spared. This produced a long Agitation in the Council, at which *Adolf*, tho' not yet confirmed in his Health, assisted; and hence it followed, that at first the Counsellors gave their opinions with less Freedom; supposing Him to be so far provoked, as to be bent upon extirpating the whole Nation. Whilst they hesitated, he himself, contrary to the Expectation of the By-standers, broke the Ice; and declared himself content, that the Affair should be compromised in a more human way. Articles therefore were drawn up to this Effect: That the *Dithmarsians* should before all things take a solemn Oath of Allegiance to the Princes, like other Subjects; honestly restore the Royal Standards formerly taken from *John King of Denmark* and *Frederick Duke of Holstein* the King's Brother, and whatsoever was still left amongst them of the Pillage of the Camp and other valuable Furniture; and repay the Charges of the War amounting to six hundred thousand Crowns: That all Mere and Mixt Sovereignty, as also the Territory, Right and Dominion, Liberties of hunting, fishing and the like throughout all *Dithmarsen* should remain with the Princes: That the Princes should have power to build three strong Castles in *Dithmarsen*, in what places they pleased, at the labour and expence of the People; who for the maintenance of the Garrisons and defence of the Fortresses should assign a competent Portion of Arable-land, Meadow, Pasture, and Woods, and should do Duty and furnish Horses according to the Custom of the Nation: That all other Forts should be demolished and levelled with the Ground: That whatever Great Guns or warlike Engines the *Dithmarsians* possessed, with the Stores, and Arms as well publick as belonging to private Persons, should be brought into one place, and delivered to the Princes: Out of their Lands and Pastures they should every year pay to the Princes as much as they received at present for the Use of the War: That all the Grants, obtained from the Emperors, Popes, or other Princes of what Rank and Dignity soever, which were in their Custody, they should faithfully exhibit upon Oath; and of such as should not be exhibited, they should cut off the Seals and Hand-writing, and declare them void and invalid by a separate Instrument: That a Jurisdiction should be settled in the Province by the Princes, with an Appeal reserved from it to themselves: That the People should be bound to the same Exactions, Tributes, Services and Pensions, as the other Inhabitants of *Holstein* and *Stormar*; renounce all Leagues with whomsoever contracted, and enter into no fresh ones for the future: Lastly, that they should appear in a suppliant and solemn manner before the Princes, confess their Fault and beg Pardon, and oblige themselves to Fealty by their Seals. 'Till these Articles were fully performed, they should give up eight of the forty eight Governours, and sixteen besides of the Principal Men, as Hostages.

Hostages. Thus the Deputies were sent back, and by *Francis Bulow A.D.* and *Henry Rantzow* conveyed to a place of Safety. Three days after 1559. (for so much time had been allowed them for Consultation) the Deputies returned, and, presenting an Answer to each Head respectively, declared themselves ready to receive almost all the Conditions: But, as for satisfying the Expences of the War, that This was not in their power; wherefore they begged, that some consideration might be had of their Poverty and of the Calamities brought upon them by the present War: They desired likewise to be excused from the additional Article of maintaining Garrisons and building Castles at their own Charges, and from the Payment out of their Lands; beseeching, that they might enjoy the same Liberty as their other Fellow Subjects the *Friselanders*, *Crempermarrians* and *Wilstermarrians* did, and, like them, be exempted from Days-works and the burden of furnishing Horses: Lastly, as to the Jurisdiction, they requested, that with the good leave of the Princes a Senate might be instituted in *Eiderstadt*; which might determine Controversies by a written Law, and do other Acts of Justice, saving the Appeal due to them. After a Debate of some days, the Terms being mitigated by the Judgment of the Principal Lords, and especially of *John Rantzow*, who in the absence of the Princes had been invested with the Chief Command; at length a Peace was concluded, and the 21st of *June* fixed for the Day, on which they should deliver up whatever Stores and Ammunition they had left, and humbly implore Forgiveness of their Fault. In this manner it was performed. The Princes *John* and *Adolf* (for the King was absent) sat with the Counsellors of War in an open Field: Round them the *Dithmarrians* bare-headed and upon their knees lay prostrate (amongst whom there were hardly numbered four thousand Men capable of bearing Arms, remaining after the late Slaughter): And These were surrounded by the Horse and the whole Army; insomuch that most of the Peasants, frightened with the Sight, expected a Massacre. Pardon being humbly implored, and the Colours and Arms delivered, with the Great Guns to the number of an hundred, which were afterwards carried to *Meldorp*, and divided according to the Treaty amongst the Princes; twenty four Hostages were likewise given, who received Orders to repair to *Rendsbourg*. Most of the People, even by the Permission of the Conquerors, had their Short-spears and Launces restored to them, for their Defence against the Insolence of the Soldiery. Then the Infantry, which seemed ready to fall upon the Spoil, was divided, and sent away in small Parties into *Holstein* without Artillery; for fear, lest, if joined together in a Body, they might be imboldened by their Numbers to create Disturbances. Thus a War, which, if we look back into former Times, seemed an important one, was with the utmost good fortune and dispatch finished in the space almost of a Month. Such Wars had formerly for a long course of years proved exceedingly detrimental to the Princes of *Holstein* and even to the Kings of *Denmark*, whilst the *Dithmarrians* in those early days fought stoutly for the Liberty of their Country: But when they began to make an insolent use of



A. D. that Liberty, and blinded with an extravagant Pride committed many  
 1559. petulant and outrageous Actions against GOD and their Neighbours;  
 the Anger of GOD, whose Favour they had hitherto experienced, being  
 hence kindled against them, and the Strength of their Enemies increased,  
 they lost in a moment, by a stupid Fierceness, all That Power, which  
 had been acquired by the Bravery of their Ancestors. The Terms  
 stipulated between Them and the Princes, *Ferdinand* in the following  
 Year ratified, and by his Imperial Authority confirmed.

Whilst Things were in this State all over the World, in the beginning  
 of the Year a great Change ensued at *Rome*, through the Aversion con-  
 ceived by the Pope against his Kinsmen; whose Government, as it  
 had for a long time been hateful to all other Persons, at last began to  
 be odious to the Unkle himself: These, for instance, had incited the  
 high-spirited and vindictive Old man to a War very fatal to the Papal  
 Metropolis, and indeed to the whole *Campagna di Roma*; in the course of  
 which many rapacious, intemperate, and injurious things were done by  
 them without the advice or knowledge of the Pope; who, when his  
 Treasury was exhausted, was forced by their Instigation to lay and exact  
 grievous and extraordinary Taxes. For four Mounts (as they are vul-  
 garly called) were instituted; two for nine years of perpetual payment,  
 at the rate of Eight *per Cent.* for one of which, the Hospital of  
*San Spirito*, and, for the other, *Thomas Marino* a *Genoesse*, were Security;  
 the like number of Mounts, not perpetual, were founded, one upon  
 the Duties of *Perugia* and *Ombria*, and the other upon the Revenue  
 arising from the Alom, which is boiled at *Tolfa*. He commanded also  
 the hundredth and half-hundredth Penny to be paid out of Estimated  
 Estates, and two Tenths out of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices, throughout  
 his Dominions; and, that nothing might be left untouched, he set  
 Offices to Sale, even Those of the Judges in Capital Causes; raising  
 from thence a monthly Pension into the Treasury, and obliging the  
 Religious Orders to find Labourers to work upon those Ramparts of  
 Earth, which were every where raised for the necessary Service of the  
 War. At length, Peace being made with *Philip*, when the Pope after  
 his Storm of Fury and Revenge had come to himself; receiving an  
 Hint from one *Jeremiah*, a Priest of the Fraternity called from the Pope  
 himself the *Theatines*, that the *Caraffaes* and especially the Cardinal acted  
 many unlawful things without his knowledge; he began from thence  
 to attend more strictly to the Civil Administration, and to enquire  
 more diligently into the Manners of his Kinsmen. It happened too  
 about the same time, that *Cosmo* had in his Prisons several Persons as  
 well Ecclesiastical as Laick, who pleaded their peculiar Subjection to  
 the Sacred Tribunal. He therefore, in order to provide for the Pub-  
 lick Safety (which is exposed to hazard by suffering Crimes to pass  
 unpunished), and by the same means to rid himself of the Scandal of  
 holding People in a tedious Confinement, had oftentimes before sol-  
 licited the Pope, that he would delegate some Persons of known Gravity  
 and Probity, who might take Cognizance of the Causes of the Prisoners.  
*Cosmo* was besides offended with the Insolence of the *Caraffaes*; who not  
 content

content with acting arbitrarily in their Own, that is, in the Papal Jurisdiction, went so far, as by their private Authority to impose heavy Taxes upon the Hospitals, Monasteries and Clergy throughout all Italy, and more especially in *Tuscany*. For this reason he had instructed his Embassador *Bongianni Figliacci*, to present a Complaint to the Pope upon that Head; but He, through the Artifices of the *Caraffaes*, had not hitherto been able to procure an Audience: Upon which *Cosmo* tried to do it by Letters, which were delivered to the Pope by Cardinal *Vitelli*, an Enemy to the Pride and Insolence of the *Caraffaes*. Upon the reading of these, the morose old Man, remembering the former Admonitions, immediately sends for *Jeremiah*; and orders him to get fuller Intelligence of the Matter from *Vitelli*, who knew all the Counsels of the *Caraffaes*, and to report it to Him. But nothing more galled the imperious Pope, who was immoderately tenacious of the Pontifical Dignity, than that Cardinal *Caraffa* had engaged for his Brother's Acceptance of a Compensation from *Philip* for the Town of *Paliano* (which he himself had a great mind to keep, and for that reason had consented to its being committed to the Custody of *John-Baptist Carbone* his Kinsman), and that he had actually agreed with the Duke of *Alva* about it without his Privy. Therefore divesting himself in a moment of all natural Affection, he commanded the Cardinal to depart out of the Vatican, where he usually dwelt, and forbid him under the severest Threats to come any more into his Presence: Then in a full Consistory, holden on the 27th day of *January*, he removed him from the Ministry and from his Legation of *Bologna*. From the Duke of *Paliano* he took the Chief Command of the Ecclesiastical Forces, together with the Place of Admiral of the Gallies; and lastly turned the Marquess of *Monte-bello* out of the Post of Keeper of the Vatican; inveighing against their Licentiousness in such violent Terms, that, when some Cardinals went about to pacify his Anger and make an Excuse for them, he rebuked them with an Air of Severity; and, directing his Speech to Cardinal *Ranuccio Farnese*, who was present, told him, that his Grandfather would have done more adviseably, if like Him, he had sacrificed private Endearments to the Pastoral Office, and by a severe Animadversion upon the Cardinal's Father, had punished his Wickednesses and abominable Lusts, which filled the whole World with Horror and Indignation. Shewing an Aversion therefore to the flattering Intercessions of the Cardinals in behalf of the *Caraffaes*, he threatened to take a still more terrible Course with them, if they did not forthwith leave the City: The Cardinal he banished to *Lavinia*; the Duke of *Paliano* to *Galese*, a Castle lately purchased by him of *Julius Rouero*; and the Marquess of *Monte-bello* into *L'Ombria*; stripped of all their Authority: And, displacing all such Persons, as They had preferred to Publick Offices, and even imprisoning Several, he advanced Others to their Posts. He likewise abolished some Port-Duties and others, as if they had been imposed without his own Knowledge; and bestowed the Custody of the City and Palace upon *Camillo Orsino da Lamentana*; upon whose Death he substituted *Anthony Orsino*, the Duke of



A.D. of *Gravina's* Brother, in his room, committing the Command of the Gallies to *Flaminio Orsino da Stabbia*. Lastly he instituted a College of twenty Cardinals, and some of the Lower Officers of the Palace, who at a publick Hearing every Week should with Himself take Cognizance of all Causes within the Papal Jurisdiction: Affecting by these Actions the Reputation of Equity and Justice, and transferring the Blame of all past Miscarriages upon his Relations. But when, by reason of his Ill Health, he could not be daily present himself, he chose the Cardinals *di Trani*, *di Spoleto* and *Consiglieri*, to supply his Place, and to try Causes with an absolute and plainly Royal Power. He moreover published an Edict, wherein, to Those, who had suffered from the Injustice of Magistrates and Governours, he promised an equitable Redress. Then, freed from the Cares of War, he dedicated himself entirely to the Holy Office (as he called it) of the Inquisition, which he exercised against all sorts of people with extream Severity: For the President thereof, he pitched upon *Michael Ghisleri* of *Alessandria* lately adopted by him into the College of Cardinals; a Man of the greatest Austerity and Roughness of Manners: And in this Tribunal he would have to be tried, not only Heresies, but also many Crimes, which used to be decided by the Sentence of Other Judges. Afterwards he provided by a Bull, that All, who had once professed a Monastick and Religious Life, should return to their Monasteries, upon what account soever they had left them, not allowing of any Excuses: Such as did not obey, by his Scouts dispersed over the Papal Territories he apprehended, and condemned part to Imprisonment, and part to the Gallies. In which matter he used such Strictness, that, when no Exceptions or Prescriptions were admitted, many were forced to fly the Country; who for a time found a seasonable and safe Retreat at *Venice*. The Wants of the City he relieved by a signal Instance of Piety, buying a measure of Wheat, called a *Robre*, for eight Crowns, and selling it again to the poor People for Five; in which sort of Liberality he spent fifty thousand Crowns. At the same time, These memorable things were likewise done by him: In several Towns of *India*, subject to the King of *Portugal*, he erected Episcopal Sees, as at *Malacca* and *Cochin*: And That of *Goa*, because of the Distance, he exempted from its Obedience to the Archbishop of *Lisbon*, and made it a Metropolitcal See, creating new Bishops. The like was done by him in the *Netherlands*, many new Sees being instituted by him in that Country, and some old ones separated from the *French* Jurisdiction, to the great Dishonour and Detriment of the *French* Name: This was ascribed by many to the vile Prevarication of the Cardinal *de Lorraine* Archbishop of *Rheims*; who by this Connivance sealed as it were the secret League lately concluded with the King of *Spain*: Though it excuses the Cardinal in some measure, that *Philip* obtained the same Indulgence from the Pope in derogation to the Majesty of the Empire and of *Germany*: For as the Dioceses of *Cambray*, *Tournay* and *Arras* were exempted from the Jurisdiction of *Rheims*; so Those Parts of the Dioceses of *Cologne*, *Osnabrug*, *Munster* and *Paderbourn*, which lay within *Philip's* Territories, were plucked

plucked from Them, and annexed to the Sees lately established in the *Netherlands*. The Pretence was, that at the beginning indeed, when *A. D.* 1559. that Country was ill peopled, there were few Episcopal Sees there; but that now, in its flourishing State, full of Towns and Inhabitants, it wanted more Labourers for the Harvest. Therefore *Mecklin, Antwerp, Harlem, Deventer, Leurwarden, Groeninghen, Middlebourg, Bois le Duc, Namur, S. Omer's, Ipres, Ghent, Bruges*, the most opulent Towns of *Brabant, Holland, Friseland, Zeland*, the County of *St. Paul and Flanders*, formerly subject to the Bishops of *Cambray, Utrecht, Tournay, Liege* and *Terouenne*, he exempted each from its antient Diocese and Province, and settled Bishopricks in them. Out of the number, he created three Metropolitan Churches, *Mechlin, Cambray, and Utrecht*; under which he placed the other Episcopal Sees. This was afterwards ill construed by the *Flemings*, who interpreted the Creation of these new Bishops, as made by the Pope, not for the Honour of the Thing, or for the Benefit of the Country, but that the hard Yoke of Slavery, and even of the Inquisition, might by the means of these Inspectors be laid upon the Necks of a Free People: And indeed the Papal Bull specified this very Motive; "That, whereas the *Netherlands* were on all sides surrounded and besieged as it were by Schismatical People; through the daily Artifices, Frauds and wicked Doctrines of Sectarists, the Catholick Faith in those Parts and the Salvation of Souls was in extream Danger".

By this Cause principally, amongst others, *Philip* was certainly induced to incline so strongly to a Peace; because it had been inculcated into him by his Dependants, that, if the War were prolonged, the Civil Government being by degrees neglected thorough the Licentiousness, which in the Heat of a War is more than ordinarily prevalent, the Contagion of Sectarism might spread amongst the *Flemings*, from their frequent and daily Commerce with the *Germans*, who were necessarily used as Auxiliaries. *Henry* afterwards imprudently disclosed this Matter, as he was hunting, to *William of Nassaw* Prince of *Orange*, Embassador at his Court; with This Addition, that *Philip* had resolved, when his Affairs should be settled, to extirpate the growing Sects out of the *Low-Countries*; and then, if possible, joining his Arms with Ours, to employ them in some more laudable Enterprize against the Heads of the Sectarists: Which same thing, being soon after communicated to the *Flemings* by the Prince of *Orange*, gave occasion to their entering into common Measures for their mutual Defence against the proud Dominion of the *Spaniards*, and to their making Those insolent Demands to *Philip*, at his Departure towards *Spain*, of which we shall speak hereafter. Most People looked upon this Transaction as managed on each side by the concerted Instigation of the Cardinal *de Lorraine* and *Anthony Perrenot* Bishop of *Arras*: For that the Edicts promulged by the King in Parliament the Year before, and also the *Mercurial Convention* held in this present Year, so fatal to *France* and the King, tended undoubtedly, both to oppress the Liberty of *France*, under colour of maintaining Religion; and that, by removing from the Administration in



*A.D.* the *Netherlands*, with the same Pretence, all the Chief Lords of the 1559. Province, who had deserved so well of their Prince, the Power of the Spaniards might be established. Thus, the Kings being resolved upon a Truce; besides the Dispute concerning *Calais*, which by the Death of *Mary* seemed in a manner to be ended, there remained Another, which held the Mind of each Prince in a State of Anxiety upon different Accounts; namely the future Controversy about the Restitution of *Metz*, *Verdun* and *Toul* taken by Us in the last War: For it concerned *Philip's* Honour and Security to raise a Contention about them, that he might shew himself solicitous for the Honour of the Princes and States of the Empire; and it appeared, that Our Countrymen would obstinately insist upon retaining them: Though it was not so much *Philip's* Interest, which was otherwise secured by very honourable and advantageous Conditions, to contend for the Restitution of those Cities, as it was the Interest of *France* to keep them. On each side therefore Embassadors were sent to the Imperial Diet; by the King, the *Sieur de Bourdillon* and *Charles de Marillac* Archbishop of *Vienne*; by *Philip*, *Barbançon d'Artemberg*, to make a shew of tendering his Service, that he might not seem to desert the Cause of the Empire.

At this Diet, which was begun at *Augsbourg* on the 25th day of February, before all other things the Obsequies of *Charles V.* were performed with exceeding Pomp; the Funeral Oration being pronounced by *Lewis Madruccio* Bishop-Elect of *Trent*, who was afterwards created a Cardinal. There were present at the Funeral, besides the Princes and States of the Empire, Embassadors from most of the Courts of Europe. The Ceremonies being finished, the Acts of the Colloquy of *Worms* concerning Religion were publicly read before the States: From whence there appearing no Prospect of a Reconciliation, the Emperor *Ferdinand* engaged to procure the Celebration of an Oecumenical Synod, and in a mild and moderate Speech require, that they should all promise to obey its Decrees. But when, on one part, the Embassadors of the Elector of *Saxony* and the United Princes remonstrated, that there could be no hopes of Concord from a Papal Council, and urged the Diet of *Passaw* and the Pacifick Decree of *Augsbourg*; and, on the other part, the Emperor persisted in his Resolution; the former at last declared, that they would give no Impediment to a Free and Universal Council in *Germany*, provided it were lawfully celebrated, and not summoned by the *Roman* Pontiff but by the Emperor: So that the Pope should not sit therein as a President and Judge, but in the place of a Party; and should submit himself to the Council, and remit to the Prelates and Divines the Oath taken to himself, that they might speak their Opinions freely and without Fear: So that the Holy Scriptures and the Word of God should be the only Rule of Judgment, to the Rejection of Human Traditions, of Customs opposite to the Word of God, and of the Consent of the *Roman* Church: So that the Divines, who embraced the Confession of *Augsbourg*, should not only be heard, but give Sentence in the Decision of Controversies; and have sufficient Security given them, not only for their safe coming thither, but for the

the sincere Maintenance of the Liberty granted to them by the Decree *A. D.* of *Augsbourg*: That the controverted Points should not be determined 1559. by the number of Voices, as is usually done in Civil Causes, but be established according to the Rule and Prescription of the Divine Word: Before all things, that all the Acts and Decrees of the Synod of *Trent*, as of a Council invalidly summoned, should be rescinded, and re-examined. Upon these Conditions the Protestants professed their Readiness to acquiesce in a Council: But, if it could not be obtained from the Pope, that the Peace of Religion and the Decrees of the Diet of *Passaw* should be observed, they, in a subsidiary way, desired that favour of the Emperor. He therefore, despairing of re-establishing an Agreement upon these Terms, and seeing nothing else possible to be done, again confirmed the Peace of Religion. A solemn Question was next proposed in relation to the Coin, that it might be reduced to a just Value and Standard in the Empire. A Decree likewise passed against the Disturbers of the Publick Peace, that a Method for restraining their Boldness might be taken by the respective Circles of the Empire. Audience was then given to *George Segelberg*, the Deputy of *William de Furstenberg*, Master of the *Livonian* Order; who, deploring the Calamities brought upon *Livonia* by the horrid Ravages of the *Moscovites* in the preceeding Year, desired Assistance and Succours from the Imperial States, and was supported, out of favour to his Kinsman, by *John-Albert Duke of Mecklenbourg*. His Demands seeming reasonable, an hundred thousand Florins were voted towards raising an Army for the Defence of the Province against the *Moscovites*: Which Sum appearing too small in regard to the Dignity of the Empire, the Danger, and the Exigency of the Times; the *Livonians*, still retaining their ancient Spirits, despised it, that they might not seem to have rashly placed a Confidence in so inconsiderable a Supply. Disappointed therefore of This Hope, he addressed *Sigismund-Augustus* King of *Poland*; and desired, saving the Empire's Right, that he would undertake the Defence of *Livonia*; agreeing to deliver nine Castles and Lordships, as Pledges for the Charges of the War, which the States of the Province might have a Right to redeem afterwards by the payment of six hundred thousand Crowns. Publick Instruments were drawn of this Agreement, and confirmed by the Oaths of each Party. Then *Gotard Ketler*, to whom *Furstenberg* at the same time granted the Dignity, undertook an Expedition against the *Moscovites* with *Christopher of Mecklenbourg*; and besieged *Derpt*, but with no Success, spending the time before it in light Skirmishes. From thence the Artillery was conveyed back to *Vellin* Castle, which *Furstenberg* had reserved for the Retreat of his Old Age; but in the Year following fell, together with the Castle, into the hands of the *Moscovites*. Complaints were likewise brought before the Diet by the *Livonians* against the *Lubeckers*, especially by the Cities of *Riga* and *Revel*; setting forth their Grief, that the Traffick usually carried on by the *Lubeckers* at *Revel* had been removed to the *Russian Narva*; and that by this new and unusual Voyage to *Narva* they imported all sorts of Commodities, Provision, Arms and Ammunition,



A. D. to the Support of their Common Enemy the *Moscovites* against *Livonia* 1559. a Province of the *Roman Empire*. A Publick Programma therefore was issued, forbidding the Transportation, as of Arms so of Provision, to the *Moscovites*: Which Decree, for reasons which we shall mention, was afterwards abolished. A Hearing was also given to *Alfonso del Carretto*, Marquess of *Final* in the Neighbourhood of *Genoa*; who, being expelled out of the Town by an Insurrection of the *Finalians* themselves occasioned by his Cruelty, had come to *Ratisbon* to complain before the Emperor of Injuries received from the *Genoese*: He at the latter end of the preceeding Year had been besieged by the *Genoese* under *Andrew Lomellini* in his own Castle, notwithstanding the Dissuasions used with the Senate by *Andrew Doria*, nearly related by Marriage to the *Carretti*, and now grown despicable to the Citizens by reason of his Old Age, and the Remonstrances of *Gomez de Figueroa*, Philip's Ambassador, against turning the whole weight of the War upon *Final* at so unseasonable a Juncture; when there was room to fear, that, whilst they were taking pains to invade another's Country, they might run a hazard of losing their own: For Our Countrymen had a little before seized *San-Fiorenzo* in *Corfica*, and fortified the Place, to the great Annoyance of the Navigation in those parts; and the Fortrefs built at *Bastia* they had taken by force, and hovering over *Calvi* seemed likely to make themselves masters in a short time of the whole Island. At length, when *Doria* prepared to use Force, if they did not desist, and *Figueroa*, protesting before the Senate against the Injury in Philip's Name, threatened them with the speedy Arrival of *Gonçalo* of *Corduba* Duke di *Sessa* with an Army; the *Genoese* on certain Conditions broke up the Siege. But this whole Affair the Emperor reserved to himself. Our Ambassadors were then, on the 28th day of *March*, introduced; and, when in an elegant Harangue they had copiously declared the King's Affection to the Princes and States of the Empire; they at last required, that the antient League between the Realm and the Empire might be renewed, and strengthened by a stricter Bond of Amity for the future. To This, the Emperor returned thanks to the Ambassadors; and said, that the King should never complain of any want of Friendship on the part of the Imperial Princes and States or of himself, provided his Actions suited with his Words, and the Cities lately taken by him from the Empire were restored: Which if done, he did not see any thing, that could hinder the Establishment of a sincere Friendship between them. Here the Ambassadors replied, that concerning the Proposal then made, they had nothing in their Instructions; but would write to the King about it: In the mean time they desired, that the Amity offered on the King's part might be answered with equal Civility. Thus the Diet was dissolved; and the Ambassadors, after an honourable Entertainment, dismissed: It was also secretly whispered to them, that the Emperor could not help mentioning the Restitution of the Cities; but that neither he himself for that reason, nor the Princes or States of the Empire, would depart from the King's Friendship, even tho' they should not be restored: A splendid Embassy to the King was also decreed; for the Discharge

Discharge of which the Cardinal of *Augsbourg* and *Christopher* Duke of *A.D.*  
*Wirtemberg* were nominated.

1559.

Before I leave *Germany*, it may reasonably be required, that I should say something of the Frauds of a famous Impostor, which were detected about this time. The Man was *David George*, born at *Delft* in the Isle of *Holland*, of mean Parents, his Father being a Fencer and his Mother a Woman of low condition; for the rest, illiterate, and unacquainted with any other than his Mother Tongue, in which he wrote many things; of an obstinate Temper, but yet so outwardly moderate, that all People took him for a candid and an honest Man: For he had a fine Look and a genteel Air in his Countenance, with a suitable Gesture and a decent Mein and Gate, so that he seemed perfectly formed for Integrity. Thus accomplished, and finding his Countrymen the *Dutch* already prepossessed with the Deceits of the Anabaptists, he set up a pernicious Sect; and when in a Soil, well prepared beforehand for the reception of his pestilent Seed, he had with the greatest Art and Silence scattered the Venom of his monstrous Doctrine, and gotten from thence a large Fortune; fearing, if he staid any longer in his native Province, where he had usurped a sort of Sovereignty over his Followers, lest what he desired to keep undiscovered might take wind; he thought it adviseable to retire from his Country; and, by a Method better calculated for collecting his Forces and confirming his Dominion, brought That to Perfection in his Absence, which Others generally endeavour by their Presence. Thus with a Few of his Sectarists, and a very splendid Retinue, changing his own Name and assuming That of *John Bruck*, he went on the 1st day of *April* in the 44th Year of this Century to *Basil* a City of the antient *Rauraci*: Observing That to be a proper Place for covering his pernicious Designs, in a decent Speech he requested of the Senate, that they would afford to an Exile for the sake of Religion a Refuge, where he might bestow his Wife, Children, Family and all his Fortunes, as in a safe Harbour. His Cause, Person, and Speech agreed wonderfully together; his Intention lay deep buried in his Breast; his past Life was unknown; his Country at a distance; his Story probable; especially as what he related to have befallen himself was apparently the Case of many others every day. Therefore after taking the usual Oath, on the 25th of *August*, he was received into the City; where he lived in such a manner, that, whilst by his respect to the Magistracy, Humanity towards the Citizens, Kindness to All, and moreover by his diligent Observance of the Religious Rites, he performed his Part to Perfection; he had prevailed so far, that no body could easily suspect any Harm of him; and he was thought by most People as good and as great a Person, as he desired to appear, and as he was esteemed by his Followers. He and his Family lived in one and the same quiet manner at home; where that he might more effectually be concealed, he had laid down three Maxims to be constantly observed: First, that none should mention amongst the People the Name of *David George*, which was too well known in *Holland* and *Friseland*; nor secondly, what Rank he maintained in his



A. D. own Country: From whence, some looked upon him as a Man of 1559. Quality, and that he desired to be hid for that reason; others believed him to be some noble and wealthy Merchant, who carried on a Traffick by Sea and Land by his Agents and Factors. Lastly, he took care, not to draw any one to his Sect at *Basil* or in the neighbouring Places; imitating herein Ferrets and Weezels, who are reported to spare the Poultry of such Persons, under whose Roof they live; returning this kindness however to their Host; either that they may not be disturbed in their Lodging, or to secure a Lurking-place, whither they may retire, when they have done a Mischief to Others. Thus *David* did not cease by Letters, Treatises, and Messengers to cherish his Sect in the *Netherlands* and amongst his Countrymen the *Dutch*, and in other distant places; but abstained from the *Swiss*, for fear of being detected by some Token or other. After six years pleasantly spent in this Disimulation, there happened a thing, which a little disturbed the Repose of the Author of this prodigious Sect: It was the Defection of one of his Disciples, who upon better consideration rejected those absurd Tenets, and shewed himself alienated from the Faith of his Master. His House too in the City and some of his Farms, being burnt by Lightning, foreboded not only his declining Fortune, but his approaching Death. But nothing troubled him so much, as the News, that a Person of known Credit was come to the City from the *Netherlands*, who had described *David George* and his whole Family to the Citizens. From this Perplexity he fell to despair of his Affairs, and from that Despair into a violent Distemper; and his Wife likewise; who died first, and was followed by her Husband on the 25th day of *August*, in the Year 1556. This was the End of an Impostor, who had pretended himself to be more Divine and Excellent than CHRIST, and even to be immortal: He was honourably buried in *St. Leonard's Church*; the Funeral being attended by his Sons, Daughters, Daughters-in-law, Sons-in-law, Dependants and Servants, with a vast multitude of the Citizens of both Sexes. His principal Tenets were These: That the Doctrine, hitherto promulged by *Moses*, the Prophets, CHRIST himself his Apostles and Disciples, was imperfect, and unprofitable for the attainment of true and perfect Happiness; but that his Own was compleat, and effectual to make every Man happy, who heartily imbibed it: That he was the True Christ and Messias, the most beloved Son of the Father, not begotten of the Flesh, but by the Holy Ghost and the Spirit of Jesus Christ; which Spirit of Christ, upon the Dissolution of his Body, had been hitherto preserved in a certain place unknown to all the Saints, and was now fully delivered to *David George* and infused into his Soul: That He was the Person, who by the Spirit should restore the House of *Israel* and the true Sons of *Levi* (meaning Those, who with a sincere Faith embraced his Notions), together with the genuine Tabernacle of GOD; not by the Cross, Adversities or Death, (as that Other Christ, who was sent by the Father into the Flesh, to guide Men, as Babes and Children incapable as yet of perfect Doctrine, by a Doctrine of

of Shadows and the Ceremonies of Sacraments), but by Clemency and *A. D.* the Love and Grace of the Holy Spirit, which was given to him by 1559. the Father. To these things he added, in order to raise an higher opinion of his Divinity, and to shew his Superior Excellency to Christ, that all Sins committed against the Father and the Son were forgiven, but such as were done against the Holy Ghost, that is, against *David George*, should never, neither in This World nor in That which is to come, be remitted. Moreover, for the alluring of Peoples Minds by the Sweets of unlawful Liberty, he held This Tenet, which was ingeniously coined in the Mint of the Catabaptists; namely, that Matrimony was Free, that no body was bound by it to one Woman; consequently, that the Procreation of Children ought to be common amongst Them, who were regenerated by the Spirit of *David*. This Monster being taken from the Earth, his Disciples, who never imagined that their Master would die, were under a violent Consternation: Though their Hope or Credulity was somewhat supported by what is said to have fallen from him at the Point of Death; namely, that after three years he should live again and accomplish all his numerous Promises: But the greater Part was persuaded, that all that he had taught his Disciples, when alive, and promised of himself at last, were mere Impostures. In the mean time, the Changing of his Name, and his spurious Religion, which in *David's* life-time had lain concealed within the Walls of a private House, began to be noised abroad, and to reach the Ears of Learned Men; namely, that *John Bruck* or *De Binning*, (which other Name he gained from some Farms, which he had bought in the Neighbourhood of *Basil*) was That *David George* a *Dutchman*, the Author and Head of a perverse Sect, who had set himself up for a King, and for a Person greater than CHRIST, to the exceeding Dishonour of CHRIST's Name: The Senate likewise, being informed of it, in this year made a strict enquiry into the Matter; and on the 12th day of *May* called before them the Deceased's Sons, Sons-in-law, and all the Males, with his Dependants and Friends: They were forty in number; who, being all together interrogated by the Burgomaster concerning the Name, Nation and Doctrine of the Deceased, returned the same Answers, which he had formerly put into their mouths; upon which, the Senate ordered them into separate Prisons: In the mean while their Scrutores, Books and Papers were every where seized, and put into the hands of Divines, who were to advertise the Senate, if they found any thing in them contrary to True Religion: Upon a second Examination of the Prisoners apart, when some of them seemed to vary in their Accounts and to waver, the Council of Seven entered more diligently into the Enquiry: Then, on the 26th day of *April*, the Heads of *David's* Doctrine were referred to the Censure of the University and the Preachers summoned for that purpose; who, having accurately read and weighed them, with one Mouth and Voice pronounced, " That they were foreign from the True Faith, quite contrary to the " Holy Scriptures, pernicious, and lastly highly reflecting upon the " Majesty of GOD and of JESUS CHRIST, and consequently fit to " be



A.D. 1559. " be exterminated out of the whole Commonwealth of Christians." Sentence was afterwards given upon the Prisoners; who, after a Confinement of two months, were discharged upon These Conditions: " That they should not purchase any Possessions without the City-Walls, unless by the Senate's Permission; nor entertain any Foreigners, not so much as their own Relations from the *Netherlands*, but send them to the publick Inns: That at their Return to their Houses they should bring into Court all *David's* Books, whether Printed, or Manuscript, which they had in Custody; and not read or possess any Book written in the *Dutch* Language: That they should send their Children for Education to no other School than That of *Basil*; and pay a Fine, if the Senate should require it; and lastly appear at a day appointed with their Women and whole Families in the Principal Church of the City, and there profess the True Religion, and declare their Abhorrence of *David's*." Two days after, Judgment passed upon the Deceased's Body, in These Words: " That, since *David George* had been the Author and Cherisher of a most pernicious Sect, and found guilty of affronting the Divine Majesty and Religion; it was resolved, that His Body, Bones, and whatever Remains of him might be found in the Grave, should be dug up, carried in a Cart to a Place without the Stone Gate, where Criminals are generally executed, with his Books and his Effigy hung high upon a Pole, and all together be burnt to ashes by the Common Hangman; just as *David George* himself should by the Imperial Laws have been treated, if he were alive: Besides, that his Effects, as the Estate of an Impious Person, whatsoever and wheresoever they were, should be confiscated for the Use of the Treasury; with this additional and solemn Sanction, that, if any one by Word or Deed contraven'd this righteous Judgment, he should undergo the same Sentence and Penalty." This done, they went to the Grave; and, the Coffin being opened by the Executioner, the Carcass within was found pretty entire, especially the Beard, which by its yellow Colour plainly discovered the Man. Thus he appeared to have been laid: On his Head he had a shaggy Silk Cap turned up with Purple, and a Chaplet of Rosemary; Such were the Badges of his Royalty! Under his Head were laid some handfom Pillows; and the rest of his Body was wrapped up in a Tabby Gown and clean Linnen. The Carcass being produced, with the Books, and an Effigy of him found in his House, was committed to the Flames, two years and six months after the Burial; to the great Astonishment of the By-standers; who remembered in what Esteem he had lived amongst them, and how honourably he had been interred, and now saw him dug up again, and burnt, as a Man publickly condemned of Blasphemy.

In the mean time, with Us, in the beginning of *February*, the Plenipotentiaries already mentioned, met on both sides at *Chasteau en Cambresis*, six Miles distant from *Cambray*, to treat of a Peace. There, a fresh Contention arose about the Restitution of *Calais*, which at length was privately agreed, apart from the Sessions: For *Elizabeth*, the Daughter

Daughter of *Henry VII.* by *Anne Boleyn*, who had succeeded to her Sister, *A. D.* when on the \* 15th day of the preceeding *January* she had been happily 1559. crowned with Solemn Ceremony, according to the Custom of the Realm, in the Royal City of *London*; fearing, if she relied upon the Power of the *Spaniards*, lest either they might desert her, or by imploring their Aid and Protection she should act beneath the Honour of the *English* Name; being a Woman of masculine Courage and Prudence far beyond her Sex, thought it best to make a separate Treaty with the King: And at length an Agreement was concluded betwixt them on These Terms: That *Calais* and the adjacent Territory should remain with the King, who bound himself either to restore it to the *English* after eight years, or instead thereof to pay down five hundred thousand Crowns; for which the King should both give his Royal Word, and deliver such Hostages as the Queen should choose out of the whole *French* Nobility. Not long after, a Change of Religion ensued in *England*: For in the first Session of Parliament, through the prevailing Influence of the Lords and Gentry, all *Mary's* Acts and Decrees concerning Religion were abolished, her Brother *Edward's* Edicts restored, and a Provision made, that for the future no Obedience should be paid to the Pope of *Rome*. Soon after, all the Images were taken out of the Churches and Chappels; amidst a vast concourse of People; excepting an Image of *CHRIST* crucified, which the Queen preserved, and suffered to be publickly seen in her Domestick Chappel. For the rest, she began to use the Title, assumed by her Father and Brother, of Head of the Church throughout *England*; creating new Bishops, appropriating the fat Possessions of the Abbeys and Colleges to the Use of the Treasury, and distributing a share amongst the Nobility; from which Article the Royal Patrimony is thought to have received an Addition of three hundred thousand Crowns Revenue.

As for the Agreement made with the *English* in relation to *Calais*, when by *Guy Carvalcanti* a *Florentine* Nobleman, who had done good Service in the Affair, it was notified to the Plenipotentiaries, it wonderfully facilitated the Dispatch of the other Articles. The next Dispute concern'd the Territory of *Siena*, yet remaining in Our hands; which was rather managed by private Cabals, and the Intercession of divers Persons, than publickly discussed. For *Cosmo*, who knew, how hardly *Philip* had consented to the yielding up of *Siena*, and saw the uneasiness of the *Spaniards* at his increale of Power; fearing, lest *Philip*, over-persuaded by the *Sieneſe* Exiles, or called off by the difficulties of the business, when he had abundantly provided for his own Interests, should abandon His; pressed him, by his Embassadors *Chiappino Vitelli* and *Bernardetto Minerbetti* Bishop of *Arezzo*, not to suffer, that *Tuscany*, which by his Father's Liberality had been bestowed upon the Family of *Medicis*, should be divided, and that the Favour, conferred by himself in the Cession of the *Sieneſe* District, should be torn to pieces. On

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\* The 14<sup>th</sup>. Vid. Burnet's History of Reformation.



A. D. the contrary, the *Sieneſe* Exiles, ſending *Bernardin Boninſegni* and *Achilles* 1559 *Buonſignorio*, as Députies from the Senate, humbly beſought the King of *France*, that he would not abandon them, or betray their Cauſe and Liberty to the Enemy; for that they had deſerved ſo much of His Maſteſty by their extraordinary Fidelity and Reſolution: That he would not therefore be diſpleaſed, by his Care of Their Republick, to leave a memorable Teſtimony to Poſterity, how Princes and Cities in Diſtreſs have always found a faithful and ſecure Protection from the *French*. The Duke of *Ferrara* too by means of the *Guiſes* privately ſollicitated, that the Places held by Our Countrymen in *Tuſcany* might be yielded to Him, as Pledges for the Charges of the War: Which he alſo thought a feaſible thing; ſince *Cornelius Bentivoglio*, who, upon *Francis da Eſtè's* late Departure out of the Province, bore the Chief Military Command in *Tuſcany*, favoured his Cauſe. With this View, preſently after the Nuptials celebrated at *Florence*, his Son *Alfonſo* had haſtened to Court, to forward the matter by his preſence. But *Philip*, who conſidered it as his own Caſe, more than *Cosmo's*, (as it concerned his Reputation, that the Benefit, once granted, ſhould without any Deliberation remain entire and unbroken), perſiſted reſolutely in his purpoſe; that the *French* ſhould abſolutely quit whatever Places they had taken in this War: Which being a fixed Point, it followed, that they ſhould retire altogether out of *Tuſcany*, a Portion of which, through the Deſection of the *Sieneſe*, they had ſeized. The laſt remaining Controverſy related to the Reſtitution of the Dominions, taken from *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* and his Son *Emanuel* by *Francis* and afterwards by *Henry*; which, beſides the Right of Conqueſt, the King claimed likewiſe as Heir to his Grandmother; and therefore was deſirous of keeping them, 'till the Diſpute, which was of long ſtanding, ſhould be ended. At length a middle way was found out by the Plenipotentiaries; whereby, both a Reſtitution might be made to the Duke, and a Reſervation of Rights to the King; namely, that the King ſhould retain ſome Towns in the room of a Pledge, which, within a limited time, after the Deciſion of the Suit, he ſhould be bound to reſtore. But when *Philip* reſuſed to admit of this Condition, without the Conſent and Approbation of the Duke (as one to whom he wiſhed well and owed much); calling him aſide, he laid before him the Progreſs of the Treaty; how that nothing remained to be adjusted but only His Cauſe, which was the only Impediment to its Concluſion; and therefore requested him to conſider in what Propoſal he would finally acquieſce: For that, as to himſelf, he would ſooner chooſe War, than do any thing, whereby he might ſeem to deſert his beloved and well-deſerving Kinsman. Here-upon the Duke of *Savoy*, who perceived theſe Words to be rather civilly than ſincerely ſpoken by *Philip* (as knowing on other accounts his ſtrong Inclination to Peace), at laſt conſented; with This Addition, that he was unwilling to lie under the Odium of obſtructing a Pacification, ſo vehemently deſired as neceſſary to the whole Chriſtian World.

Whileſt

Whilst the Plenipotentiaries were debating together, the King on the *A.D.* 5th day of *February* celebrated at *Paris*, with extraordinary Pomp, the 1559. Marriage of *Claude* his second Daughter with *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, whom in his Infancy he had formerly brought away with him into *France*.

At length a Peace is concluded upon These Terms: ' That the  
' Treaty formerly made at *Madrid*, between *Charles* and *Francis* the Pa-  
' rents of the King and of *Philip*, and especially the Stipulations of  
' *Vaucelles*, shall be observed, excepting such Articles as may be changed  
' in the present Treaty: That a firm Peace and Concord, such as  
' ought to subsist amongst Brothers, shall sincerely and without Fraud  
' be established betwixt the Kings; free from all underhand Machinations  
' either Foreign or Domestick; and in no wise to be prejudiced by  
' any Cabals, secret Friendships, or by the Amity contracted with  
' the *Turks* and the *Asiatick* Princes: The Kings shall give their  
' Word, that, when their own respective Affairs shall be composed, they  
' will earnestly labour, to procure as soon as possible the Celebration of  
' an Oecumenical Council for the Glory of God and the Quiet of Con-  
' sciences: On each side there shall be a general Amnesty; that no one  
' shall suffer for having taken part with either Prince; but the antient  
' and lawful Owners shall be restored to all such Estates as upon that ac-  
' count may have been seized or publickly sold: From which Indulgence  
' however the *Neapolitan*, *Sicilian* and *Milanesse* Exiles and Outlaws shall  
' be deemed as excluded: The Towns and Cities, taken within eight  
' years past, shall be restored on both sides; on the King's part, *Mariem-*  
' *bourg*, *Danvilliers*, *Ivoy* and *Mommedy* in the *Netherlands*; in the *Milanesse*,  
' *Valenza*, with all its dependant Castles, entire and undamaged; and that  
' *Ivoy*, by way of Consolation for the Ruin of *Terouenne*, shall be dis-  
' mantled: On the Other side, *Philip* shall yield up *S. Quintin*, *Castelet*  
' and *Han*, with their Districts, and the Diocese also of *Terouenne*; but  
' upon condition, that the City, once destroyed, shall never in time  
' to come be rebuilt or in any-wise fortified: That, immediately after  
' the Promulgation of the Peace, *Philip* shall take possession of the  
' County of *Charolois* and the Bailiwick of *Hêdin* as his antient Patrimony;  
' and the *Dauphin King*, in like manner, of *Crevecœur* upon the Borders,  
' with the District thereunto belonging, without prejudice to the Lord  
' of *Cruninghen's* Claim: That, for the better strengthening the Band of  
' Amity, *Philip* shall marry the Kings eldest Daughter *Elizabeth*, a  
' Lady of eleven years of age, with a Portion of four hundred thousand  
' Crowns: That the King shall restore to the Duke of *Savoy* all the  
' Dominions on each side of the *Alps*, which have been seized by his  
' Father *Francis* and himself, except *Turin*, *Pignerol*, *Chieri*, *Chivras* and  
' *Villa-nuova* in the County of *Asti*, which Towns he may retain as a  
' Pledge, 'till the Right, which he claims from his Grandmother, be  
' fully tried; during which time, *Philip* shall reciprocally maintain a Garri-  
' son in *Vercelli* and *Asti*, within the Duke's Territories: That the Duke  
' shall observe a perfect Neutrality, and have the King's Sister *Margaret*  
' bestowed upon him in Marriage, with a Portion of three hundred  
' thousand Crowns, and the usufructuary enjoyment of the *Pays de Berry*:  
' That



A. D. 1559. That the King shall abandon all the Towns and Forts held by him in *Tuscany*, and draw off his Garrisons from them; with a Proviso, that the *Sieneſe* Nobles and others, who have retired to *Mont-alcino*, shall receive a Pardon for their past Behaviour, and be restored, upon Obedience, to their Estates: That the King shall likewise give up his Conquests in *Corſica* and the *Genoeſe* Territories; with the ſame Proviſo, that the Punishment of Outlawry be remitted to Thoſe, who have ſerved the King; and that the Senate of *Genoa* ſhall with all due Submiſſion engage for their amicable Demeanour towards the King for the future: That the Caſtle of *Buillon* ſhall be reſtored to the Biſhop of *Liege*, the Affair of *Sedan* being nevertheleſs reſerved: That the Infanta of *Portugal* ſhall freely enjoy the Poſſeſſions aſſigned to her in the Name of her Mother's Portion: Each King ſhall reſtore his Acquiſitions in the Marquiſate of *Montferrat* to *William* Duke of *Mantua*; yet ſo, that Each may have it in his Power, either to leave ſtanding the Caſtles and Fortreſſes built by himſelf, or, if he pleaſes, to demolish them: *Mary* of *Bourbon* ſhall have the free Enjoyment of the County of *S. Paul*, ſaving the Right of the Parties, and ſuch Proceſſes as have been, or may be, moved in relation to it: The King ſhall firſt execute the Articles, and evacuate all Places within three months; after which, *Philip* ſhall diſcharge his Word within a month, and in the mean while give Hoſtages at the King's Pleaſure: Theſe were the Dukes of *Alva* and *Arſchot*, the Prince of *Orange* and the Count d' *Egmont*." In this Pacification were comprehended, by each Party, the Pope, the Emperor and Empire, the Electors, all the Cities and States of the Empire, the Kings of *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Scotland*, with *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, the State of *Venice*, the *Swiſs* Cantons and *Grifon* Leagues: The Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorraine*, *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Urbino*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, the Republicks of *Genoa* and *Lucca*; inſomuch, that not only between the *French* and *Spaniards*, but amongſt all the Princes and States of the Chriſtian World, an Agreement ſeemed to be re-eſtabliſhed: which however, through the perverſe Judgment of the two Kings and Advice of their Miniſters, turned at laſt to the Detriment of *France* and the *Netherlands*, through the Riſe of Commotions far worſe than a foreign War. For from that time the clandeſtine Projects of the Cardinal de *Lorraine* and the Biſhop of *Arras*, for the Detection and Capital Punishment of Sectariſts, were renewed: Upon which occaſion, ſecret Schemes were laid on both ſides, which in *France*, under favour of Religion, through the weak Age of Our Kings or Negligence, having been diſſembled and excuſed for a long time, broke out at laſt into an open War againſt the Royal Majeſty. It was added to the Articles, that the Dauphin-King and *Charles* the Son of *Philip* ſhould ratify them, and confirm them with an Oath; and then, that they ſhould be promulged throughout all the Courts of each Kingdom, and be entered into the Acts. Theſe things paſſed at *Chateau en Cambreſis*, as they call the Place, on the 3d day of *April*: Four days after, the Treaty was publiſhed in *Paris*, and Publick Thankſgivings offered; which were ſoon followed at *Rome* by the like Tokens of Joy, on the

part

part of the Pope. The Peace being made, though, with regard to the *A. D.* King, upon very unfavourable Terms; all the World over, and even 1559. with Us, every one, tired out with the preceeding Wars, composed himself to Rest; only the *Sieneſe*, zealous of retaining or recovering their Liberty, supported themselves with empty Hopes, and chose War before a Peace attended with the Loſs of Freedom; and even pretended a Promise from the King to that Purpose: For in the Articles of Peace, Thoſe relating to *Tuſcany*, for the ſaving of the King's Honour, had even with *Philip's* Conſent been ſo ſoftened in the Expreſſion, that the poor People, deceived by their Deputies in *France*, dream'd ſtill of preſerving their Liberty and Republick: And This at leaſt they hoped to obtain, that, if they were deſerted by the King, they might be left diſengaged, and free to put themſelves under the Protection of what Prince they pleaſed. Thus, at the Sollicitation of *Cornelius Bentivoglio*, they laboured, that they might fall under the Duke of *Ferrara's* Patronage: And the Duke himſelf had conceived Hopes of obtaining that Point, through the Inter-eſt of the *Guiſes* at our Court: Nor did he doubt, though in a declining Age, to undertake a Journey into the *Netherlands* to *Philip*; that, whiſt *Bentivoglio* ſpun out the Time in *Tuſcany*, he might, by his Preſence, gain the Good-Will of the *Spaniards*, whom he knew to have unwillingly conſented to the Ceſſion of *Siena*, and to be uneaſy at the vaſt Increate of *Cosmo's* Fortune; which filled the neighbouring Princes with ſuch Apprehenſions, and was ſecretly envied by *Philip* himſelf. *Cosmo*, on the other Side, ſending *Leo da Ricafolo* to the King, excuſed what had paſſed by the Neceſſity of the War, and for the future promiſed a firm Friendſhip, and a Readineſs to ſerve him. But, with *Philip*, by his Embaſſador *Pandolf Stufa*, he inſiſted upon the Performance of the Promiſes formerly made, and confirmed by the laſt Pacification, in regard to the Territories of *Siena*, as a Matter, that highly concerned the Reputation of ſo potent a Prince, who by his Arms had procured Peace to the whole Chriſtian World. The Maſhal *de Briffac*, for His part, in *Piedmont*, was making preparations for his Departure; deſiring, that, what he had gained by Arms, might be ſurrendered by his Succeſſor, or any one rather than himſelf: And *Philip* had given Orders to the Duke *di Seſſa* Governour of the *Milaneſe*, that, if the *Sieneſe* reſuſed to abide by the Articles concluded between himſelf and the King, he ſhould aſſiſt *Cosmo* with the Forces which he had with him, and force them to a Submiſſion. This the *Sieneſe* imagining to be done by *Cosmo*, in order to ſtrike a vain Terror into them, perſiſted nevertheleſs in the Reſolution of maintaining their Liberty; and, when they were abandoned by the King, and could not abſolutely depend upon the Duke of *Ferrara's* Support, deputing *Nicodemus Forteguerra*, and *Germanicus Bandini*, to Rome, they offered to put *Mont-alcino*, and the other Towns, which Fortune had left to the State of *Siena*, under the Pope's Protection: But the Father, now no longer poſſeſſed by his Relations, was abſolutely averſe to a War; though *John-Anthony Orſino* (who had ſucceeded the lately deceased *Camillo da Lamentana*) the ſacred College, and moſt of the *Italian* Princes,



A. D. Princes, who envied the Greatness accruing by that Accession to *Cosmo*, 1559. by Exhortations, Letters and Embassies, pressed him to hearken to the Prayers of the *Sieneſe*, and to espouse their just Cause. The Deputies therefore received no other Answer, than that the Pope would not disturb the Peace of the whole World, and they should accordingly consult their own Security; which they would do most effectually, by submitting, since it had been thus agreed between the Kings, to *Philip* and *Cosmo*. Although they were confounded with this Answer, yet *Bentivoglio* by his artful and peevish Dilatoriness still fed them with hopes of receiving some sort of Succour from the *French*: And tho' *Chiappino Vitelli* and *John Guevara* had come by this time from the *Netherlands*, with a Commission empowering them to take Possession of the *Sieneſe* Towns, which either still remained in the hands of Our Countrymen, or had been quitted by them; nevertheless, that they might leave no Stone unturned, they sent *Camillo Spannocchi* with a fresh Deputation to the King; ordering him, that, if he could obtain no support from the King in consequence of the Treaty formerly made, he should pass from *France* to the Court of *Philip*, and in the Name of the *Sieneſe* State intreat him with the most earnest Prayers, that under the Shadow of so great a Prince they might still preserve their antient Freedom: But This Message was attended with little better Success than the Former. However *Cosmo*, thinking it adviseable to do every thing, rather than proceed to Violence; by the means of *Vitelli*, *Guevara*, and *Lewis da Doara*, treated with *Bentivoglio*, who alone by his affected Dissimulation seemed to nourish the Obstinacy of the *Sieneſe*, that he would suffer the Difference to be amicably composed; and not give Cause, since the Kings were reconciled, for a fresh Rupture: That he had long enough played with the bewitching Madness of the *Sieneſe*; but that, since the Duke of *Ferrara's* vain Attempt, it was become a serious matter, and *Bentivoglio* knew the King's Mind to be changed: On the contrary, He too knew, that *Bentivoglio*, for his Honour, desired, that he might not depart out of *Tuscany*, without a valuable Consideration: That he had long ago foreseen it, by his eagerness in the fortification of *Lotteri* a Castle of *Pandolf Sinolfo's*, given him by the King, and by his late stocking it with Cannon, Powder and Ball and Provision: Nor was he against considering *Bentivoglio's* Labours and Merits in this Affair, provided he would plainly open his Sentiments, and, laying aside all Chicanery, suffer the Business to be once concluded. Whilst *Bentivoglio* was alledging in Excuse, that he had no Instructions from the King, on a sudden there arrived *John Everard de Saint Suplice* with thirteen Gallies; who, casting Anchor at the Mouth of the *Ombro*, sent word to *Bentivoglio* and the *Sieneſe*, who were at *Mont-alcino*, that he was come to pay the Soldiers their Arrears and to carry off both them and the Artillery.

And now almost all the Places, which We held in the *Netherlands* and *Piedmont*, had been restored, and Those in *Tuscany* were also upon the point of being evacuated (nothing remaining to the King for all his Labours, Expences and Dangers, but *Calais* and the three Cities of *Lorraine*);

*Lorraine*); when the Kings, having procured Peace at home, and *A. D.* freed themselves from the Care of a Foreign War, applied their whole *1559.* Minds to the Business of Religion; which, having for two years before been agitated amongst Us, and afterwards intermitted, now at last amidst Festivals and Nuptial Rejoicings was resumed. For the Dutcheſs *de Valentinois*, who from Outlawrys and the Effects of Condemned Persons sought to make a Profit, and the *Guises*, who courted the Favour of the Populace by the Punishment of Sectarists, filled the King's Head with This Notion, That the Poison of Sectarism was spread throughout all parts of *France*, and that the King could not be properly said to reign in those Provinces, in which that Contagion reigned: That the Impudence of the Infected Persons was so great, that, not content with dropping their Malignity by Whispers into Peoples Ears, they were openly and publickly listened to all over the Realm; whereby both the Name of GOD was blasphemed, and the Royal Majesty notoriously attacked: For where the Divine Laws were in Confusion, There, no doubt, all Human Laws must necessarily be overturned. To infuse this Persuasion more strongly into the King, they employed *Giles le Maître* First President of the Parliament, *John de Saint-André*, and *Anthony Mimart*, Presidents *à Mortier*, and *Giles Bourdin* the King's Procurator: And by these Agents, especially *Giles le Maître*, a Man of great Parts and Sagacity, they provoked the Patience of the King (who was apt to be led aside to these ill Measures, rather by the Management of Others, than by his own Inclination); and represented, that the Peace established abroad signified but little, if a War worse than any Foreign one sprung up at home: For that the Evil was grown to such an height, that, if it were any longer dissembled, it would not be suppressed by the Sword of the Magistrate or the Laws of the Realm, but would require compleat Armies, under the Royal Conduct, as formerly happened in the times of the *Albigens*: That the business had hitherto miscarried, because the severity of Sentences reached only the promiscuous Multitude, by which the Generality was exasperated, and Few corrected: That a beginning ought now to be made with the Judges themselves, of whom Some, out of a secret Favour to the Sectarists, Others through the Interest and Recommendation of Friends, Both by Connivance, nourished the Evil, and let it go unpunished, by their arbitrary Penalties: That this was the Root of the Calamity, and it would be Labour in vain, to attempt the Cure of the Evil, unless the Cause were absolutely extirpated; therefore it seemed expedient, that the King should unexpectedly enter the Parliament-house, where he would find the Members assembled upon account of the *Wednesday-Convention*. By *Charles VIII.* a Censure was set on foot in the Courts of the Realm, and an Edict for that purpose registered in Parliament in the Year of CHRIST 1493; which by his Successor *Lewis XII.* whose Memory is still sacred with Us, was in the fifth year after enlarged; and a standing Order made, that, twice or at least once in every Month, the Presidents of the Court, and of the Inquisitorial Classes, should meet on *Tuesday* or *Wednesday* in the Afternoon, with



A. D. two Counsellors out of every Class; and there, in the presence of the 1559. Procurator and Royal Advocates, take Cognizance of Those, who by Negligence, Disobedience, Dissoluteness of Life, or any thing worse, had offended against the Dignity and Gravity of a Counsellor of Parliament; that they should in a friendly manner admonish the Delinquents, and, if need required, refer the Matter to the Court; which might inflict heavy Punishments upon them, even a Suspension or Degradation from their Honour; and that Acts should be made of all these Proceedings, and presented to the King. Afterwards by Francis I. in the 39th Year of this Century, it was decreed, that, every Quarter, *Wednesday Conventions* (for so they came to be called from the Day appointed for their Meeting) should be holden: And the Royal Procurator and Advocates were commanded to form the Accusations of such Persons, as should have acted any thing unworthy of their Office; and to pursue them without delay in a Course of Law: In which if they were too remiss, They also by the same Edict were to be displaced: And they should also acquaint the King or his Chancellor with the Case. In the Settlement of the Punishments to be inflicted upon Sectarists, *Le Maître* and the others, who were privy to the Counsel taken with the King, were opposed by the other Presidents of the Court: By whose Authority, *Le Maître* fearing, that the King, naturally mild and indulgent, should be moved; had traduced them to the King, as Favourers of the Sectarists; and had advised him, that by closetting them, and discovering his Pleasure, he should deter them from using the allowed Liberty of Speech. *Christopher de Thou*, as I have often heard from himself, being admitted to a secret Conference, agreeably to his Freedom and Candour, disputed sharply with the King, in order to divert him from that Scheme, so fatal to himself and *France*, as he in his Prudence even then foreboded; and, for that reason, although the *Wednesday* Meetings had been wisely instituted at first for the Censure of the Parliament, he ever afterwards, during his Life, was averse to them. This Resolution being taken, the King, on the 15th of *June*, comes to the Parliament, which was then sitting in the Abby of the *Augustinians*, because the Greater Palace, where Justice is done, was taken up with the pompous Preparations for the Wedding. They had just entered into a Consultation about fixing a determinate Punishment upon Sectarists. Whilst the Members were proceeding in their Opinions, the King enters on a sudden, accompanied by the Princes of *Bourbon*, *Francis de Lorraine* Duke of *Guise*, *Anne de Montmorency*, and the Cardinals of *Lorraine* and *Guise*. Here, when the King had recommended a Zeal for Religion and the Publick Tranquillity, in such a manner, as shewed that he rather suppressed his Anger than had brought with him a Sedateness of Temper into Court, he at last said, that he had procured Peace to all Christendom, and ratified it by the Nuptials of his Daughter and Sister, and hoped, that it would prove beneficial to his People and of everlasting Duration: But he was extremely troubled, that the Cause of Religion, which ought to be the nearest Concern to all good Princes, had through the occasion of the Wars been turbulently and seditiously

seditionously managed: He wished therefore, that better Care might be *A. D.* taken for the future of the Christian Commonwealth: And, because he *1559* heard that the Parliament had met upon the same Business, he exhorted them, that they would give their Judgments with Uprightness and Impartiality: For that it was GOD's Cause, at which accordingly (as well as at all our other Thoughts and Human Deliberations) he was undoubtedly present. Then the Counsellors were commanded by the Vice-chancellor to proceed: And although it plainly appeared, that the King had been brought thither on purpose to pry into the Minds of the Judges, and to repress the Freedom of Suffrages; yet Some were found, who openly under the King's Eye, and at the hazard of their Lives, maintained the antient Liberty of Parliament; and, inveighing copiously against the Manners and evil Conduct of the Court of *Rome*, which had at last degenerated into the most pernicious Errors, and given rise to the several budding Sects, declared for mitigating the Punishments and putting a stop to the Severity of Sentences; 'till, by the Authority of an Oecumenical Council, the Religious Differences, by an Amendment of the Church's Discipline, should be composed: Which indeed was the Opinion of almost every one of the best Counsellors; for the Confirmation of which they alledged the Decree of the Synods of *Basil* and *Constance* for calling a Council every ten years. This Opinion had been first delivered by *Arnold du Ferrier*, President of the Inquisitorial Classes, a Man of conspicuous Probity and Gravity, and highly eminent in the Knowledge of the Laws, as appears from hence, that *James Cujas*, the singular Ornament of Our Age, acknowledged him alone for his Master. *Du Ferrier* had been followed by *Anthony Fumee*, *Paul de Foix* a Person of Quality and accomplished in every kind of Science, *Nicolas du Val*, *Eustochius de la Porte*, and others. The same things, on the very day, that the King came into the Parliament-house, in his presence, said *Claude Viole*, and after him *Lewis du Faur*, a Man of Parts and generous Sentiments; who at last added, that all Men indeed saw the Troubles occasioned by Religious Differences; but that it was proper to enquire, who really gave Cause to them; lest, what *Elijah* formerly retorted upon *Ahab*, who accused him as a turbulent Fellow, might be replied in a like Case at present, *Who art Thou, that troublest Israel?* Then *Anne du Bourg*, after a long Preface, concerning GOD's Eternal Providence, which all things are necessitated to obey, when he came to the Point, subjoined; that there were many Sins and Offences condemned by the Laws, against which neither the Halter nor any vulgar Torments were sufficient; as the blasphemous custom of Common Swearing, Adulteries, extravagant Lusts, frequent Perjuries; which were not only dissembled, but cherished with a most shameless Licentiousness: On the other side, that new Punishments were every day devised against Those, who had not hitherto appeared in the present Century to be guilty of any Crime: For can they be charged with Treason, who never mention the Sovereign but in their Prayers? Or are they accused of violating the Laws, attempting the Fidelity of Cities, or seducing the Minds of the Country-people to



A. D. Wickedness? So far from it, that not a Thought of that kind  
 1559. has it been possible to fix upon them by the strictest examination  
 of Witnesses. Or is it rather, because by the Light of Holy Scripture  
 they have detected the scandalous and full-grown Vices of the declining  
*Romish* Court, and now at length contend for the Correction of them,  
 that they are charged with Seditious Practices? The Presidents next,  
 in their order, spoke their Judgment. As to *Christopher de Harlay* and  
*Peter Segulier*, They, in a grave but modest Speech, asserted before the  
 King the Rightness of the Court's proceeding hitherto in such sort of  
 Capital Causes; and that, as it had formerly done, it would, like  
 itself, continue to discharge its Office to the Glory of GOD; and  
 neither the King or the People would have reason to be sorry afterwards  
 for their Conduct. But *Christopher de Thou*, with more Freedom, de-  
 clared the Procurator and Royal Advocates worthy of Censure, for  
 having dared to reflect upon the Decrees of the Court, and call their  
 Authority into question. *René Baillet*, a good sort of Man, voted for  
 reconsidering the Decrees complained of, and examining them over  
 again. *Minart*, in few Words, that he might allay the Storm, said,  
 that the Royal Edicts ought to be observed. Lastly, *Le Maître*, the  
 First President, made a vehement Harangue against the Sectarists; pro-  
 ducing the Example of the *Albigensis*, six hundred of whom were burnt  
 in one day by the Command of *Philip the August*; as also That of the  
*Vaudois*, who partly in their own Houses, partly in the Caves and  
 Quarries where they lay hidden, were suffocated with Smoak. This  
 done, the Vice-chancellor walks up to the King, who was sitting in a  
 lofty Throne, and calling aside the Lords, who had come with his  
 Majesty, enters with them into a Consultation: When they had all  
 sat down again, the Vice-chancellor calls *Saint-Germain* the Notary of  
 the Court, who had written down the Opinions of the Counsellors, and  
 demands of him the Paper of Minutes, and immediately reaches it out  
 to the King. The King, having received it, spoke again to the  
 Parliament; and, obliquely reflecting upon the Members, for having  
 entered upon so important a Debate without His Privy, said; That  
 now he plainly perceived, what he had formerly heard from divers  
 Reports, that some Persons amongst themselves there were, who de-  
 spised the Pope's Authority and His: That Few indeed were involved  
 in the Guilt; which however would turn to the Reproach of the whole  
 Body, and to the Ruin of the Authors: He exhorted the rest therefore,  
 that they would continue in their Duty. Then arising, and being par-  
 ticularly moved with the Speeches of *Du Faur* and *Du Bourg*, who had  
 mentioned the Example of *Ahab* and the frequency of Adulteries, he gave  
 orders to *Montmorency*, that they should be apprehended: And accord-  
 ingly they were immediately seized at his command by *Gabriel Count*  
*de Montgomery*, a Colonel of the Royal Guards, and committed Prison-  
 ers to the Bastille. Soon after, were seized also in their own Houses,  
*Paul de Foix*, *Anthony Fumee*, and *Eustochius de la Porte*. *Du Ferrier*,  
*Du Val* and *Viole*, being concealed by their Friends, escaped the pre-  
 sent Danger. These things were taken by most People, as they were  
 variously

variously affected, in good or evil part: But the more knowing Men *A. D.* highly resented, that the King, by the Instigation of others, should come *1559.* into Parliament, to subvert his own Laws, which he ought to have protected: Yet, that his entering the Court, and appearing only at the latter End of the Debate, was a small Matter: But that the Votes should be read, not numbered; that a Consultation of Parliament should be begun, and not finished; that the Minutes of the Sentences should be snatched away; Threats and Imprisonment employed; and that Counsellors should be laid in Chains; who would not believe, that the too easy Prince, whilst he ventured upon such Things, basely made himself a Servant to the Licentiousness of Others? Who could help hating those Persons, who dishonourably betraying the Secrets of the Court, to curry Favour with the great Ones, defiled their Conscience with notorious Perjury? Who, in short, would not interpret those Proceedings as unlucky Prefages of some perillous and prodigious Change? The next Day the Classes of Parliament being summoned, by the King's Command, Cognizance began to be taken of the Cause of *James Spisame*, Bishop of *Nevers*, who having privately married a Wife, was then absent, and had retired to *Geneva*; and the Proofs being publickly read, after Deliberation, it was agreed, that he should be seized. Notwithstanding all this, shortly after, as if there was not the least Danger; the Ministers of the reformed Churches (as they call themselves), despising the Fear of certain Death, met together in the City on the 28th Day of *June*, in the Suburb of *S. Germain*. *Francis Morel* was the Ruler of the Assembly; in which many Constitutions were made in relation to Synods and their Rulers, the removal of arbitrary Power out of the Church, the Election and Office of Ministers; concerning Deacons, Priests, Censures, Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity, contracting Marriages, and dissolving them: Which, however, were determined only for a Time, and not considered as fixed in such a manner, that they might not be altered according to the various Species and Circumstances of Cases, as it should seem expedient to the Church; provided it was not done, at the Pleasure of one or two Persons, but with the Consent and Advice of the whole Synod. At the same time Embassadors from the Protestant Princes of *Germany* came to the King, with Letters subscribed by the Hands of *Frederick Count Palatin*, *Augustus* Elector of *Saxony*, *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenbourg*, *Christopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and *Wolfgang* Count of *Weldentz*; containing in Substance, that they had understood to their exceeding Grief, that many pious and peaceable Men, who professed the same Religion with themselves, were, in *France*, like seditious and turbulent Persons, thrust into Prison, stripped of their Goods, driven into Banishment, and even put to Death: For this Cause they had sent to the King; encouraged thereto by the Motives of Christian Charity, and that Friendship, which subsisted between the King, the Realm of *France*, and them; and begged, that in the present Case, in which the Name of God, and the Salvation of so many Souls was concerned, he would decide nothing without maturely weighing the Reasons, and  
not



A. D. not suffer his Mind to be prepossessed with any Prejudice: That for 1559. their own Part, They also, as it became pious Princes, being no less than the King solicitous for God's Glory, and their own and their Peoples Safety, had carefully entered upon a Method for composing the Tumults sprung occasionally from Religion; and, whilst they attended seriously to the Business, had found, that many Things by Degrees, through Avarice and Ambition, had crept into the Church, that tended to the Dishonour of God, and afforded Cause of Offence; which accordingly ought to be examined by the Testimony of Holy Scripture, and amended agreeably to the Decrees of antient Councils, and the Authority of the earliest Fathers; for it was not of Yesterday, or of late Standing, that Complaints had been formed against the corrupt Morals and depraved Discipline of the *Roman* Court; on the Contrary, the Writings of *William of Paris*, *John Gerson*, *Nicolas de Clemangis*, *Wessel de Groeninghen*, the Restorer of the *Parisian* University under *Lewis XIth*, and other Divines, upon those Matters, had been heard and known in *France* for many Years. Some Provision had likewise been designed in such Cases by *Francis*, the King's Father of blessed Memory; who, upon the best Advice, had once undertaken the Reconciliation of Religious Differences, and the Amendment of Ecclesiastical Discipline: The like Care was most worthy the Son of so great a Monarch: And accordingly they intreated, that he would endeavour, since *France* was now at rest from Foreign Wars, that the Dissentions arisen at home on a Religious Account, might by His Authority and Interposition be amicably and peaceably compromised: For the Accomplishment of which Affair, they could see no other more likely Course, than if the King would immediately pitch upon proper Persons, Lovers of Tranquility, to try the present Cause without Enmity, and bring the Confession of Faith, which they exhibited to his Majesty, to the Test of Holy Scripture and the Primitive Fathers: That in the mean time the Severity of Sentences should be intermitted; the Wretches, grown old in the Filth of a Prison, released; the Exiles recalled; and such, as had been deprived of their Estates, restored to them: Thus would the King do a Thing acceptable to God, honourable to himself, and profitable to the Realm; and to Them, who had sent their Deputies to him, as in a common Cause, to interceed for those miserable People, most grateful, and for which they would hold themselves highly indebted to him. The King received the Embassadors kindly, and promised to send speedily to their Masters, intimating his Hopes, that their Wishes would be abundantly satisfied. The Embassadors being dismissed, before they had well reached the Borders of the Kingdom, the Fire, which by their Arrival, seemed to have been as it were extinguished, began to break out more violently upon their Departure. For, on the 19th Day of *June*, Judges were delegated by the King, to try the imprisoned Counsellors. These were *John de Saint-André*, President and Instigator, as we have already related; *John James de Memme*, Master of Requests; *Lewis Gayant* and *Robert Boisse*, Counsellors; *Eustochius du Bellay*, lately a Counsellor of Parliament, now Bishop of

of *Paris*, and *Anthony Demochares*, called Inquisitor of the Faith. A.D. *Du Bourg*, being on the same day interrogated by *Saint-André*, refused 1559. to answer; for Members of the House have This Priviledge, that excepting the whole Court be present, and all the Classes thrown into one, they are not obliged to plead to a Capital Indictment. Thereupon *Bourdin* obtained from the King a new Commission, wherein *Du Bourg* was commanded to answer for himself before those Delegates, upon Pain, if he did not comply, of being deemed Convicted, and subject to the Punishment of Treason. Thus *Du Bourg*, by reason of the heinousness of the Crime, as it was given out, being treated as unworthy of the Priviledge of Parliament; that he might not seem to disown the Authority of the King (to whom he professed himself in all things obedient); after entering a Protestation, that he might not be a Sufferer, or do a Prejudice to his own Priviledge; being on the third day after questioned before the Judges in regard to his Confession of Faith, gave Answers to each Head respectively, conformable to the Tenets of the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, in those Points wherein they differ the least with each other: Whereupon, without farther Proof, he was declared an Heretick by the Bishop of *Paris*, and stripped of his Sacerdotal Habit as a Person unworthy of it; and after that, delivered over to the Secular Arm (so they call the Civil Magistrate), in order to be punished: From which Sentence *Du Bourg* afterwards appealed to the Archbishop of *Sens*.

Whilst poor Wretches were every where hurried to the Judgment-seats for the sake of Religion, and, through the frequency of Accusations, their Favourers, Friends, and such as ventured to talk with more than ordinary freedom, were drawn into a part of the Danger, all places being filled with sorrowful Silence; far different was the Face of Things at Court, where nothing was to be seen or heard but joyful Applauses and Nuptial Preparations; which however were soon turned into Mourning by a most lamentable Catastrophe. Amongst other Sports, a Tournament was appointed; and Lifts were set out for the purpose with expedition and magnificence, not far from the *Basile*, where the Counsellors of Parliament were kept Prisoners; reaching from the *Tournelles*, where the King resided, to the Royal Stables, cros the Street of St. *Anthony*; and inclosed with Seats raised to a considerable Height one behind another, and with low Chambers, in the form of a Theatre; wherein the Chief Lords in Armour, parted from the rest by a Palisade, were to run one against another with Launces. When some days had passed in this Equestrian Pastime, the King, \* on the 29th of *June*, amidst a vast Crowd of joyful Spectators, as he was running against the Count *de Montgomery*, (both the Launces being broken and the Vizor of his Helmet unfortunately flying open) received a Wound in his Eye by the Rebound of his Antagonist's Stock; upon which, reeling from his Horse, he was caught by his Servants and carried back to the *Tournelles*. As he was carried out, they say, he

\* *Mezeray* places it on the 30<sup>th</sup>.



A. D. looked up to the Castle of the *Bastile*, and calling to mind the Coun-  
 1559. sellors lately apprehended, and detained in that place, repeatedly said,  
 ~ that he feared, he had done an Injury to those innocent Men: At  
 which Words the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who stood by, growing angry,  
 admonished the King, that those Thoughts were infused into him by  
 the evil Spirit, the Enemy of Mankind; against whom he ought accord-  
 ingly to be upon his guard, and to preserve his Constancy in the  
 Faith. Whether this be true or false, I will not affirm, proposing to  
 deliver only such things as are certain and confessed. It is past Dis-  
 pute, that the Skilful in Physick deny it to be possible for a Man to  
 utter a Word after such a Wound, because of the Concussion received  
 by the Brain; whether that it was moved out of its place by the  
 violence of the Shock; or benumbed and corrupted by the oozing  
 of the Blood, upon the breaking of a Vein, into its tender Marrow;  
 or else, by the *Dura Mater's* being burst and forced into it, was  
 crushed and confounded: For that such as are wounded in the Brain,  
 from what Cause soever it proceeds, become immediately and necessarily  
 speechless. At the Report of the Accident, *Philip*, to shew his Af-  
 fection to his Father-in-law by this last unprofitable Office, dis-  
 patched from *Brussels* *Andrew Vesale* an excellent Physician, the Author  
 of an admirable Treatise upon the Fabrick of the Human Body:  
 But he came too late, and could afford no Assistance. For the Brain  
 being hurt, and an Abscess contracted from thence, the King, on the  
 \* 10th day of *July*, died; after he had lived forty years, three months,  
 and eleven days, and reigned twelve years and three months. Before  
 His Decease, the Marriage of his Sister *Margaret* and *Emanuel Philibert*  
*Duke of Savoy* was hastened, and without Pomp celebrated in the  
 Royal Chappel. His Death gave occasion to various Discourses:  
 For some people extolled his Character beyond measure: That, as a  
 warlike and high-spirited King, ever since his Entrance upon the Go-  
 vernment, he had, with generally prosperous Arms, enlarged the Boun-  
 daries of the Realm, by the reduction of *Scotland* and *Corfica*, and great  
 part of *Italy*; thus fencing as it were his Empire on the side of Both  
 Seas: That after he had forced *Charles V.* to fly at *Renty*, and concluded  
 a Truce, he had driven him, through the Regret of his declining For-  
 tune, to a private Life: Then, from a rare Principle of Piety towards  
 the Church of *Rome*, he had renewed the War, in order to succour the  
 distressed *Paul IV.* and with the Army, which at length was recalled,  
 when *Philip* King of *Spain* and *Mary* Queen of *England* invaded the  
 Realm with joint Forces, had opposed the numerous Troops of his  
 Enemies: Lastly, that he had concluded a Peace, if not upon favour-  
 able Terms, yet such an one as was advantageous to the Kingdom and  
 the People; and, by the Nuptials of his Daughter and Sister, had made  
 Provision for the Publick Tranquillity: In the last place, they added,  
 that, like a brave Prince, eminent besides for Generosity and Gallantry,  
 he had died in the midst of Arms, to the incredible Grief of his People.

\* For *VII Non.* which is certainly a Corruption, read *VI Id.* See *Mezeray.*

Others on the contrary said, that the King, having been successful in *A. D.* the former part of his Life, had stained the Glory, gotten in just 1559. Wars, with the Infamy of violating the Truce; although That was not so much the Fault of Him, as of Those, by whose Instigation he involved himself in an unfortunate War: That, in this Expedition, a prodigious quantity of the Kingdom's Wealth had been lavished, and the principal Strength of the Realm worn out; and that Disasters, too foul to be named or remembered, had followed upon it: That the King and the Nobles of *France* had been deluded by the Pride and Treachery of the *Caraffaes*, and the Name of the *French* almost obliterated in *Italy*: That a Few, saved from the Slaughter and almost killed with Hunger, had been recalled into *France*, to support the Extremities of the State: That a Peace (which was a thing very desirable) had indeed been made, but a dishonourable one; and that the Nuptials served for nothing, but to cover Disgrace: That the King, inured to serious Warfare, had at last, like a Common Soldier, amongst Pastimes and Revels at home, whilst he desired to shew himself to others, procured his own Destruction. Nor were his Domestick Affairs concealed: That a Harlot had been introduced over his Wife's head; who, bewitching the King's Mind with her Sorceries, and taking possession of the Palace, bore the chief Sway, as long as he lived; from whence arose Prodigality and Luxury, which drew after it the unsatiable Avarice of the Courtiers. Amongst the Testimonies of a corrupted Age, the *French* Poets, with whom the Reign of *Henry* swarmed, were reckoned none of the least; who, abusing their Parts, by vile Flatteries made their court to an ambitious Woman; in the mean time debauching the Youth, and calling them away from the Study of real Knowledge; and lastly by the Charms of lascivious Songs banishing all Shame and Modesty out of the Minds of Virgins: So that without Fondness or Enmity we may say, *Henry* was a Warlike Prince; and that therefore rejecting the pacifick Counsels, which *Montmorency* continually insinuated, he embraced all opportunities of War, as long as Fortune gave him leave; in other respects mild and easy, and one who was governed more by the Advice of Others than his Own. Such as looked farther into Futurity, considered his Death as a publick Misfortune; for as his Sons were left almost Infants under a Mother fond of Government, and the Court was divided into Factions, they conjectured, that the Peace would not long continue; and that Domestick Storms, if not maturely prevented, would soon follow the late Foreign War. It appears that the Kind and Time of his Death had been foretold by *Luke Gaurico*, a Mathematician, and familiar Acquaintance of *Paul III.* at a time that *Catherine*, a Woman anxious of future Events, consulted him upon the Fate of her Husband and Sons; namely, that he should fall in a Duel, by a Wound received in the Eye: Which was laughed at by Many and neglected at the Time, as if the Condition of a King was placed far above the Hazard of a Duel. And it was afterwards remarked by the Curious, that the King, who in the unhappy beginning of his Reign had ap-  
proved



A.D. proved a serious Duel, a thing forbidden by the Christian Religion, 1559. lost his Life in a Mock-Duel.

From hence, omitting to relate the excellent Sayings and Actions of Our Ancestors and the former Age, in Peace and War, I shall come to a Scene of Domestick Miseries, and indeed of our Own Vices, which now for forty years have been vexing and distracting this once most flourishing Kingdom; first premising, that, without Malignity or Affectation, I shall draw the following Relation from the Publick Acts themselves; and from such Pieces, as were written indeed very early, whilst the Quarrel was fresh, but which I afterwards weighed by the Standard of the best living Authorities; in the mean time asking Pardon, if the Ambition, Avarice, Perfidy, Frauds and pernicious Counsels against the State, of certain Persons, happen now and then to be lashed: For These are the Rules, which, with Temper, and apart from Detraction, must be observed in the writing of History, by such as profess the Truth. For my own part, I hope the Distance of Time will easily acquit me from the Suspicion of Malice; and the Commotions and various Casualties, which have since happened, will fully enable Posterity to judge, whether I stand chargeable, or not, with Falshood.

### The End of the Twenty Second B O O K.





## BOOK XXIII.

### ARGUMENT.

*Upon the Inauguration of Francis II. a great Change follows at Court.*

Anne de Montmorency, being removed from the Ministry, gravely admonishes the Queen Mother, that she would not season the King's tender Mind with Family Animosities, or with any Hatred against his Kindred. The Dutches of Valentinois driven from Court. Francis Olivier recalled thither. Saint-André, in order to keep his Rank, devotes himself to the Guises. The King of Navarre in vain advised by Montmorency to repair to Court. Whilst he delays, he loses his Opportunity, and by coming late raises a suspicion of secret Counsels, of which he is accused by his Rivals. An unseasonable Meeting at Vendôme. D'Andelot, just escaped from Prison, and the Colignys, reconciled with Charles de Bourbon Prince De la Roche-sur-Yon, by the Mediation of the Prince of Condé. After the Funeral Obsequies of Henry II. Montmorency is commanded to his House; the Publick Administration of Affairs remaining in the hands of Francis de Lorraine Duke of Guise and his Brother the Cardinal: Condé and De la Roche-sur-Yon are excluded from it. Navarre, being deluded and unworthily treated at Court, is obliged by the Jealousies fomented against him to retire to Bearn. The Queen Mother is persuaded in the mean time, that against the impending Commotions she should put the King, Herself and Friends, under her Son-in-law Philip's Protection. Some excellent Decrees made by the worthy Head of the Law, for the Publick Advantage and Security. The King solemnly crowned at Rheims. Anne de Montmorency voluntarily resigns the Post of Master of the Palace, (that he might not be thought to do it upon Force); which he had held for many years from the Death of René de Savoy his Father-in-law, and which he knew to be coveted by the Duke of Guise. The Badge of Knight-hood, which formerly was bestowed only upon Merit, given to Many out of Favour. Enquiries, with more Severity than ever, renewed against Persons suspected of Sectarism: And because they used to meet clandestinely and in the Night, it was boldly pretended up and down, that they held those frequent Assemblies, under colour of Religion, for the purposes of promiscuous Lust. Into this Persuasion came Queen Catherine; who, having formerly shewn herself



herself rather too indulgent, began from that time to be alienated from them. The Brothers Soubelles, principal Gentlemen of Anjou, fight with the Archers in the Fauxbourg of S. Germain. Ill Blood being bred, partly amongst the Protestants, whose numbers increased daily, and partly amongst Those, who envied the New Ministry, Libels began to be dispersed against Catherine and the Guises; and, in a Dissertation written upon The Free Government of the Francogalli, their Power is called into question: Against which, John du Tillet Prothonotary of Parliament, a Person of excellent Skill in Our Law, disputed, in a Treatise Of the King's Majority. The adverse Party reply by another Libel, wherein the Examples and Testimonies alledged by du Tillet, (accordingly as Peoples Minds stood at that time variously affected) are confuted by contrary Arguments. The Result of the Contention was, that from thence du Tillet's Book came into the highest Credit, and at this day stands entered amongst the Royal Constitutions as the certain and established Law of the Kingdom. The Treasury, being exhausted by the Expences of the War and Largesses, is replenished after a sort, though with the Murmurings of the People. The King's Health being suspicious, various and unworthy Reports are spitefully propagated about it: The real Causes, contrary to what was pretended, of his Distemper, which at last proved fatal. The Punishment of Anne du Bourg, after his Cause had been long canvassed and delayed, and his Last Words, out of the Publick Acts. The Cause of the other imprisoned Counsellors, Paul de Foix, Eustochius de la Porte, and Lewis du Faur, subjected to an Examination before the Delegates: These Gentlemen, having in their Answers said nothing against the received Doctrines, as Du Bourg had done; but yet in the Delivery of their Opinions having mentioned the Amendment of gross Errors, that had in process of time crept into the Church, and being upon other accounts suspected; escaped with their Lives, and were only ignominiously degraded. The Severities against them were the greater, because of the President Anthony Minart's Murder, supposed to be perpetrated by the Protestants, which extreamly imbittered the Temper of the Judges. Next follow Foreign Affairs. The French exterminated out of all Italy. Cosmo, in Tuscany, becomes Master of the whole Sieneſe Territory, which had been held by Our Countrymen. Philip, departing from the Netherlands towards Spain, makes Margaret Dutcheſs of Parma Governess of the Province, appointing her a strong Guard of Spaniards, as it were for the Defence of the Barrier; but, in reality, to prevent the Plots of the Protestants, of whom at that juncture he was more apprehensive than of the French. The Prince of Orange, to whom Henry had formerly whispered somewhat of the matter, when he was at His Court, and who had told it again to the Chief Lords of the Netherlands, and the Count d' Egmont make a brisk Opposition. Philip, when he had loosed from Zeland, runs the hazard of a Ship-wreck in the sight of Port Laredo. For his Arrival were reserved the Persons condemned to Death for Sectarism, and, amongst them, some Monks of the Abbey of St. Isidore of Seville; who at Seville and afterwards at Valladolid were led forth to Execution with extraordinary Solemnity. Paul IV. his  
Death

*Death and Last Words.* After his Decease, the Rabble vent their intemperate Rage upon his Statues, breaking open the Prisons of the Inquisition, during the Vacancy; and, in order to affront his Memory, destroying and throwing down the Arms and Badges of the Caraffaes in every place. The Death of several Princes, within the space of one year, namely, of the Pope, the Emperor, King of France, two Kings of Denmark; also of Laurence Priuli Doge of Venice, Otho Henry Elector Palatin, Hercules da Este Duke of Ferrara, Otho Duke of Lunenburg and William Count d' Henneberg; and three Queens, Eleanor of France, Mary of Hungary, and Bona Sforza of Poland. The Death of George Recrod; also of many Learned Men, as of Francis Duarein, Aemar de Ranconet, Joachim Perion, Robert Stephens, Luke Gaurico, John-Baptist Folengio, and James Milick. Cosmo's Actions in Tuscany during the Interregnum. The Puccian Conspiracy at Florence detected; in which Bernard Carbinelli being found to have born a part, and having escaped the Danger by Flight, perished afterwards amongst Us by an inevitable Fate. Elizabeth, Philip's Wife, conveyed to the Frontiers with great Pomp, and by the King of Navarre delivered with no less Ceremony into the hands of Philip's Proctors; with a Protestation, that, since the Delivery of the Queen had been agreed to be performed upon the Frontiers of each Kingdom, and nevertheless was actually performed in the middle of the Kingdom of Navarre, which of Right belonged to Him; no Prejudice should be understood as done to his Right by that Action. The King of Navarre afterwards, sending John Claude de Levi Sieur d' Odaux into Spain, makes pressing Instances for the Restitution of his Kingdom, and is baffled. The Heats of the Factions at Rome, during the holding of the Conclave. At length John-Angelo Medechino is Elected Pope, who would be called Pius IV. His Pedigree. At his first Promotion he grants a Pardon for past Offences, annuls the Acts and revokes the Edicts of his Predecessors, orders the Causes of the Monks, and also of such as had been accused of Heresy, to be re-examined with more Temper; releases Cardinal Morone and Thomas San-Felice, who upon that account had been injuriously imprisoned: Lastly (what was ascribed to his consummate Prudence) he ratifies the Translation of the Imperial Dignity made upon Ferdinand by his Brother Charles, which Paul IV. had condemned.



UPON Henry's dying thus suddenly amongst Nuptial A. D. Revels and Tournaments, Francis Duke of Guise and 1559. Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, in company with Alfonso da Este Prince of Ferrara, and James de Savoy Duke of Nemours, saluted Francis as King; and, putting him into a Coach, carried him with them to the Louvre. Thither, shortly after, the Duke of Nemours brought the Royal Mother Catherine, leaving the custody of the Deceased's Body, by way of Insult, to Montmorency; from whom, by the Deputation of Claude de l'Aubespine Secretary of State, the Royal Seal was immediately redemanded with disgrace. In a boarded Gallery, which a little before had been erected in the Tournelles for Dancing and Pageantry, and



A. D. and was now for a far different purpose hung in mourning, the 1559. Body was deposited; where Masses and Prayers were offered up, as usually, for forty days together. During the Service, *Montmorency* repairs to the *Louvre* to wait upon the King; and, entering into Conversation with the Queen, advises her, to take the best Advice for instructing the King in the Arts of Government, and, not to possess his tender Mind with Domestick Discords or with Hatred against his Kinsmen; and that she would prescribe to him such a Form of Administration, as would be agreeable to the *French* Nobility and the other Orders of the Realm: Such an one it would be, if every Man might retain his Dignity and antient Offices: She should remember, that she was at the Head of a Nation, which never was uneasy under the Government of its own Kings and Princes, nor easy under That of Foreigners. To these he added humble Intreaties, and offered his Zeal and Service to the King and Her. She, receiving him kindly, dismissed him with a load of Promises. But the discerning old Man, foreseeing a sudden Change likely to ensue upon the King's Death, had immediately, after the receipt of the Wound, sent *La Mare* one of the King's Gentlemen of the Chamber, to *Anthony de Bourbon* King of *Navarre*, the first Prince of the Blood, who was then at *Bearn*; and had advised him, to come forthwith to Court, in order to take upon himself the Publick Administration, if the King should happen to die. But He, wanting Ambition, and being otherwise angry with *Montmorency* (because in the last Pacification, framed by the Constable, no Notice had been taken of Him), neglected to comply with those wise Admonitions; and on the contrary by moderate Journeys went to *Vendôme*; where he staid for some time, and thus suffered the finest opportunity of Success to pass unimproved: Which in the Sequel was the Cause of great Tumults. For, afterwards, *Lewis de Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*, the King of *Navarre*'s Brother, a Man of excellent Courage and Parts, vexed to see the whole Power transferred contrary to the Laws of the Realm upon the Queen Mother and the *Guises*, attempted, more bravely than seasonably, (since through his Brother's Patience the Cause had once fallen under the Prejudice of Ambition and Treason) what *Navarre* might have legally done. Therefore *Catherine*, unmeasurably fond of Dominion, removing *Montmorency*, joins herself immediately to the Brothers of *Lorraine* her Daughter-in-law the Queen's Unkles, whom she flattered herself to find for that reason more dear to the King, and (as she was not yet thoroughly acquainted with their humour) more obsequious to herself. But They, having, sooner than they could hope, obtained what they had long been eagerly wishing, bestowed all their Pains, how to make the best of their Fortune; and, by aggrandizing their Family, to strengthen their Interest in the Kingdom. Many things conspired to invite them to the Pursuit of these Projects: The Age, so seasonable for Innovations, of the young King, who laboured under an equal Infirmary of Mind and Body; the Favour of the Queen, who, being above her years ambitious, led about her Husband's Mind at the pleasure of her Unkles; the Countenance of the Queen

Queen Mother, who was alienated from *Montmorency* the Rival of the *A. D.* *Guises*, and of late had received fresh Cause of Offence; because a little before *Henry's* Decease he had contracted an Affinity with the so often mentioned Dutchess of *Valentinois*, whom besides, to gratify the King, as long as He lived, he had courted with an abject Obsequiousness unworthy of his Dignity. Thus, the very thing, which brought *Montmorency* into Danger, was improved into an Advantage by the *Guises*; whose Brother *Claude* Duke *D' Aumale* had formerly married the Dutchess's younger Daughter, with an immense Fortune, scraped on all hands from the Royal Profusion and the Estates of Condemned Persons. For *Guise* and the Cardinal, after the King's Death, instantly abandoning *Valentinois*, to whom they had so servilely truckled, devoted themselves to the Queen Dowager, and in favour of Her declared War against the hated Concubine: At first indeed with some Reluctance on the part of their Brother *D' Aumale*; whose extream Zeal for his Mother-in-law, was reprov'd by his Brother *Charles* the Cardinal; who told him, it was enough for Him, that he had gained a rich Patrimony from that Match, and therewith the Royal Favour for a Time: Now, the King being no more, the only Fruit of it was Envy and Disgrace; which it more concerned the Honour of their illustrious Family to suffer by degrees to be buried, and to be blotted out of the minds of Men, by her Removal from the sight of the Court: Besides, that he ought to think, how impossible it was for her to be retained, without the heaviest Displeasure of *Catherine*, who now deserved to hold the highest Place: That, if from the Dutchess's Friendship any Accession (though even That not without a Blemish) had been made to their Grandeur, they ought now to labour, that, by gaining the Good-will of the Queen Dowager, they might with more Honour maintain and increase it. *D' Aumale* being tolerably pacified by these Reasons, *De Valentinois* was shamefully expelled the Court; and the Royal Treasure and valuable Jewels, which she had in her custody, were demanded back, not without Reproaches: Which was a most remarkable Evidence of the light Faith of Courtiers: For, out of all those numerous, though generally unworthy, Favourites, whom, whilst she bore the Sway, she had raised to Honour, not so much as One was found, to support the Fortune of a Woman distressed and deserted by her Friends; the publick Hatred prevailing over private Obligations. She was even forced to buy off the Vexation, which she apprehended from *Catherine*, by delivering up her Seat of *Chenonceaux*, conspicuous for its Elegancy and Situation (for it stood upon a Bridge laid over the *Cher*) and for the Beauty of its Gardens extended along both the Banks of the River; which had formerly been built by *Astremaigne Bohyer* and *Catherine Briçonnet*, and afterwards given to Her by the Baron *de Saint Cyergue*, *Astremaigne's* Son, a Man of egregious Folly and Vanity: This she was forced to part with, receiving, in the Name of a Compensation, the Castle of *Chaumont* upon the *Loire*. Next, were dismissed the Court, all such of the Nobility or Military Men, as were reported to favour *Montmorency's* Interest: Their Relations likewise by Blood and Marriage were removed; for no



A. D. certain Cause, but as every one was reputed an Enemy, or ill affected  
1559. to the Power of the *Guises*. The Rest followed the Course of Fortune.

~ *John Bertrandi* soon after, the Vice-chancellor, lately admitted into the College of Cardinals through the Duke of *Guise's* own Recommendation, was also degraded; one, who having been brought from *Thoulouse* to *Paris*, and leaped as it were through all the Degrees of Honour, had through the Favour of *Valentinois* obtained the highest Station of the Long Robe. Upon his Expulsion, *Francis Olivier* was restored to his antient Dignity; a Man eminent for Sweetness of Temper, Prudence, Experience and Integrity: Which was cunningly done by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, that he might raise an expectation of a moderate Government under so excellent a Director of the Law, and put a Cheat upon the Vulgar, who measure things by their Prepossession towards Persons. But no body was more deceived, than *Olivier* himself; who, not being willingly the Author of any servile Sentence, after he had in confidence of preserving his Liberty suffered himself to be drawn back again from his Repose to Court, was forced to undergo the most shameful Servitude, and passed the Remainder of his Life in ludicrous and dangerous Services, under an uncontrouled Tyranny: For the Cardinal's Temper was immoderately insolent and vehement, the Duke of *Guise's* vastly more moderate: But as Ambition knows nothing of Moderation or Equity, the Duke was either forcibly hurried away by his Brother's Violence, or suffered himself to be hurried: For from the Former's Contrivance Those Counsels generally proceeded, which afterwards the Duke, a Man of great Courage and Parts, diligently executed. *John d'Avançon*, a Person privy to the Secrets of the *Guises*, because he was feared, and seemed fit for their Projects, was retained at Court, but deprived of his Intendantship of the Finances, which he had held under the *Duchess de Valentinois*. But *Francis Cardinal de Tournon*, a Man of profound Prudence and tried Experience, who had been preferred by *Francis* in the latter end of his Reign, together with *Claude d'Amebaut*, to the Prime Ministry, and afterwards upon his Decease had been removed from Court, and stripped of the Chancellorship of the *Conchyliate* Order by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, was now recalled to Court, at the Instance of *Catherine*; who, considering him as unattached to either Party, had a mind to make use of his Advice. The Brothers of *Lorraine* at first opposed it; but, knowing him to be an Enemy to *Montmorency*, and hoping to find him grateful for this fresh favour, at last consented. Nor was *James d'Albon de Saint-André* without his Share of Anxiety; one of extraordinary Valour and Ingenuity, but of unbridled Luxury and abandoned Lust, for the gratification of which, he had forborn no sort of Injury. He, supported by *Henry's* Affection, had contended for Power with the Brothers of *Lorraine* and *Montmorency*, a Dependant upon Neither: But now, fearing, lest, if he were driven from Court, he should be undone, by the just Complaints of Many, whom he had robbed of their Estates, and by the immense Debts, which upon the Strength of his Interest he had contracted; he clapped up a scandalous Bargain with the Duke of *Guise*, by offering his only Daughter in Marriage, to  
which

which soever of his Sons the Other pleased, and resigning the Property *A. D.* of a prodigious Estate, which he had gained by Wickedness and Fraud, 1559. reserving only the present Enjoyment of it to himself and his Wife. Thus the Court being reduced as it were under Power, the Brothers of *Lorraine* ruled the Kingdom: For the Nobility, which in troublesome times carry a considerable Sway in *France*, tired out with the former Wars, and desirous of Domestick Quiet, had eagerly retired, every one to his House, casting aside all Care of the Commonwealth; and the Commonalty, groaning under the Burthen of Taxes imposed for the maintenance of continual Wars, were solicitous of being eased; little minding, who governed at Court. There still remained the Clergy, an honourable and wealthy Body of Men; whose Good-will the Duke of *Guise* had industriously courted by the pretence of defending the Antient Religion, and an ostentation of violent Hatred against the Sectarists. As a good part of the Parliament consisted of this Order, the Consequence was, that in those Sessions (which next to the King's Privy Council are of the highest Authority in the Realm) they themselves bore the chief Sway; most of the Counsellors, out of hopes of Reward, leaning to their Interest; others observing Silence for fear of Offence; remembering the late *Wednesday-Convention*, wherein the Liberty of Suffrages seemed to be taken away, and the Mouth of Publick Speakers as it were buttoned up. Then again, to make it still more evident to All Men, that the Power, which they took care to strengthen by various Arts and Supports, was not usurped; but committed to them by the King with *Catherine's* Consent, as to Persons well deserving of him; when the Parliament of *Paris* sent Delegates out of their Body, according to Custom, to tender their Duty to the King, and to receive his Commands; it was signified to them from His Majesty, that the Duke of *Guise* and *Charles* the Cardinal, his Unkles, had been chosen by him in pursuance of his dearest Mother's Advice, as Persons, to whom he meant to commit the Affairs of the whole Kingdom; to the former, the Military Concerns, and, to the other, the Finances: They should therefore for the future apply to Them; for so he required and commanded. From this Declaration of the King, when *Montmorency* clearly saw a necessity for his leaving the Court and retiring, nevertheless at first he dissembled the matter; and, in the mean while pressing the King of *Navarre* to come to Court, endeavoured to set up the Princes of the Blood against the unjust Dominion of the *Guises*, and by that means to retain his Dignity. But whilst He, who was upon other accounts disgusted, wasted time in dilatory Consultation; at *Vendôme*, where he had halted, his Brother the Prince of *Condé* and his Kinsman the Prince *De la Roche-sur-Yon* came to him, with several of the Principal Nobility: Where, after many Complaints of the Pride and pernicious Counsels of the *Guises*, for a Proof of their Assertion they produced the following Instance: That lately, when the King first appeared publicly in Mourning (which is performed with a good deal of Ceremony) the Duke went so far with his Insolence, that, placing himself amongst the First Princes, as their Equal  
in



A. D. in Dignity, he had dared to lay hold of the King's Train, which  
 1552. They only used to bear, and to join in the Discharge of that honourable  
 Office. Thither had come *Francis de Coligny d'Andelot*; who by *Condé's*  
 Interposition had been reconciled with *De la Roche-sur-Yon*, that they  
 might be more strongly united for the future to sustain the Force and  
 repel the Injuries of the Adversaries. *Condé* had married *Eleanor de Roye*,  
 Daughter of *Margaret de Maillé*, who was Sister to the *Colignyes* by the  
 Mother's side. The Common Parent of them both was *Louise de*  
*Montmorency*, Sister of *Anne* the Constable, who had been married first  
 to *Frederick de Maillé* a Lord of the French Frontier in the Netherlands,  
 and then to *Gaspar de Coligny Châssillon* Marshall of France, who died at  
*Acqz* above thirty years before, as he was marching with an Army  
 against *Fontarabia* in *Guipuscoa*; from whence it came about, that the  
*Montmorencys* and *Colignyes* were nearly related by Affinity to the Prince  
 of *Condé*; Men of eminent Note for Birth, Vassals, Wealth and Mili-  
 tary Accomplishments. *De la Roche-sur-Yon's* Discontent took its Rise  
 from hence; that, whereas he courted the Heiress of *Laval* in Marriage,  
*D'Andelot*, through the Interest of his Unkle *Montmorency*, had been  
 preferred before him; and he heard, that the former had given  
 out Expressions full of Insolence and Contempt concerning him.  
 Therefore when *D'Andelot*, in passing from *Saint Germain* to *Paris*, had  
 crossed the *Seine* (which is frequently done by Travellers for the sake of  
 a neater Cut); observing *De la Roche-sur-Yon* to make more haste than  
 ordinary, as it were in Pursuit of Him; and not caring to be forced  
 to fight with a Prince of the first Rank, to whom he owed all Respect;  
 in order to retard his Passage, he had cut off the Rope of the Ponton  
 with his Sword: Which the other taking as an Affront, tho' *D'Andelot*  
 excused it by the Necessity of his Circumstances, had from that time  
 bore a still greater Animosity against him: But, at this juncture,  
 through the Intervention of the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Condé*,  
 and at their Request, he returned to a good understanding with the  
*Colignyes*: Which gave great uneasiness to the Brothers of *Lorraine*, who  
 laboured with all sorts of Artifice to feed the Quarrel betwixt them.  
 Next, it fell under Debate at *Vendôme*, by what Method the Schemes  
 of the *Guises*, who were even Then drawing to themselves the supream  
 Power, could be obstructed: Many brave, many prudent things were  
 said; which *Navarre* eluding by his natural Dilatoriness, before he set  
 forwards, declared it necessary to wait, 'till the Solemnity of the Funeral  
 should be passed: For then it would plainly appear, how the *Guises*  
 stood affected towards *Montmorency*; and from thence he would take  
 the properest Measures for his purpose. The Obsequies being per-  
 formed, and the Body laid in the Royal Sepulcher at *S. Denis*; on  
 the same day the *Guises*, as if they were tired with the Crowd of the  
 City, that they might have the King more in their Power, carried him  
 to *S. Germain*; whither *Catherine* also followed them, shortening the  
 customary Mourning of forty days, during which the Widows of High  
 Rank used to avoid Company and stay at home. Thither came  
*Montmorency*, who had hitherto been taken up with managing the  
 Funeral;

Funeral; and was received by the King, according to the Directions *A. D.* given him, at first with Coldness: In a Conference obtained the next 1559. day after Dinner, he in the first place recommended the *Colignyes*, his Sister's Sons; to His Majesty; and earnestly desired, that he would make use of their Service, and maintain their Dignity. Nor did the King reject the Request, seeming to be delighted with the mention of *Gaspar de Coligny*, whom he both honoured with an excellent Character, and promised to receive into his especial Favour. Then interrupting *Montmorency*, as he was going to speak of himself, he repeated the same things, which he had said to the Delegates of the Parliament of *Paris*; namely, that with a view of relieving the Constable's Old Age, he had committed the Military Affairs to the Duke of *Guise*, and the Finances to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, intrusting with Them, as the worthiest Men and most deserving of Himself and the whole Kingdom, the whole of his Concerns: But that he had reserved for Him an honourable Place in the Privy Council, which, as often as his Health would permit, he might attend: In answer to this Speech, *Anne*, after premising a few things of his Age and Health, subjoined, that it was below his Dignity to Act under Those, whom he had hitherto commanded, and therefore he could not be present at the Council-board: Nevertheless, he would always be ready, with Mind and Body, to execute his Majesty's Commands: Nor was either his Body so infirm or his Mind so delirious, as his Enemies gave out, but that he had still Strength and Industry enough to take the Field, or administer the Civil Government, when he should be ordered. Some have written, that, when he took his leave of *Catherine*, she, being provoked with the Stories told her by his Rivals, and seeking a Pretence for quarrelling, reproached him with having formerly in a jocular way said to *Henry*, that none of his Children were like him, except *Diana* his Daughter by a *Piedmontese* Concubine, who had been married to his eldest Son *Francis de Montmorency*: By which Words, she complained, both a Reflection was cast upon Her Honour, and an intolerable Injury done to the Royal Family: Which Affront if she had any desire to remember, and to revenge according to its Merit, she would have taken effectual care, that *Anne* should pay with his Head for such an impudent Lye; but the Memory of her Husband was so dear to her, that for His sake she freely pardoned all private Offences: But that, for His part, he ought to see, that he constantly acquiesced in the Conditions proposed by the King: For, as to herself, she would endeavour, that he should be no Sufferer in his Absence. Then *Anne* began to clear himself of those Words, which he pretended to have been maliciously fathered upon him by his Adversaries, and to intreat the Queen, that since he had been accused to her as a Criminal, she would preserve one Ear for Him: That she ought to remember the Labours undergone by him for so many years for the King and the whole Kingdom, rather than lend her Ears so easily to Enemies, who had for a long time been watching for his Life and Estate; whose Devices however would not succeed so easily, as they in their Hopes and boundless Avarice had



A. D. conceived. If this Account be true, the Story was probably invented 1559. for the purpose by *Catherine*, that she might find a pretence for breaking Friendship with *Montmorency*: For she must certainly know, that a Man of his Prudence and Command of his Tongue, would not rashly utter any thing of that nature. *Montmorency*, thus dismissed, retired to *Chantilly*. The Princes of *Condé* and *De la Roche-sur-Yon* were then also for a Time sent away from Court, both honourably, under Colour of an Embassy to *Philip*; the former, to confirm with an Oath, in the Name of *Francis* the present King, the Peace lately made by *Henry*; the other, to carry to the same Prince, in a solemn manner, the Collar of St. *Michael*. Only a thousand Crowns were allowed to *Condé* for the Expences of his Journey; so small a Sum being injuriously assigned to him by the Cardinal of *Lorraine* the Intendant of the Finances, on purpose, that, whilst the Royal Bounty, under a false pretence of easing and repairing the Treasury, was dispensed with more than usual Parsimony, so much the greater Contempt, by the spiteful denial of a Supply, might be thrown upon an high-spirited, though indigent Prince, at a time so necessary for making a shew of his Master's and his own Magnificence. The Princes of *Bourbon* being removed, and *Anne* seasonably sent home, before the King of *Navarre's* Arrival (for of This the *Guises* had taken especial care); it remained, by using *Navarre* in the same unworthy manner, to drive him likewise from Court. It is the Custom, for the First Princes to be saluted out of Town, when they come to Court, and to have an Appartment assigned according to their Quality. But at *Navarre's* Coming, neither the Duke of *Guise*, nor any of his Family went out to meet him; and not only That, but the Duke designedly carried the King that very day to a Hunting Match through different Roads, that he might be sure not to meet the King of *Navarre*: And, as the Duke of *Guise* had taken to himself the Chief Lodgings, which were due to *Navarre*, he not only made no Offer of them, but with a loud Voice declared, that he would sooner suffer himself to be robbed of Life, than of That Honour, which the King had done to his Merits. Thus *Navarre*, being injuriously denied the Privilege of an Appartment, when he was just upon the Point of consulting his Honour by a shameful Departure, took up with an House offered to him by the Marshall de *Saint-André*, who both excused the matter to him, and prevailed so far, that, after the first Transports of Resentment, he by degrees grew cooler; whilst all people murmured, and with Indignation complained, that the Pride and Audaciousness of the King of *Navarre's* Enemies were nourished and encouraged by his Patience. Many of the Lords, and in the first place *Guy de Chabot* Seigneur de *Farnac*, a gallant Man, incited the King of *Navarre*, by daily Discourses and by the Offer of the Purfes of the Antient Nobility, to enter bravely upon the Administration, and break through the Attempts of his Adversaries: But, as he was by nature dilatory, his Domestick Counsellors, who by their constant attendance had a considerable Influence upon him, viz. *John d'Anguy* Bishop of *Mande*, base Son of the Cardinal *Du Prat*, *Francis Descars*, and *Almerick de Boucart* Master of Requests and *Navarre's* own Chan-

Chancellor, held him back. These, either through Fear of Danger, *A.D.* or in favour to the *Guises*, healed the fresh Wounds of Enmity with 1559. soft Words, and by throwing in Delays broke the Force and turned the Edge of his just Indignation. However, that in some sort he might satisfy the importunate Complaints of the Lords, who reminded him, that the Eyes and Wishes of all Men were turned upon Him, and wanted him to take up the Quarrel in behalf of the Antient Liberty of the *French* Name, he came to *Paris*; that by proper Persons he might sound the Temper and Inclination of the Counsellors of Parliament and the Chief Citizens. This Advice had been given him by Evil Counsellors, that they might slacken his Impetuosity, and spin out the Time; and it had its Effect: For when the King of *Navarre*, through the same Delay, by which he had himself been disabled, saw the Affection and Readiness of his Friends in the City to flag; his Courage sunk at once, and left him incapable ever after of taking up any generous Resolution; which served the more to elate the *Guises*, who by ruining the King of *Navarre's* Interest and Attempts, seemed already to triumph over the whole House of *Bourbon*, which only had opposed their growing Power in its Infancy. Upon this new Face of Things, the whole Court rung with Complaints; which to suppress, and to stop the Mouth of Free-speakers, the Brothers of *Lorraine* used Threats with Some, and allured Others, whom they thought fittest for their purpose, with hopes of mighty Rewards: And that they might leave nothing unattempted, that tended to the Establishment of their Affairs, they advised *Catherine*, an ambitious Woman, (whose Understanding they abused) to strengthen her own Power by *Philip's* Name and Authority; A scandalous piece of Counsel, and which looked, as if Measures had been already concerted with the *Spaniards*, to the Ruin of the *French* Name! She, entering greedily into it, writ to *Philip* about the matter, most shamefully imploring his Assistance, with all the Weakness and Passion of a Woman, against the Disturbers, as she called them, of the Kingdom. He, on his part, rejoicing to be chosen by *Catherine* for the Umpire of a Kingdom, which he desired rather to see confounded than settled, and looking upon this as an excellent opportunity for setting the *French* one against another, promised all manner of Assistance, by a Letter to the King (written in a haughty Stile, and not fit to be born by a Nation as yet unanimous and retaining the Memory of its antient Freedom); wherein he testified an equal Concern for his dearest Brother-in-law's Interest as for his Own, and declared a resolution to undertake the Protection of his Realm: And against Those, if any should be so rash, whosoever they might be, who should refuse Obedience to the King and to his Ministers of State, he shewed himself ready to draw out his Forces, Arms and whole Power; so that they should find him a severe Vindicator of the Honour of contemned Majesty, and a sharp Chastiser of their Boldness and Temerity. This Letter was read before the King of *Navarre*, because it reflected obliquely upon Him; with this view, that his Thoughts being filled with the solicitude of defending his own Territories against the *Spaniards*,  
all



A. D. all Concern about the Regency might be banished out of his Mind :  
 1559. Nor were the Brothers of *Lorraine* deceived in their Expectations. For  
 He, who was afraid for *Bearn*, at his Wife's Persuasion thought it best to  
 go thither in all haste, and was glad to embrace the Condition offered  
 him by the *Guises* of conducting the Queen of *Spain* to her Husband  
*Philip*: That, by gaining thus an handsome Pretence for leaving the  
 Court, he might cover the Misfortune of his Absence; and at the same  
 time, by the discharge of that honourable Office, gain the Good-will  
 of *Philip*, who seemed to be his Enemy, and had been mortally irritated  
 against him by the *Guises*. The Civil Administration all this while  
 was not neglected: For, at the beginning of the present Reign, provision  
 was made in various Edicts by that worthy Keeper of the Laws *Olivier*,  
 for the Security of private Persons without doors: For Fire-Arms and  
 Pistols were prohibited, just as Daggers and Ponyards were formerly,  
 by which, in a close Attack of a sudden, certain and inevitable Wounds  
 might be given: The Use also of long Cloaks and loose Trowzers,  
 (proper Habits for the concealment of such dangerous Weapons) were  
 interdicted under severe Penalties: Though most People attributed this  
 Order to the Request of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who, being a timorous  
 Man and conscious of having given many Causes of Offence, could  
 not help fearing many Persons: Not long after, all Alienations of the  
 Royal Demesnes, unreasonably and fraudulently made, were revoked,  
 howsoever they might be corroborated with the Title of a Pension, or  
 a Gift of any sort even by way of Reward: From which Laws were ex-  
 cepted all those Possessions, which had been granted to the King's  
 Daughters in the place of a Pension or for their Portion: Those too  
 were excepted, which had been given in Dowry to *Eleanor Philip's* Aunt,  
 and were enjoyed at present by the Infanta of *Portugal*. But it lessened  
 the Grace of this prudent and equitable Edict; that, when the Princes  
 of the Blood, and other Lords, who had deserved well of former  
 Kings, were thereby deprived of their antient Grants, many never-  
 theless of lower Dignity were afterwards excepted out of it; for no other  
 Cause, than because they were supported by the favour of the *Guises*:  
 Which Indulgence procured Envy to the Favourites, as unworthy; and  
 Hatred to the Authors of the Bounty, as abusing the Royal Liberality to  
 their own vile purposes. In the mean time the *Guises* hastened the Perfor-  
 mance of the Coronation with the usual Ceremonies at *Rheims*; in order  
 to procure to the King, whose Heart and Inclinations they totally pos-  
 sessed, the greater Veneration from the Populace. With this purpose,  
 passing through *Villiers* in the Wood of *Retz* with the King and *Catherine*,  
 they went to *Nanteuil*, a Castle lately taken by the Duke of *Guise*  
 himself, in an unhandsome manner, from the *Lenoncours*, old and well-  
 deserving Friends of the House of *Lorraine*. Whilst the King staid at  
*Nanteuil*, *Guise* whispered in the Ear to *Coligny*, with whom as yet he main-  
 tained a Shew of Friendship, in order to draw him off from the Princes  
 of *Bourbon*; that the Prince of *Condé*, without the Privy of *Coligny*,  
 who possessed the Governments both of *Picardy* and the Isle of *France*,  
 on a pretence that they could not be held together, desired one of  
 them

them for himself, namely *Picardy*, which his Father and the King of *A.D. Navarre* his Brother had lately administered. This at first vexed *Coligny* 1559. to the Heart; who looked upon it as an Affront, that *Condé* without his Knowledge, and consequently without his Consent, should try to obtain the Government of *Picardy*: But when he understood it to be a meer Calumny, cunningly invented by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, on purpose to sow the Seed of Discord between Friends, he thought it the more incumbent upon him, to unite himself still more strongly with the Prince of *Condé*: And when he saw, that mention had been made, as if the two Governments were incompatible, wisely apprehending from thence, that he should be forced to quit one or the other; he thought it proper to prevent his Adversaries, and, before he was compelled by them, voluntarily resigned the Government of *Picardy*; giving out, that the Burthen laid upon him was greater than he could bear. He had done this in hopes and confidence, that it would be bestowed upon *Condé*; who by agreement was at the same time making earnest Suit for it to the King: But they were both disappointed: For the *Guises*, who thought they gained but little, if through *Coligny's* Resignation the Province were assigned to *Condé*, prevailed with the King and *Catherine*, that his Suit should be refused, and the Government be conferred upon the Marshall *de Brissac*, a Commander indeed of consummate Valour and well deserving of the *French* Name. In which Action, they made a shew of their Power, by giving *Condé* a Repulse, and laid a strong Obligation upon *Brissac*, who for ever after adhered to their Interest. From *Nanteuil* the King proceeded to *Rheims*, whither, to shew their Respect, both *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* and his Sister *Claude* came to him: There, with exceeding Pomp and a numerous Appearance of the Nobles, the usual Ceremonies were performed; at which were present, besides the Brothers of *Lorraine*, the King of *Navarre* not yet departed towards *Guienne*, *Anne de Montmorency*, with the Brothers *Odet* the Cardinal and *Gaspar de Coligny*. The King was crowned, the Holy Offices being read by the Cardinal of *Lorraine* Archbishop of *Rheims*, on the 20th day of *September*. During the Court's abode there, *Catherine*, that she might leave no Time unimproved for the creation of Disturbances, treated with *Montmorency* by the intervention of *Odet* and *Coligny*; and endeavoured to persuade him, that, in favour of the Duke of *Guise*, he would surrender the Office of Master of the Palace, which since his Dismission from Court was of no service to him, and was already exercised by the Duke; telling him, that he would thereby do a thing acceptable to the King and Her. When this Proposal was carried by the *Colignyes* to their Uncle, he at first went about to excuse himself, and to say, that the Honour had been granted by *Henry* to his Son; that accordingly he should very unwillingly consent, that the Grandeur of his Son, whose Fortune he ought to be zealous of increasing, should be lessened by any Act of His. When *Catherine* on the other side continued pressing, sometimes by secret Threats, sometimes by giving Hopes, that *Francis* the Constable's eldest Son, who had already been promoted to that Rank by her Husband,



A. D. should be created Marshall of *France* (which would be a thing more  
 1559. suitable to his Age); he promised to think of it, and, when he  
 should return home, send his Answer. As soon therefore as he came  
 to *Chantilly*, upon communicating the matter to his Friends, when he  
 saw Force prepared, and looked upon his Honour as concerned, that  
 he should not seem to be compelled; he advised his Son to accept the  
 Terms; and that, after he should be created Marshall, he should sur-  
 render the Post of Master of the Palace into the King's own hands, and  
 not in favour of *Guise*, lest he should acknowledge a Necessity imposed  
 upon him by his Adversary. In consequence of this resolution,  
*Francis* going to *Blois*, where the King then was, when he had re-  
 signed the former Honour, took up the Other, and was nominated  
 Marshall of *France* extraordinary. Then also, through the Ambition of  
 the *Guises*, that they might lay more Persons under Obligations, eighteen  
 Knights were elected at one Creation; a greater Number than ever had  
 been known, since the first Institution by *Lewis XI.* in the Year  
 1469! That Honour, which was formerly bestowed upon Valour  
 and Merit as a competent Reward of the best Military Services, growing  
 so cheap by degrees; that *Charles Tiercelin de la Roche-du-Maine*, a Knight  
 of the antient Stamp, often flung out this Sarcasm in his Indignation,  
 That the Shell-work'd Chain, since it had begun to be imparted pro-  
 miscuously to the Unworthy, was now no longer the Badge of Valiant  
 Men, but the common Collar of all Beasts. The Rites of the Coro-  
 nation and of the Order being performed, the King removed to *Bar*,  
 and there, even at that time, by the Advice of *Catherine* and the *Guises*  
 it was concluded, that the King should renounce his Supream Right  
 and Dominion in the Dutchy of *Bar*, in favour of the Duke of  
*Lorraine*, his Brother-in-law: A detrimental and perfidious piece of  
 Counsel! whereby the Majesty of the *French* Empire was manifestly  
 diminished and impaired. From *Bar* a Motion was made to *Chaalons*  
 upon the *Marne*, and from thence to *Fontain-bleau*, where the King  
 rested some time.

Whilst the Cause of the Counsellors, imprisoned by King *Henry*,  
 was under *Francis's* Authority prosecuted with fresh Heat, strict En-  
 quiry was made through the City by the Cardinal's Order after the  
 lower sort of those Wretches, by the help of the President *Saint-André*  
 and *Anthony Demochares*; who, in order to make themselves terrible all  
 over the Kingdom, thought it expedient, for Example's sake, to begin  
 with the Royal City. The Chief Under-Agents for the purpose, were  
 two Goldsmiths *De Ruffanges* and *Claude David*, and *George Renard* a  
 Taylor, who had formerly professed the New Religion, and were con-  
 sequently well acquainted with those Affairs. To these joined them-  
 selves, for hopes of Gain or fear of Punishment, two Youths, Appren-  
 tices to some Handycrafts-Men; from whom, upon their being roughly  
 used for want of paying the Money due upon their Articles, or for  
 Misdemeanors, they had run away; and had each confessed to his  
 Parish-Priest, that unlawful Meetings were held in the City; com-  
 pleting their Information with a notable Lye: For they said, that not  
 only

only Nocturnal Assemblies were used, but that, the Candles being put *A. D.* out, Men and Women lay promiscuously with one another; and, to 1559. gain the greater Credit, said that They had actually been present, in the House of a certain Advocate in *Maubert Place*, whither a vast number of both Sexes and all Ranks had flocked together; and that after a Sucking Pig had been set before them, and, like the Paschal Lamb, tasted by the whole Company, the Lights being removed, they all ran lasciviously into each other's Arms; impudently affirming, that one of Them had twice or thrice enjoyed the Daughter of that Advocate. Credit was given to this Confession tho' of their own Filthyness, and the Protestants laboured under a prodigious Scandal upon that account, the Calumny being received with open Ears. Thus, being produced by their Neighbours as Witnesses and Accusers, and heard and interrogated by *Demo-chares*, they were at last introduced by *Saint-André* to the Cardinal; who, exaggerating the Fact, brought them before *Catherine*; the Ears of all People being so stopped, by the Horror of such a detestable Crime, that no Passage was left open for a candid hearing of the Truth: This is certain, that *Catherine* conceived an Aversion for the Protestants from that time. At length, the Advocate being apprehended with his Wife and Daughter, when the Witnesses were called over again, and (by the order of *Olivier*, who had smelt out the Calumny) confronted with the pretended Criminals; they began to vary in their Story, then to fall into Improbabilities, and at last were convicted of palpable Fraud and Lying: Yet their Crime remained unpunished, through the prevalence of the Publick Hatred above the Innocence of the Accused Parties. Before the Fiction was detected (for it had been known from those Fellows, in what Places the People held their clandestine Meetings), Men and Women, in Crowds, were thrown into Prison: Many, to prevent the Danger, saved themselves by Flight; whose Goods were immediately registered, and afterwards sold as forfeited. One might see, in every part of the City, Furniture of all sorts publicly vended by a Cryer; Citations of Absent Persons by three Edicts; Proscriptions of empty Houses, wherein nothing had been left but Children, who, not having been able to accompany the Fortune of the Fugitives, filled the Streets and Lanes with lamentable Cries: A Sight, which moved every body, even the bitterest Enemies of the Protestants, with Compassion. The City having been diligently ransacked, there remained the Suburb of *S. Germain*, vulgarly named *Little Geneva*, which was left for the last Search. There, one *Le Vicomte* possessed a hired House, a safe Receptacle for Persons of suspected Religion, in the Street *Des Marez*; where Strangers from *Geneva* and *Germany* frequently lodged. Against This the first Attack was directed, after it had been surrounded by a Company of Archers and Apparitors, in the presence of *Thomas de Bragelonne* the Lieutenant Civil. The People within, who to the number of sixteen were sitting at Table, at the first Noise of breaking open the Doors, fled every way, as well as they could, without daring to make resistance: Only the Brothers *Soubfelles*, Gentlemen of *Anjou*, and Domesticks of the King  
of



A.D. of Navarre, forcibly repelled the sudden Violence of the People, and  
 1559 drawing their Swords, wounded many of the cowardly Rabble, and  
 put the rest to flight. *Bragelonne* himself very hardly escaped, by the  
 help of *Le Vicomte*, who foresaw, that he and his Companions would  
 undoubtedly be brought into the last Danger, which he could not however  
 avoid: For he was seized with his Wife and Children; and, because it  
 was Friday (which is a Fast), a larded Capon was carried before them,  
 on purpose to irritate the Populace. Thus *Le Vicomte* was led in  
 Triumph with all his Family, and thrown into a filthy Prison, where  
 he died miserably of the Stench and Nastiness. The *Soubfelles* in the  
 mean while having escaped, the Archers, who had staid without doors,  
 attacked the empty House, and fell upon the Plunder, which their  
 Comrades had left. This Example, set in the principal City, was  
 followed in all the other Cities of France, especially at *Poitiers*, *Tho-*  
*louse* in *Languedoc*, *Aix*, and throughout the whole Province of *Nar-*  
*bonne*; *George* Cardinal d' *Armagnac* using his utmost diligence for the  
 apprehension of Suspected Persons. The Minds of those professing  
 the New Religion, who were already rendered more bold by their  
 Numbers, and could not endure the Dominion of the *Guises*, being  
 inflamed by these Provocations; many licentious Discourses, artfully  
 framed as it were in behalf of the Publick Safety, were every where  
 to be heard, against *Catherine* and the Brothers of *Lorraine*, who sat  
 at the Helm; and against the King, who, tho' arrived at full Age,  
 chose to remain under their Tuition. About this time one of the  
 Brothers *Soubfelles*, a Retainer to the King of *Navarre*, who had  
 made such Havock amongst the Apparitors in *Le Vicomte's* House, had  
 come to Court; and, through *Navarre's* Interest, having obtained Par-  
 don for the Slaughter committed in that Conflict (which had been  
 owing rather to the fault of the Officers than His), with exceeding  
 warmth demanded back his Effects, lost in the Pillage of the House, at  
 the hands of those publick Robbers: Which the Cardinal resenting, in order  
 to save his Friends, and baffle the importunate Complaints brought against  
 them by *Soubfelles*, or that he apprehended something from the Boldness  
 of the Man, ordered him one day, as soon as he had entered the King's  
 Dining-room, to be seized by the Guards and carried to the Castle  
*Du Bois de Vincennes*: To the same Place he had lately committed the  
 Earl of *Arran's* Younger Son, as privy and Assistant to the Flight of  
 his Elder Brother, who had escaped from thence, and given Cause, as  
 he supposed, to the Troubles excited in *Scotland*: There also, *Coiffard*,  
*Bailly* of *S. Agnan*, was detained a Prisoner; one, who had been taken  
 with some Libels written against *Catherine* and the *Guises*, and stood ac-  
 cused, as well as the Brothers *Soubfelles*, of having encouraged the King  
 of *Navarre* to Innovations, and for that reason was guarded with more  
 than ordinary Strictness. And now the Debate became the publick Talk  
 of Cabals and Circles, concerning the Power of *Catherine* and the Bro-  
 thers of *Lorraine*, whether they had a Right to the Administration of  
 the Realm; many People arguing, that it had been violently usurped  
 by them contrary to the Laws: For thus in a Treatise published by  
 the

the Adverse Party, they reasoned about it: " That the Empire of the *A. D.*  
 " *Francogalli* had originally been a legal one, not as yet corrupted <sup>1552.</sup>  
 " with the extravagant Lust of Dominion; for that these People for  
 " the sake of Acquisitions, made abroad by their Arms and Valour,  
 " which they could not defend without a Governour, had chosen a  
 " King, in whose Family the Succession to the Crown was to remain:  
 " Nor indeed did the Kings govern arbitrarily, being bridled by the  
 " Laws, which they also themselves obeyed. But more especial Cau-  
 " tion was taken by them, that the Succession should always devolve  
 " upon the nearest Males, exclusively of Women and their Posterity,  
 " whom Men of Arms and inured to Liberty not only debarred from  
 " the Inheritance (lest possibly, through their Marriages, the *French*  
 " might become subject to Foreign Princes), but forbade them to  
 " meddle with the Care of any sort of Publick Business; thinking the  
 " Bar of Inheritance to be but a small Provision for their Honour and  
 " Security, if still they were to be ruled by the absolute Pleasure of  
 " Capricious Tempers: Therefore if the King's Age were not capable  
 " of Business, the Burthen of the Regency, 'till the King should arrive  
 " to Maturity, was by the Laws of the Realm committed to the nearest  
 " Relations, who were in Prospect of the Succession: And lest the  
 " Wealth of the Kingdom and the Publick Treasury should be ex-  
 " hausted, and a Free Nation burthened from thence with Taxes,  
 " Conventions of the Orders, commonly called the States of the  
 " Realm, had been prudently instituted; that the Power of a single  
 " Person (which generally grows exorbitant) might be tempered with  
 " the Advice of the Nobles, by a sort of Aristocracy: In consequence  
 " of which, at the Solemn Assemblies of the whole Nation, when all  
 " Complaints had been heard, Remedies were applied to the growing  
 " Evils of the Publick: And from thence, the Subjects in general,  
 " considering themselves as Sharers in the Administration, paid the  
 " utmost regard to the Government at home, and held their Kings in  
 " more than ordinary veneration; so, that no People are more cele-  
 " brated in History for their Reverence and Fidelity towards their  
 " Princes. From thence sprung that Delight in Obedience, under  
 " an equitable Government; which if changed by a Violation of the  
 " Laws through Foreign Force or Ambition, it always seemed to the  
 " *French* an unjust and intolerable thing: Examples were obvious:  
 " For in the Reigns of *Lewis the Pious* and *Charles the Simple*, and after-  
 " wards under *Philip I. St. Lewis*, and *Charles VI.* of the House of  
 " *Capet*, when all things were conducted by the arbitrary Will of  
 " the Masters of the Palace and Others abusing their Power, this  
 " flourishing Kingdom had well nigh been ruined by Civil Discords:  
 " For what can be more reasonable, than that They, who by their  
 " Age are incapable of managing their Affairs, and especially such  
 " Kings as are unable to govern their Subjects, should themselves be  
 " in the power of Others, and be ruled by the salutary Counsel of  
 " many Heads? Thus *Ancus Martius* left the Guardianship of his  
 " Son to *Tarquin*: Thus *Marcus Antoninus*, surnamed *The Philosopher*,  
 " VOL. II. 5 D " com-



A. D. 1559. " committed the Care of his Son *Commodus* to some of his most trusty  
 " Friends amongst the Nobles: Thus *Theodosius the Great* left his Sons  
 " *Arcadius* and *Honorius* to the Tuition of *Stilico* and *Rufinus*: The  
 " same thing again was practised by *Arcadius*, who by his Last Will  
 " requested of *Isiderges* King of the *Persians*, that he would undertake  
 " the Education of *Theodosius the Younger*: What on the contrary is  
 " more absurd, than, what is commonly given out, that the King in  
 " the mean while had intrusted the Regency with his Mother and the  
 " Lords of *Lorraine* his Wife's Unkles. As if a Pupil had a Right  
 " to appoint his own Guardians, and the Appointments, made by the  
 " Laws with regard to private Men, should not much more take  
 " place in the Person of a King, whose Good or Ill affects all the  
 " Nation, and upon whose right Administration the Publick Safety  
 " depends: This had been the Custom in *France*; and, if any Per-  
 " sons had a Right in the matter, the Princes of the Blood ought to  
 " enjoy it, and not Strangers, for whom to be admitted to the Re-  
 " gency, to the Exclusion of the Others, was not only unjust but  
 " even scandalous: Evident Examples of this kind might be fetched  
 " from our own Annals: For when *Charles the Fair*, in the Year 1327,  
 " had died, leaving his Wife *Joan d'Evreux* big with Child; and it  
 " was uncertain, whether she would bring a Male or Female Child,  
 " a mighty Controversy was raised concerning the Ward of the Venter  
 " and the Realm; when *Edward III.* King of England, Son of *Eliza-  
 " beth* the Deceased's Sister, claimed it as the next Relation; and, on the  
 " other side *Philip de Valois*, *Charles's* Cousin-german, because of his  
 " Prospect of the Succession, arrogated it to himself: At length the  
 " Contention was ended by a Decree of the States, and the Custody  
 " of the Venter and Administration of the Realm adjudged to *Philip*,  
 " to the Exclusion of *Edward*, because he was a Foreigner. After-  
 " wards *Charles V.* who had merited the Name of *The Wise*, leaving  
 " at his Death his Infant Son *Charles*, ordained by his Last Will, that  
 " he should be brought up with *Lewis* of *Bourbon* his Wife's Brother,  
 " a Person of the Royal Blood indeed, but pretty far removed from  
 " the order of Succession; and that the Administration of the King-  
 " dom should be committed to his Brother *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, 'till  
 " *Charles* had attained the Age of fourteen years, and was solemnly  
 " crowned. And whereas in his Prudence he foresaw (what he had  
 " also learned by his own dangerous Experience), that a Door would  
 " be opened to innumerable Disturbances, if the Kingdom were  
 " governed in the Name of Any but its Natural Kings, through the  
 " Translation of the Power, tho' but for a time, upon One who  
 " was not the Heir Apparent; To prevent this, abolishing the Name  
 " of Regent, he provided for the future by an Edict, that the Royal  
 " Princes, at what Age soever they should be called to the Succession,  
 " should be actually Kings, and that the Realm should be governed  
 " in their Name: Nor yet was there a perfect Obedience paid to his  
 " Will by the States: For though the Name of Regent was indeed  
 " abolished, and the Care of the Kingdom intrusted with *Lewis* as  
 " the

“ the nearest of Kin; yet it was upon Condition that he administered *A. D.*  
 “ it with the Concurrence of the Nobles: Nor was *Charles VI.* dif- 1559.  
 “ charged from Tuition, 'till he had attained the twenty second  
 “ Year of his Age: And This, as the Annals testify, was indulged  
 “ to him by an extraordinary Favour and Privilege, because of the  
 “ general Affection towards him, and the Comeliness of Person, which  
 “ distinguished that Prince, that he should be judged capable of the  
 “ Administration before the twenty fifth Year was compleated. Nor had  
 “ less Differences and Commotions arisen in *France*, if ever Women  
 “ were promoted to the Regency: For about eighty years since, after  
 “ the Death of *Lewis XI.* who left *Charles VIII.* almost an Infant, for  
 “ his Heir, when a Debate ensued concerning the Guardianship and  
 “ Regency, which on one side *Anne* the elder Sister, on the other  
 “ side *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, as the next Relation, claimed; by a  
 “ Decree of the States assembled at *Tours* it was ordained, that the  
 “ King should be educated with his Sister *Anne*, but that she should  
 “ have nothing to do with the Administration of the Realm: But to  
 “ the Duke of *Orleans*, because he had not yet exceeded his twenty  
 “ third Year, the Office of Regent, which he sought, was denied;  
 “ and a Decree passed, that the Nation should be governed by the  
 “ Common Voice of the Royal Princes and Chief Lords: No one  
 “ therefore ought to wonder, if the Power of *Catherine*, or of the  
 “ *Guises*, seemed to all Good Men so intolerable; especially That of  
 “ *Charles* the Cardinal; since Provisional Laws had been prudently made  
 “ by Our Ancestors, that Ecclesiasticks, and such as depended upon  
 “ the Pope, should not hold the Prime Ministry in *France*: For that  
 “ cause the Seals had formerly been taken by King *John* from *John des*  
 “ *Dormans* Bishop of *Beauvais* the Chancellor of *France*, because being  
 “ chosen a Cardinal he could not serve two Masters: For the same  
 “ reason *John de Balve*, and *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinals had been severely  
 “ treated by *Lewis XI.* and *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, because  
 “ through Them many Calamities appeared plainly to have been in-  
 “ troduced into the Kingdoms of each of those Princes: The *Venetian*  
 “ Senate, which ought deservedly to be esteemed the Mint of all Civil  
 “ Prudence, had diligently cautioned against such a Case; with whom,  
 “ Persons in Holy Orders touch no part of the Government: And in  
 “ the memory of our Fathers it had been notorious, what Designs  
 “ the Cardinal of *Amiens*, *John de la Grange*, in the Reign of *Charles VI.*  
 “ carried on; who, having been tolerated with more Patience than the  
 “ Case required, was at last forced to leave *France*; and, having  
 “ carried off immense Treasures, still maintained his Power in the Realm,  
 “ as perniciously in his absence, as formerly when present. Two Car-  
 “ dinals only there had been amongst Us, *George d'Amboise* and *An-*  
 “ *thony du Prat*, who studied the Grandeur of the Realm: and never-  
 “ theless those prudent Princes *Lewis XII.* and *Francis I.* used their  
 “ Assistance with Caution; so that, when the Pope's Cause was con-  
 “ cerned, they were never admitted into the Cabinet: Thus their  
 “ Authority proved less detrimental to the Realm; in which Circum-  
 “ stance



A. D. 1559. " stance however, most People have taxed the greatest Princes with  
 " want of sufficient Prudence: But as to the Power of the Lords  
 " of *Lorraine*, how far it ought to be suspected, no one could be ig-  
 " norant; since they now no longer whisper it in the Ear, but pub-  
 " lickly give out, that they derive their Pedigree from the *Carlovingian*  
 " Race, which was injuriously dispossessed of the Hereditary Crown by  
 " *Hugh Capet* the Head of That illustrious Family, which has happily  
 " reigned for so many years in *France*: To these false Originals, in-  
 " vented contrary to the Truth of History, it is well known, what  
 " they have lately added; openly clamouring, that the Dutchy of  
 " *Anjou* and the County of *Provence* have been unjustly taken from  
 " them; assuming also the Title and Arms of *Anjou*; that thus, by  
 " degrees, these Foreigners may intrude themselves into the Royal  
 " Family: But it is prohibited by Law, that Persons shall be admitted  
 " to the Ward of a Pupil, who have any Cause of Action against  
 " him: Which being an established Rule amongst private Men, ought  
 " to hold much more strongly in the Case of Regents, from whom  
 " the Danger is greater and extends to more People: For by this  
 " pretence many Kingdoms have been transferred. The Treachery of  
 " *Tarquin* against the Children of *Ancus Martius* is notorious; as are  
 " the pernicious Counsels of *Cleander*, and the already mentioned *Rufinus*  
 " and *Stilico*, who against the Safety of the Empire meditated a Revolt.  
 " But the Instance of *Hieronymus* King of *Sicily*, related by *Titus Livius*,  
 " is especially remarkable: For by the Last Will of his Father *Hieron*,  
 " at whose Death he was fifteen years old, there had been assigned to  
 " him fourteen principal Friends, who with his Unkle *Athenodorus* were  
 " to administer the Pupillary Kingdom: But *Athenodorus*, who, from  
 " the same Prerogative of Relation, with which the *Guises* now swell,  
 " claimed the sole Power, and had even then laid the Scheme of his  
 " wicked Design, persuading young *Hieronymus*, that, if he would be  
 " King, he should rid his hands of those importunate Guardians, and  
 " govern the Realm by himself: He accordingly, having been educated  
 " in the midst of Flatteries and in Licentiousness, lent an easy Ear to his ill-  
 " advising Unkle; and, removing the Directors of his Youth assigned him  
 " by his wife Father, devotes himself wholly to *Athenodorus*; who from  
 " thence took occasion to conspire against him, and would have infallibly  
 " succeeded, if the Nobility had not seasonably detected and prevented  
 " his Machinations. Neither could any one be at a Loss to account  
 " for the same obsequiousness and regard, observable at present, to-  
 " wards the Pope and the See of *Rome*; with a View to be sure,  
 " that by the same Arts, whereby *Charles Martin* and *Pipin*, from whom  
 " They falsely deduce their Original, formerly mounted the Throne,  
 " they may extort the same from the *Capetines*, by whom their An-  
 " cestors, as they privately talk, were robbed of it. Thus the Car-  
 " dinal had put *Henry* upon violating the Truce, in hopes, that, His  
 " Brother being gone with a powerful Army to the Expedition against  
 " the Kingdom of *Naples*, if the Pope should have died in the mean  
 " time, he might have gotten himself promoted to the Papacy, and by  
 " reducing

“ reducing the Nation to Distress pave the way for his Brother, by *A. D.*  
 “ the help of an Army of *Frenchmen*, to ascend the Throne: All the *1559.*  
 “ world knew, how pernicious that Project had been to the whole  
 “ Kingdom: For, the Flower of the Nobility and the whole Strength  
 “ of *France* being carried away into *Italy*, the Realm was exhausted  
 “ of Forces, and left as a Prey and even betrayed to a provoked and  
 “ potent Enemy. To this was owing the Defeat of *S. Quintin* and  
 “ that other at *Graveling*, which besides ought in particular to be im-  
 “ puted to the Duke of *Guise*’s affected Dilatorynefs after the taking  
 “ of *Thionville*: Thus, the National Troops being worn out, the King  
 “ had been forced at last into a Peace equally dishonourable and disad-  
 “ vantageous; to a Peace, which had brought us into Circumstances  
 “ and Apprehensions worse than a War: Upon these accounts it seemed  
 “ an hazardous thing, that contrary to the Law of the Realm the  
 “ Chief Authority should be lodged in Them, who were so ill affected  
 “ towards the King, and, if farther tolerated, would shortly execute  
 “ the unjust Designs long since projected by them, to the Ruin of  
 “ the Publick.”

In opposition to these Rumours and Publick Complaints, the  
*Guises*, thinking Deeds the best Defence against Words, and not  
 trusting to the customary Guards, introduced some Bands of *Italians*,  
 more for their own than the King’s Security: But because in those  
 Discourses a Reflection had been cast likewise upon *Catherine*, *John*  
*du Tillet* Prothonotary of Parliament, a Man admirably versed in Our  
 Law, but a Dependant, in a Publick Treatise intituled *Of the King’s*  
*Majority*, endeavoured to overthrow those Arguments; heaping together  
 most of the Heads of the Municipal Statutes; whereby he shews, that  
 amongst Us the Guardianship is generally dissolved by the Pupils arrival  
 at the Years of Puberty, and not extended beyond the fifteenth Year:  
 Therefore it is, and always hath been, lawful for Our Kings at that  
 Age, to prefer what Persons they please to the Chief Administration,  
 and use them as Counsellors: Then by Instances produced he proves,  
 that the Regency had not always been presented to the nearest of Kin;  
 For thus *Henry I.* rejecting his Brother *Robert*, committed his Son *Philip*  
 to the Care of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* his Brother-in-law: So *Lewis*  
*the Young*, setting aside his Brothers, intrusted the Tuition of his Son  
*Philip the August* to the Archbishop of *Rheims*, ’till he should have arrived  
 at his fifteenth Year; for thus it is to be found in his Last Will. Lastly,  
*Lewis VIII.* postponing his Brother *Philip*, appointed his Wife *Blanche*  
 Governess to his Son *Lewis IX.* and Regent of the Kingdom: And  
 the same Kings *Lewis VIII.* and *Lewis IX.* when they went to the  
 Holy War, often left the Chief Power in their Absence to the Abbots  
 of *St. Denys*. The last Argument is drawn from the Edict of *Charles V.*  
 to which he adds the manifest Hardship besides, that, when the King  
 by the Laws of the Realm might choose Counsellors of himself, he  
 should do it by the Direction of Foreigners and Neighbours; in this re-  
 flecting plainly enough upon the Protestants, who had solicited the *German*  
 Princes of the *Augustan Confession*, to meddle in Our Affairs, to the End



A. D. 1559. that a lawful Council might be constituted in *France*: Then he openly lashes the Protestants, and chiefly the Author of the Treatise, whom he calls another *Achitophel*; stiling them *Trumpets of Sedition*, as the supposed Authors and Abettors of these Troubles; and declaring, that Arms not only lawfully might, but ought to be taken up against them as Sectarists: Against this Libel another was published, wherein an Answer was given to his Arguments: And for what concerns the Municipal Laws, that They, by the Testimony of *Du Tillet* himself, extended to private Persons, and not to Kings and the Succession of the Kingdom: That the Example of *Henry* made nothing to the purpose; forasmuch as his Brother *Robert* lay under the Guilt of Treason, for having attempted to rob *Henry* of the Crown; and that, as He was a Suspected Person, the Guardianship was rightly intrusted with the Other: That it appeared by the Faith of Our Annals, that the *Gascons* interposed to hinder *Robert's* Admission to the Regency, because they were jealous of his Fidelity; just as, at this time, all good Men justly suspect the Fidelity of the *Guises*: That the Case is widely different, when a Father by his Will appoints Guardians for his Children, and when Guardians are by the Law assigned to them, upon the Father's dying Intestate: That the Assertion concerning *Lewis the Young* was false; for, if That had been the Case, the Archbishop of *Rheims* would never have had the Regency; since *Philip the August*, at the time of his Father's Death, had already passed the sixteenth Year: That his Brothers were excluded from this Office, because they partly had retired to a solitary Life, and partly were unable to manage their own Affairs: But neither That, nor the Instance of *Lewis VIII.* signified any thing to the purpose; because These had assigned Guardians to their Sons, and the States had allowed of that Power: But the lately deceased *Henry* had left no Guardians to his Children, and consequently the Matter devolved to the States; by whose Direction, according to the Laws of the Realm, a Lawful Council ought to be formed: And for what is said of *Lewis VIII.* and *Lewis IX.* who, before they went to *Syria*, left the Regency, not to their nearest Kinsmen, but mostly to Abbots, it was still less pertinent; for what they could have done by Will, they could much more do, whilst they were alive: Moreover, that the Case of the Edict of *Charles V.* stood Thus; that nevertheless *Charles VI.* the Heir of the Crown was not admitted to the Publick Administration, 'till he had compleated his twenty second Year, contrary to the Provision made by the Edict; but, to the very End of that Term, the Chief Power continued in the hands of a Lawful Council, consisting of the Princes and Nobles of the Realm, according to the express Settlement of the States assembled at *Tours*: That accordingly it was not well done by the Author of the Book *Of the King's Majority*; who, being thoroughly skilled in Our Law, and bound to maintain the Rights of the Crown, basely abused his Parts for the Establishment of an unjust Power to the Ruin of the Publick; and returned no Answer to the Point chiefly urged, namely, that the *Guises*, as Foreigners and Suspected Persons, ought to be removed from the Government of the Kingdom;

Kingdom; but maliciously avoiding, as a Rock, the mention of them, *A.D.* drew his mercenary Pen against the Protestants as Disturbers of the *1559.* general Quiet; exactly representing, both in his Words and Parts, the Character of *Achitophel* mentioned by himself in the Close of his Treatise: And as He, by a preposterous Zeal for Righteousness and Justice, inflamed the People to Blood shedding, so *Du Tillet* himself appeared as the Head and Fomenter of Seditions and promiscuous Massacres. This Book, for a Time, out of Hatred to the *Guises*, in whose Favour it was reported to be written, fell under many Censures; but afterwards, in the Minority of King *Charles IX.* (when the Face of Affairs was changed, and the State began to be endangered by Factions, and the Ambition of Those, who drew the chief Power to themselves), it was recalled into Use by *Michael de l' Hospital*; and gained so much Credit, as to be entered amongst the Royal Constitutions.

The next principal Care of the *Guises* was, how the Treasury, exhausted by the former Wars, should at any Rate, though with Injustice, be supplied; a salutary Counsel in Appearance! but, as their Adversaries gave out, designed with a view of gratifying their own Appetites more freely by the Enlargement of the Treasury: For, from almost all the Provinces of the Realm, Persons flocked to the new King, who with importunate Petitions sued for Debts, Rewards and Favours: To whom when Satisfaction could not possibly be given, in order to quash their Demands by one single Answer, the *Guises* put the King, who was still at *Fontaine-bleau*, upon This abrupt and inhuman Device; that, on a Gibbet erected for the purpose, he should fix a Proclamation, ordering all Persons, of what Rank soever, who attended the King in pursuit of any Debt, Reward or Favour, to leave the Court within four and twenty Hours; or, in case of Disobedience, to be ignominiously hanged upon the Gibbet. This ingenious Contrivance of the Cardinals procured a wonderful Share of Ill-will to the two Brothers; whose trifling Delays Many could tolerably have endured, who could not with any Patience bear such an open Outrage; the Military Men especially, who loudly resented, that their faithful Services in the late Wars should be so unworthily repaid.

And now the King, being freed from a long and tedious Quartan Ague, began to grow so fast every day, that from the Habit of his Body he was judged fit for the Administration of the Government. Which, as it helped forwards the Designs of the *Guises*, had this Effect likewise, that the Complaints of their Adversaries carried less Weight in the Judgment of many People: Yet still the King's doubtful State of Health kept the *Guises* anxious; for, whereas at first his Face used to be pale and livid, it began all of a sudden to break out in red Blotches. Therefore for Change of Air, by the Direction of Physicians, he resolved to go to *Blois*, that he might enjoy a freer Climate, and such an one as had been familiar to him from his Infancy. When he came to *Blois*, from the occasion of his uncertain Health, an impudent as well as malicious Fiction began to be spread abroad, that the King laboured under a Leprosy; and some Persons, as the report



A. D. report went, were secretly commissioned, who with inhuman Audaciousness forc'd Children under six years of age from the Arms of their Mothers, in the Country bordering upon the *Loire*, and hurried them away like Victims as it were to a certain Death; that the King, forsooth, might use their warm Blood in his Drink and his Bath, in order to correct the vicious Habit of his own Blood; for so the Physicians prescribed. It does not appear, whether this was invented by the Adversaries of the *Guises*, or by the *Guises* themselves; who, beginning even then to pave a Way for higher Attempts, were industrious to render the Royal Family odious to the People, and, in the mean while, by casting the Scandal of this wicked Calumny upon the Protestants, to provoke the King to ruin them. The Protestants certainly, in their Writings at that time, charged the Invention upon the Cardinal of *Lorraine*; who framed it (they say) not so much out of hatred to the King, under whom he bore the chief Sway, as with a mind to try the Patience of the *French*, how far they could bear the Ministry's wanton Dominion. Some of these Emissaries were taken and put to death; and amongst them One, who obstinately affirm'd to the very last Breath, that he had a Commission for that purpose from the Cardinal of *Lorraine*. However that may be, it is certain, that the King, being born of a Mother, who suffered the Menstruous Purgations later than ordinary, had always from his Infancy been sickly; and had never used to purge by the Nose, and seldom by the Mouth; a collection of foul Humours in the mean time falling down into his Ear, through which the Brain discharg'd itself contrary to Nature; and this at length occasion'd a mortal Putrefaction.

In the mean while the Cause of *Anne du Bourg*, and the other imprisoned Counsellors, was brought on by the *Guises*; who by this Act hoped to gain the Favour of the Populace, and to remove the Discontents rais'd against their violent Administration. *Du Bourg*, before he appeal'd to the Archbishop of *Sens*, by a Custom received amongst Us, had appealed from the Bishop of *Paris*'s Sentence, as Abusive, to the Parliament. Which was one of the Secrets of the Realm, contrived by Our Ancestors, for the Defence of Religion and the Royal Majesty against the Jurisdiction of the Clergy (whenever That should happen to abuse its lawful Power); and by a laudable and successful Practise had been used in *France* for many years. The Cause being publickly canvassed in Parliament, in the presence of the Cardinals of *Lorraine* and *Sens*, notwithstanding the Exceptions humbly offered against them by *Du Bourg*, as Suspected Persons, the Appeal was adjudged to be Frivolous; and thus the Cause devolving to the Prelate of *Sens*, the Judgment of the Bishop of *Paris* was confirmed: A fresh Appeal was then made to Parliament, founded upon a pretended Abuse; but This, labouring under the Prejudice of the former Decree, was in like manner declared Frivolous. At length the Sentence of the Archbishop of *Sens* was confirmed by the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Cardinal de *Tournon*; and thus *Du Bourg*, being condemned by the unanimous Voice of three Judges, was sent back to his own Bishop, that is, the Bishop of *Paris*: By whom being deprived of his Sacerdotal Character

Character with the usual Ceremonies, he declared, that he suffered the *A.D.* Degradation with a willing and joyful Mind, because the Sign of 1559. the Beast, mentioned in the *Revelations*, being thereby blotted out, he should have nothing to do with Antichrist for the future. From *Du Bourg's* prolonging the Cause for many Months by these Demurs and Appeals, Many judged, that he endeavoured to escape: For when he was first interrogated, he had answered ambiguously with regard to the Articles of Religion; and his Friends continually advised him, to mollify the Judges by tempering his Answers, and to clear himself of the Court. On the contrary, Such as embraced the New Confession, sending one of their Pastors, exhorted him to persist in his Opinion, and not by dishonourably shuffling to desert the Cause of GOD, who would never desert Him: That more Security might be placed in GOD than in Men; his business was only to persevere, and not to put a Temporary Life in the Balance against an Eternal one: That, if he retained his Resolution, the Judges, however bent against him, would fall from their Courage; but, if GOD had otherwise decreed, everlasting Glory would be his Portion, and he should triumph before GOD with the Angels and the Company of the Blessed, leaving to Men an Example of Virtue far preferable to any human Felicity: He should therefore pay no regard to the Exhortations of Friends, who rather consulted the Good of his Body than of his Soul and Reputation, but raise himself up to a Resolution of maintaining the Fight with a brave and intrepid Conscience. These Advices prevailed over Those of his Friends; and *du Bourg*, in a Letter to the Parliament of *Paris*, testified, that it was not for the sake of preserving or prolonging Life, that he used those Legal Remedies; but that he might not be thought to have omitted any thing which tended to the Support of his Right; and that by procuring the Cause to be often discussed, the more the Truth might be illustrated. Presenting therefore a Libel to the Court, he revoked his former Confession as ambiguous; and offered one entirely new, agreeable to the *Helvetian* and *Genevan* Confessions, in which he declared himself ready to live and die, declaiming with great vehemence against the Pope. About this time a Letter came to the King from *Frederick* Elector Palatine, who begged a remission of the Sentence of Death, and asked, as a great Favour, that *Du Bourg* might be delivered to Him. Not long after, on the 14th of *November*, the President *Anthony Minart*, returning from the Palace to his House at a distance, was waylaid in the Darkness of the Evening, and shot through the Body with a Musquet. The same Fortune, as it afterwards appeared, lay ready for *Le Maître* and *Saint-André*, if they had gone to Parliament that day in the Afternoon: *Minart*, a principal Inflamer of *Henry*, and one besides of a dissolute Life, had been challenged by *Du Bourg* for suspicion of Partiality; with This addition, that if, when he was desired, he did not voluntarily stay away, he would be hindered by some other Cause from giving his Attendance: Which Words, spoken rather by way of Prediction than from any Consciousness, were nevertheless so construed, as if *Du Bourg* had known of the Design. This Casualty was the cause of hastening his



A. D. his Death, through the Fears of the Cardinal (who solicited the Sentence, as what concerned the Honour of *Henry's* Memory), left the King should suffer himself to be overcome by the Palatine's Intreaties, and in favour of Him release *Du Bourg*; and who besides was of opinion, that the Boldness of a few Ruffians, who had committed such an egregious piece of Villany in the Murder of *Minart*, should be checked in time by a signal Example of Severity: Therefore, on the 3d day after, *Du Bourg* was condemned to Death by the Delegates. The Sentence being read to him according to custom, he shewed no sign of Consternation; but professed, that he forgave the Judges, who had determined according to their Conscience, though not according to Knowledge or the true Wisdom of GOD. Then making a long Preamble concerning the Eternal Judgment of GOD, and as it were directing his Speech to the Judges, at length he grew warm, and concluded with These Words: "Now at last extinguish Your Fires, and, amending Your former Life, return to GOD, that Your Sins may be pardoned and blotted out; Let the Wicked forsake his way, and laying aside his perverse Devices be turned to GOD, and He will have mercy on him: But for You, Ye Counsellors, live and fare ye well, and incessantly think upon GOD in the fear of GOD; for My part, I go cheerfully to Death". After this Speech (which has been transcribed from the Publick Acts), he was put into a Cart, and guarded by a great Body of armed Horse and Foot, as if there had been some secret Apprehensions of Danger: When he came to *St. John's* Street, the place appointed for the Execution, after speaking a few Words only, as he had promised, to the Populace, *viz.* That he had been condemned to Death, not as a Robber, but for the Gospel's Sake; he put off his Cloaths himself, and, when raised to the Top of the Gibbet, was heard to repeat this Sentence; "My GOD, forsake me not, that I may not forsake Thee". He was then strangled, and his Body thrown into the Fire. This was the Fate of *Anne du Bourg*, at the Age of thirty eight years; a Native of *Riom* a considerable Town of *Auvergne*; of an honourable and wealthy Family, which had formerly produced *Anthony du Bourg* Chancellor of *France* in the Reign of *Francis I.* When he had professed the Science of the Law at *Orleans* with great reputation, he afterwards became a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*; in which Capacity he raised the Character of his Integrity still higher; and during his Confinement was assisted and recommended by the hearty Prayers of Many, even of Those, who by no means approved his Religious Sentiments, and after his Death was deplored with hearty Lamentations. As to Them, who had deserted the ancient Worship, he partly confirmed their Minds by his Constancy, and partly exasperated them, to such a degree, that from his Ashes a plentiful Crop of Revolts and Conspiracies is thought to have grown up; whereby this once flourishing Kingdom suffered for a long time after. Next, the Delegated Commissioners proceeded to the Tryal of the other Counsellors. There had been a considerable Dissention between the *Great Chamber*, as it is called, and the *Class of Capital Causes*, concerning the

the Punishment to be inflicted upon Sectaries; the former declaring *A. D.* for the last Severities, and the other for Banishment and milder Penalties; which Dispute had given Rise to the *Wednesday Convention*. For this Cause *Eustochius de la Porte*, in the Delivery of his Opinion, had prodigiously extolled the Wisdom of the Latter, and obliquely reflected upon the Severity of the Others. Therefore by a Decree of the Delegates he was commanded to declare before the whole Parliament, that he approved and revered the Pleas of the *Great Chamber* as Juridical and not to be called into question: As to *de Foix*, who in the Determination of Punishments had recommended and urged the necessity of using a Distinction (namely, that They who in the Mysteries of Religion denied the Thing itself, should be rigorously punished, and such as only denied the Form and the Mode, more gently); He was in like manner ordered to profess before a Convocation of all the Classes, that in the Sacrament of the Altar the Form was inseparable from the Matter, nor could that Sacrament be exhibited in any other Form, than That wherein it was exhibited in the *Roman Church*: An Addition was likewise made to the Decree, that he should abstain from coming to Parliament for a Year. The Cause of *Lewis du Faur* gave them greater Trouble, as he defended himself with extraordinary Bravery, and was accordingly more vigorously attacked by his Adversaries: For in a Libel, offered to the Court, he said, that it had been miraculously revealed to him (Thus he expressed himself, that he might not be forced to name his Informer, and thereby bring him into Danger), that *Saint-André*, who presided at the Judgment, not only cajolled the Judges singly, but by Threats deterred them from giving their Opinions freely; and therefore he desired to challenge him: But, as he did not name any Witnesses, he was at length condemned; because he had rashly and unadvisedly said, that the Celebration of an Occumenical Council was the best and only Remedy for the extirpation of Heresies; and that in the mean while the Sectaries ought not to be capitally prosecuted. For this, he was commanded to ask Pardon of GOD, the King and Justice, and to abstain from Parliament for five years, and also fined five hundred *French Livres* for the use of the Poor: The Pecuniary Mulct was therefore added, that, since he was only suspended for a time, he should not be deemed as branded with Infamy. It was moreover provided, that the Decree should be read before the whole Body of Parliament, and be put in Execution: Whilst this was doing, *Du Faur*, agreeably to his intrepid Spirit, protested against the Sentence, as defective, and extorted from the Judges by *Saint-André* through Force and Terror: And *De Thou* indeed, who was weary of their Violence and their Schemes, thought, that the Allegation of Force (which was apparent) urged in Bar of the Sentence, ought by no means to be rejected: But, during the Debate, terrible Quarrels arose, the Parliament being divided into Parties, which contended on each side with exceeding Warmth; 'till the King, because he judged it a matter of the worst Consequence, that the Counsellors, who ought to preserve the highest Concord and Modesty amongst themselves, should quarrel so furiously with



A. D. with each other, took the Cause into his own Cognizance, and forbad  
 1559. the Parliament to meddle in it. This was meant apparently in favour  
 of *Saint-André*; who nevertheless, upon *Du Faur's* pressing Instances,  
 and daily Expostulations with *Charles* the Cardinal, was Cited, and,  
 notwithstanding his great Age, obliged to come to Court: The Matter,  
 being debated in the King's Consistory, after sharp Contentions was  
 sent back to the Parliament, where it was reconsidered, and more  
 fully examined: And at length the former Decree was recalled, and  
 an Order made, that it should be blotted out of the Parliamentary Ar-  
 chives, and *Du Faur* restored to his antient Dignity and the Exercise of  
 his Office as a Counsellor. A way being thus paved for a Resti-  
 tution by the generous Industry of *Du Faur*, *De Foix* afterwards took  
 the Benefit of it, and obtained, that He too should be replaced, and  
 the Decree, passed against Him, be annulled; *De Thou* for his sake  
 labouring the Point, that the Offences committed through the pre-  
 posterous Ambition of a Few, might be set right by the mature Judge-  
 ment of the whole Body of Parliament. That Gentleman, after dis-  
 charging many honourable Embassies with an extraordinary Character  
 of Prudence and Industry, being at last sent to *Rome*, at the Instance of  
 Cardinal *Nicolas de Pellevé*, was unworthily treated by *Gregory XIII.*  
 who paid more regard to the first Decree, which had been made by  
 prejudiced Judges, contrary to the Privileges of the Counsellors of Par-  
 liament, than to the Other, wherein he had been absolved by the whole  
 Court. *Anthony Fumee* still remained behind; who being examined  
 last, when the Rancour was pretty well satiated, and by different  
 Judges (for most of the Delegates having been challenged absented  
 themselves from Court), met accordingly with a different Fortune  
 from the rest. Which was also ascribed to *Catherine*, who in favour of  
*John de Parthenay* Seigneur de *Soubize* her Favourite and *Fumee's* intimate  
 Friend, is thought by her Interest with the Judges to have considerably  
 supported his Cause. *Fumee*, upon his releasement from Prison and  
 restitution to his Dignity, as soon as he came into Court, returned  
 thanks to the Parliament, that, the foul Storms of Accusations, which  
 clouded the minds of the Judges, being blown over, and a Calm re-  
 stored, he had experienced such an equitable Judgment. The greatest  
 Zeal upon this, as well as upon the former occasions, was shewn by  
 the President *De Thou*; who alone, trusting to his Innocence, ventured  
 in those perilous times to encounter Ill-will in the Defence of so many  
 eminent Men.

Nevertheless the blood-thirsty Incendiaries did not rest; but, being  
 provoked by *Minart's* Assassination, incited the *Guises* to the Punish-  
 ment of Suspected Persons; and *Bourdin* especially, the King's Procu-  
 rator, sent one *Des Croisettes* an Emisary of His to the King in the  
 name of the Parliament, to affirm, that the Court had Proof in their  
 hands, that a certain *Scot*, *Robert Stewart* by name, had entered into  
 a wicked Plot with other Conspirators for setting fire to the City in  
 several places; that, the Populace being busied in extinguishing the  
 Flames, he might take occasion from thence to break open the doors  
 of

of the Publick Prison, and set at liberty such as were confined on a *A. D.* Religious Account. At his Instigation, a Diploma was published at 1559. *Chambor*, where the King then was; containing a Command to the Court, that they should severely animadvert upon the Suspected Parties, and diligently set about their Trials without Intermiſſion. Four extraordinary Claſſes out of the whole Parliament were conſtituted for the Diſpatch of that Buſineſs; and in a ſhort time, through their Expedition, a Goal-Delivery was effected; ſome being condemned to Death, others ordered to confeſs their Crimes with Shame and beg Pardon, and others again baniſhed and puniſhed in different manners. *Stewart* himſelf, who had been taken in the mean time, after he had in vain invoked the Faith and Aſſiſtance of the Queen as his Kinſwoman, and ſhe in favour of her Unkles had denied her Relation to him, when the Proofs againſt him were not ſtrong enough, was ſent to the Rack; and, when nothing could be extorted from him by thoſe means, was nevertheless detained in Priſon, as a dangerous Man. At the ſame time a certain Spy, employed by the Brothers of *Lorraine*, *Julian Firmin* by Name, who had their Letters about him to a great number of Perſons, was murdered not far from *Chambor*; which inflamed them to a high degree.

Above all things, the Mention of an Aſſembly of the States offended *Catherine* and the Lords of *Lorraine*; who feared, that, if the Authority of the States came once again to be in uſe, their own Power would be reduced within Bounds. Therefore they accuſed all ſuch as preſſed the Calling of an Aſſembly, as Rebels and Seditious: And obſerving the Proteſtants, whoſe Numbers were now very conſiderable, joining themſelves to that Party; in order to divide them, they thought it expedient to renew the Perſecutions every where in *France* againſt the Sectaries, inventing Contrivances, and laying as it were Traps, into which even the Innocent and Ignorant might fall. For every where, and eſpecially at *Paris*, in unhallowed places and the very common Streets, Images were erected of the Saints and the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, adorned with all manner of Decorations; at which Candles were burnt by day-light, and Hymns ſung in an unuſual manner, by vile Perſons, Skullions, Porters and Water-drudges, to the diſhonour of the Sacred Diſcipline and the Prieſtly Order: Little Cheſts alſo were ſet up in the Ways, into which Paſſengers, by the importunity of Fellows appointed for the purpoſe, were forced to put Money, towards the purchaſe of Tapers and Candles for that Service: Which Tribute if any one reſuſed to pay, or paſſed by thoſe Images, tho' heedleſſly, without ſaluting them, or laſtly did not ſtop with veneration to hear thoſe unharmonious Sounds, the Rabble fell upon him as a Suſpected Perſon; and ſuch an one would think himſelf very happy, if, after he had been beaten with Fiſts and trodden under foot in the Mire, he eſcaped with Life, and was only thruſt into Priſon. But by theſe Proceedings, the Malecontents on both ſides, inſtead of being broken, became more exaſperated; and, entering into a cloſer Union with one another, attempted the boldeſt and moſt memorable Conſpiracy, that is any where to be found



A. D. in History; of which we shall speak in the following Book: But now  
1559. we will pursue the Thread of Foreign Affairs.

Upon the Restitution of *Mariembourg* in the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, *Thionville*, *Ivoy*, *Montmedy*, and the neighbouring Castles; when the Marshall *de Brissac*, having drawn off the Artillery from *Valenza*, shewed himself ready to deliver up the Towns, which by the Pacification had been agreed to be restored: Still the *Sieneſe*, out of a wild Fondneſs for retaining their Liberty, began to entertain freſh hopes upon *Henry's* Death; although *John Everard de Saint Suplice* was actually come to *Mont-alcino*, and *John de Guevara* continued his Sollicitations for the Surrender of the Towns in *Tuſcany*, according to Agreement, into *Philip's* hands. *Cosmo* therefore, to prevent the Miſchiefs that might ariſe through a longer Delay, prepares Force againſt this Dilatorineſs; and charges *Chiappino Vitelli*, that, if the *Sieneſe* after the departure of the French Garrison perſiſted in their Obſtinacy, he ſhould in *Philip's* Name com- pell them to Obedience by Arms; ſending *Leo Santi* in the mean time to treat with *Cornelius Bentivoglio*. To this Perſon, as a moderate Re- ward for his numerous Labours (by the permiſſion of *Cosmo*, who was deſirous of bringing matters as ſoon as poſſible to a Concluſion), a Grant was made of *Magliano* with all its Revenues; upon condition, that he ſhould reſtore the Caſtle of *Ottieri* to *Pandolfo Sinolf* its antient Lord; which on His part he undertook to perform, provided that a Recompence were made him for the Sums expended in the Fortification of it. There ſtill remained another Inconveniency; that the French Garrison had Arrears due to them for ſeveral Months, which the King could not readily pay, and without which it was apparent that they would not be quiet; and Intelligence was brought, that the *Gaſcons*, at *Groſſeto*, had lately upon the like occaſion well nigh laid hands upon the Governour of the Place; but that He to avoid the Danger had fled into the Caſtle. The ſame thing was done by Our Countrymen at *Radicofani*. However, from *Mont-alcino*, *Chiuſi*, *Montichiello* and *Valdorcia*, the Artillery with the Garrisons was drawn off. Nevertheleſs the *Sieneſe* Exiles, whether from a natural Love of Liberty, or through the Perſuaſion of *Nicolas Count di Petigliano*, whoſe Jealouſy was raiſed by the Greatneſs of ſuch a Neighbour as *Cosmo*, privately encouraged the Garrisons of *Groſſeto* and *Radicofani* with hopes, that if they perſiſted in their Reſolution, they would certainly get the Payment of their Arrears. *Vitelli* therefore was detached with ſeven Companies of Foot and an hundred and fifty Horſe, who had already advanced to *Buonconvento*; and taking the Tower *del Sale*, which overlooks the Sea-coaſt, he formed the Siege of the Town: Which the *Sieneſe*, with whom the Caſtles of *Mont-alcino* and *Chiuſi* were left, ſeeing, and being deſtitute of all Hopes, ſince they were unable of themſelves to reſiſt the Force of *Philip* and *Cosmo*, ſent Deputies out of their Body to *Cosmo* (viz. *Marcellus Palmieri* and *Francis Ballati*, to whom they joined *Robert Sergardi* and *Ceſar Tolomei*) to treat with him upon certain Articles, which *Bentivoglio*, who had already made his Peace with *Cosmo*, had given them hopes of obtaining. Whiſt they were thus employed, and  
under

under Apprehensions of a Rupture, *Moretto's* Lieutenant, who held *A. D.* *Monte-pescali*, being bribed, as it is thought, delivered the Place to 1559. *Inghilefco Calefati* sent thither by *Vitelli*, and retired himself to *Buriano*, a Castle in the Territory of *Piombino*, where *Moretto* was: The People of *Radicofani* shortly after, killing the Captain, who commanded them, abandoned the Place: Upon which the Inhabitants of *Grosseto* likewise capitulated; and *Checco Sperelli da Perugia* was placed over the Castle with twenty five Soldiers. It remained, that, according to the Method laid down, the Towns relinquished by the *French* should be consigned by the *Sieneſe* into the hands of *Guevara*, who had come on purpose to receive them in *Philip's* Name; and that the same again should be delivered by *Guevara* to *Cosmo*, in pursuance of the Stipulations. For the more solemn Execution of this Article, on a day appointed, there set out from *Buonconvento* *John de Guevara*, *Philip's* Proctor; *Angelo Nicolini*, President of *Siena*; and, on *Cosmo's* behalf, *Frederick Montacuti* Governour of the Castle, with *Francis Montacuti*. These were met upon the Road by *Nicolas Spinelli* and *Alfonso Tolomei* with a Company of *Sieneſe* Boys carrying Olive-branches in their hands, and loudly repeating the Word *Peace* and Name of *Medicis*. With this Retinue they came to *Mont-alcino*, and were conducted to the Town-house with great Pomp by *Alexander Vannucci* the Chief Magistrate of the Commonalty. There, *Philip's* Commission being read aloud, the *Sieneſe* swore Allegiance again to *Guevara* (who sat between the before-mentioned Magistrate and the President of the Republick) on account of *Mont-alcino* and the other Places; solemnly delivering the Keys of the City and Castle: By which Cession *Guevara* becoming possessed of those Towns, when he had passed up and down the City for some time, and given his Word for the due Execution of the Articles stipulated by the late Pacification between the Kings, with respect to the *Sieneſe*; he afterwards delivered the Possession so taken to *Nicolini* and *Montacuti*, and transferred the same with the full Dominion of the *Sieneſe* Territory upon *Cosmo*; and immediately *Francis Montacuti* was introduced into the Castle with two hundred Soldiers. This passed on the 4th day of *August*, which had been a lucky Month to *Cosmo*. Shortly after, *Ascanio Bertini* dispatched *Bombaglino di Arezzo* to *Chiusi*, *Simeon Rossermini* to *Grosseto*, and *Francia Goracci* to *Radicofani*, to take possession of those Places for *Cosmo*. Thus, except *Porto-Ercole*, *Talamone*, *Orbitello* and *Monte-Argentaro* (which Posts remained still with *Philip*), *Cosmo*, having gained the whole District of *Siena*, was still concerned to see the single Town of *Solana* possessed by the Count *Di Petigliano* (who, claiming it as his antient Patrimony, though by the Defection of the Townsmen it had put itself under the *Sieneſe* Jurisdiction, had in the Heat of the late War betwixt the Kings taken it by Surprise), and therefore employed *Guevara* to require of the Count, that he should restore the Town according to the Articles. But when He, alledging his Right, refused to give it up; *Cosmo*, who did not despair of obtaining it in time of Peace with the King's Consent, having



A. D. having received *Buriano* from *Moretto*, and restored it to the Lord of 1559. *Piombino*, to whom it belonged, for the present acquiesced. Then the French Garrisons being drawn off from the Marquilate of *Montferrat* and all *Corfica*, and lastly from the whole Province of *Piedmont*, except the five Towns before specified, *Italy* was almost restored to a State of Tranquillity; and so much the more, as News arrived, about the same time, of a Truce concluded between *Ferdinand* and *Solyman*. For the Sultan, being intent upon the Affairs of *Asia*, where his Sons were quarrelling with one another, and with Sword in hand trying their Right to the Succession even in his Life-time, had bent his Force towards the East, leaving *Europe* behind him. *Philip* therefore, after the Peace made with Us, being freed from the Cares of War, began immediately to think of the Expedition against *Tripoli*, which was deferred to the following Year; of all which things, in their Order, we shall speak particularly in the Sequel of this History.

In the mean time, all things being got ready for the Voyage to *Spain*, *Philip* came to *Ghent*; and there, calling a Board of the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, he admitted into that Order, amongst others, the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Urbino*; and restored the Collar to *Ottavio* Duke of *Parma*, who, upon the Receipt of the Badge of St. *Michael* from the French King, had renounced it in the times of the preceeding Wars. From thence he descended into *Zealand*, having first committed to his Sister *Margaret*, *Ottavio's* Wife, the Government of all the *Netherlands*, with a Guard of three thousand five hundred *Spaniards*, who were to be distributed along Our Frontiers: For *Philip*, having settled Peace at home, hearkened to the Advice of *Granvell* Bishop of *Arras*, whom he placed about his Sister as her principal Counsellor; and, because he lay under no small Apprehensions from the *Lutherans*, who abound in those Countries by reason of the Neighbourhood of *Germany*, had therefore resolved to leave a strong Body of *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*; though in appearance for the Defence of the Barrier: And, to lessen the Peoples Uneasiness, he had committed the Care of them to *William* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange* (with whom we have formerly related *Henry's* imprudent discoursing of the secret Counsel taken against the Sectaries), and to *Lamoral* Count d' *Egmont*, the most considerable Men in all the Province, upon account of their Dignity and recent Services: But They generously refused the Charge; saying, that the Peace lately made, which the *Flemings* themselves had procured by their own Arms and Valour, signified but little, if, after the Repulse of a foreign Enemy, they must be forced to submit to a Servile Yoke at home. *Philip* bore this unusual Liberty, for the present, with a composed Countenance, as being unwilling at his Departure from the *Netherlands* to leave such well-deserving Lords under an opinion of his entertaining any Resentment: But the Grief, which he then suppressed, he afterwards discovered and revenged, tho' perhaps not altogether so seasonably, as we shall see in its place. However, dropping the Project of leaving *Spanish* Troops in the *Netherlands* for That time, and bending his whole Thoughts upon the *African* Enterprize, he set sail in the month of *September*.  
When

when he had arrived within Sight of *Laredo*, meeting with a dangerous *A. D.* Storm, he could hardly enter the Port with Safety, losing almost all *1559.* the rest of the Fleet, and with it some Royal Furniture of immense Value, which he was carrying with him into *Spain*; a Country, where he designed to fix his Habitation for the future, whereas, under his Father *Charles*, his Residence there had been unsettled. This gave occasion to a bitter Jest, that He and his Father had robbed almost the whole World, that they might enrich the Ocean with the Spoils. *Philip* certainly declared this Deliverance owing to the singular Providence of GOD, which had preserved him, on purpose, that he might be an Instrument in the Propagation of His Glory and the Extirpation of Lutheranism; and, to give a real Proof of this Persuasion, immediately upon his Arrival in *Spain*, he began with the Punishment of Sectaries: And whereas formerly single or few Persons, as it happened, were after Condemnation for Heretical Opinions delivered over to the Executioner; against His Coming there had been reserved all the Condemned Criminals throughout *Spain*, who were conveyed to *Seville* and *Valladolid*, in order to be led out to Execution in those Places with Theatrical Pomp. The first Act was celebrated at *Seville* on the 24th day of *September*; and, in This, *John Ponte de Leon* the Son of *Roderick Ponte* Count *de Baylen*, was conducted from the Castle of *Triana* before the rest, in a sort of Triumph, and burnt as an obstinate Lutheran Heretick; which was the Title born by him in the Procession: *John Gonzalez*, a Preacher, the Companion of his Life, was joined with him also in Death: And These were followed by *Isabelle Veen*, *Mary Viroes*, *Cornelia* and *Boborques*; a Sight fit at once to raise Compassion and Indignation! and the more so, as *Boborques*, who was the youngest of the Company (not as yet one and twenty years old) bore her Death with the utmost Constancy: Then, because *Veen's* House had been used for the meeting of these People at Prayers, by the same Sentence, which contained her Condemnation, it was ordered to be levelled with the Ground. After These, were produced *Ferdinand de S. Juan*, and *Julian Hernandez* called from his Stature *The Little*, and *John de Leon*; who had first been a Tailor at *Mexico* in *New Spain*, and afterwards entered into the College of *St. Isidore*, where the Fryars secretly applied themselves to the Study of the *Purer Doctrine*, as they called it: The number was increased by *Frances Charves* a Nun of *St. Elizabeth's* Convent; who, having been instructed by *John Gillis* a Preacher of *Seville*, endured the like Punishment with wonderful Constancy. Out of the same School came likewise *Christopher Losada* a Physician, and *Christopher de Arellania* a Monk of the same Abbey of *St. Isidore*; and at length *Garçias Arias*; who by his daily Monitions and Sermons introduced the first Sparks of that Doctrine into the Abbey, which lighted this vast Pile, and almost reduced the College itself and a good part of a most wealthy City to Ashes: This learned, but fickle, Man often changed his Opinion; and the very things, which he had inculcated and prescribed, he would confute and overturn with great Acuteness, whenever his Disciples happened to be



A. D. brought into trouble for them by the Inquisitors. By this Conduct, 1559. when, after leading Many into Error, he had exposed them to manifest Danger, and involved himself in the detestable Guilt of Perfidy; being once admonished by *John Gillis*, *Constantin Ponte* and *Varquez*, that he did not act sincerely in the Cause of his Friends and those of the same Sentiments with himself; he said, "He foresaw, that he should soon be forced to see Scaffolds erected for a Bull-fight"; meaning the Inquisitorial Theatre: To which Words *Constantin* replied, "That, if it so pleased GOD, *Arias* would not see the Sport from the Scaffolds, but would himself appear upon the Stage". Nor was *Constantin's* Prediction groundless. For, soon after, *Arias* was brought upon his Tryal; and, being either emboldened by his Old Age, or changed in an instant from a Coward to a Man of Courage, he with an unexpected Resolution reproached the Assessors of the Inquisitorial Tribunal in the bitterest Terms; saying, that they were fitter to discharge the vile Office of Muletiers, than to undertake the Censure of Matters of Faith, of which they were shamefully ignorant: Besides, he expressed an hearty Sorrow, that he had often knowingly and willingly in their Presence opposed the Truth, which he now professed to maintain, against the pious Defenders of it; for which he should be always penitent, as long as he lived. Thereupon being carried in Procession, and committed to the Flames, he verified *Constantin's* Prediction. *Gillis* and *Constantin*, two principal Leaders, still remained, to close the pompous Scene; but Death, intervening, disappointed the Spectators of seeing them alive: The former, for the high Opinion of his Piety and Erudition having been nominated by *Philip's* Father the Emperor to the Bishoprick of \* *Tortosa*, was afterwards accused; and, through the Craft or Persuasion of *Dominick a Soto*, having publicly recanted his Error, was suspended from preaching and the other holy Offices, and died in a short time before the Celebration of that Act. But the Inquisitors, thinking him too gently treated, summoned his Body to a Tryal; and, after his Death, passed Sentence of Death upon him; and presented his Effigy in Straw, raised upon a Pageant, to the View of the Spectators: As for *Constantin*, who had long served the Emperor as Confessor, and had always attended him after the Resignation of the Empire and in his last Minutes, he was hurried to the same Tribunal, and died soon after in a noisome Prison: But, that the Amphitheatre might not want the Sight of *Constantin*, his Image, in a Preaching Posture, was carried about; and thus a Spectacle, of itself terrible, which at first drew Tears from the By-standers, ended in the Laughter and Indignation of Many at the Sight of these formal Scare-crows. With the same Solemnity, at *Valladolid*, in the following month of *October*, another Act was celebrated upon the like sort of Criminals; where, before *Philip's* own Eyes, eight and twenty of the Chief Nobility were bound to Stakes and burnt: Tho' others place it in the preceeding Month of *May*; which

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\* *Episcopus Droffenfis. Thu.* But, there being no Bishoprick in Spain of that Name, I read by Conjecture *Dertoffensis*.

if true, it was rather performed in the View of Prince *Charles*, *Philip's* A. D. Son, and (as others add) of his Sister *Joan* the Prince of *Portugal's* 1559. Widow: For *Philip* had not left the *Netherlands* at that time; because on the 29th day of *July* he held a Meeting of the Order of the *Golden Fleece* at *Ghent*, and then at last, leaving *Margaret* of *Parma* to govern the *Netherlands*, departed for *Spain*.

Some Months before, Pope *Paul*, decrepid with Old Age, and having from the King's Death, for which and the sad State of *France* he publicly expressed his Concern with Tears, contracted an Illness, began to fall into a Dropfy; which growing upon him, when his Health was past recovery, on the \* 14th of *August* he ordered the Cardinals to be brought into his Bed-chamber; and, retaining his Senses and Understanding to the last, made a Speech to them with wonderful Eloquence: Having first said, that he was going the way of all Flesh, and had lived longer than he could have hoped, he requested of them, that, if he had been more negligent in summoning the Consistory, than his Office seemed to require, they would pardon it in consideration of his Age and Bodily Infirmities: He then exhorted them, to join their Suffrages in the Choice of a worthy Successor; and lastly recommended to them the most Holy Office (as he called it) of the *Inquisition*, as what was the only Support of the Holy See. The Fathers being dismissed, when *Bartholomew de la Cueva* a *Spanish* Cardinal, who staid behind, expressed his Grief for the State of Christendom, if it should be deprived of such a Pastor at such a Juncture; the Pope answered in the *Spanish* Tongue, that he had so ordered the Course of his Life, as to be ready to follow the Call of GOD with an easy and ready mind, whensoever his Time of dying should come; and besides, that he comforted himself with this Thought, that he left behind him such a Defender of the Catholick Faith, appointed by the especial Providence of the Good GOD (meaning *Philip*, of whose Resolutions in the Business of Religion he had been before apprized); by whose vindictive Measures he did not in the least doubt, but that the Christian Commonwealth, however afflicted, might receive fresh Vigour, and be restored to its pristine State. At length he died on the 18th day of *August*, about three a clock in the Afternoon, at the Age of eighty three years, one month and twenty two days; having sat Pope four years, two months and twenty four days. Whilst he lay expiring, all the Prisons, according to antient Custom, were opened; and the raging Populace, which ran as it were in a Frenzy up and down the City, set fire to the New Prison of the *Inquisition*, first letting out the Prisoners; and could hardly be restrained from firing the Church of the Dominicans, formerly the Temple of *Minerva*, out of hatred to the *Inquisition*, the Direction of which had been committed to them by the Pope. Nor was their Malice yet satisfied; for immediately by the Impulse of certain Persons, the furious Rabble, attacking the Capitol, cut off the

\* xi Kal. vii br. *Thu.* But, as this must be a Mistake, the Pope being dead on that day, I read xix Kal. vii br.



A. D. Head, with the Right-hand, of That Statue, which had been raised 1559. to him in the Palace by the Senate and People of *Rome*, and was made of *Parian* Marble by the hand of a noble Artificer; and, for three days together, rolled it along the Streets with the utmost Scorn: But at length, when the publick Fury was abated, by the Pity of some good People, that the Eyes of Men might not any longer be inured to such a dismal Spectacle, it was thrown into the *Tiber*: Then by an uncertain Author, a Proclamation was published in the Name of the People of *Rome*, that the Arms of the *Caraffaes* should be abolished out of the City, under the Penalty of Treason to all such as should refuse Obedience. There was never seen, in the height of Licentiousness, a more chearful disposition to comply with Orders; so that, at the Close of the day, there was hardly left the least Monument of the *Caraffaes* in the City. In the mean time, the Deceased's Body, supported by the Colleagues of *St. Peter* on their Shoulders, was with little Ceremony conveyed into the Vatican Church; and in an unusual manner, for fear of the People, protected for some time by a Band of Soldiers; and at last interred for the present in a Sepulcher of Brick-work. At length, in the 7th year after his Death, *Pius V.* out of gratitude to his Patron, erected a magnificent Monument of the best Marble, the Workmanship of *Pyrrho Ligori* a *Neapolitan*, at *Minerva's* Church in the Chappel of his Ancestor.

On the day preceeding *Paul's* Decease, died *Laurence Priuli* Doge of *Venice*; into whose Place his Brother *Ferom* was chosen, by the signal favour of Fortune; especially in That Republick, where such extraordinary Caution is used, lest Dignities may seem to be bestowed rather out of respect to Hereditary Right, than to Merit and Virtue. This Point was yielded in consideration of *Ferom's* noble Qualities, which had such Influence upon the Senate, that it was not thought possible for an ill Precedent to be drawn from his Example.

Afterwards, on the 3d day of *October*, *Hercules da Este* Duke of *Ferrara*, in his Entrance upon Old Age, ended his Life of fifty one years. His Father was *Alfonso*, who after long and dangerous Stuggles with the Hatred and Ambition of the Popes, at length, by an extraordinary Felicity, not only recovered what he had lost, but at his Death left his Dominions considerably enlarged to his Son. As to *Hercules*, who to his Father's Fortunes had joined an illustrious Affinity, by the Marriage of *Renee* the Daughter of *Lewis XII.* and Sister of *Claude* the Wife of *Francis I.* and who, becoming the Father of a most beautiful Offspring by that Match, had long ruled his Dominions in Peace; he at last, in the Decline of his Years, either through his own preposterous Ambition, or the Persuasion of his Son-in-law, involved himself in That unjust War, which at the Instigation of the *Caraffaes* We begun in *Italy* in Violation of the Truce, and headed it as Generalissimo. But in This he was more successful than his Father; that, when of his own accord, without any Provocation, he had attacked such a powerful King as *Philip*, he made his Peace upon very honourable Conditions; and out of a War, which prov'd so detrimental and ignominious

minious to *France* (whether by his Sagacity or good Fortune, is uncertain), disentangled himself at last, without the least Injury to his Reputation or Interest. To these shall be added, *Otho-Henry* of *Bavaria* Count Palatine, the Son of *Rupert*, and Grandson of *Philip*, who, after his Uncle *Frederick* II. held the Electorate for a few years; and, dying himself without Children on the 12th day of *February*, left the Succession to *Frederick* III. a remote Kinsman, descended in the same degree from their Common Ancestor the Emperor *Rupert*, who died in 1410. For between the Elector *Lewis the Bearded*, Son of the Emperor *Rupert*, and Brother of *Stephen* Duke of *Deux Ponts*, from whom *Frederick* derives his Original, ten degrees intervene: And the same *Otho*, dying, bequeathed by his Last Will the Territory of *Newbourg* bordering upon the *Danube*, to *Wolfgang* of *Deux Ponts*, another Relation of the same distance. And now to mention some Princes of less Note; *Francis Otho* Duke of *Lunenbourg* died also in this Year, on the 29th day of *April*, in the third month after his Marriage with *Magdalen* the Daughter of *Joachim* II. of *Brandenbourg*. Before him, on the 24th of *January*, *William* Count of *Hennebourg*, aged more than fourscore years, departed this Life. It was observed by the Curious, that in the space of one Year, tho' it enters into different Years of the Century, there had died the Emperor *Charles* V. two Kings of *Denmark*, a King of *France*, a Doge of *Venice*, a Pope, an Elector Palatine, a Duke of *Ferrara*, and three Queens, *Eleanor* of *France*, *Mary* of *Hungary*, and lastly *Bona-Sforza* of *Poland*. About the same time *George Recrod*, a stout General, of whom such honourable Mention has every where been made, after so many Dangers fortunately avoided in the Course of his Life, died a natural Death, on the 28th day of *November*, in his own Castle of *Herleshausen* not far from *Eysenach*. In the same Year, to take notice also of Learned Men, *Francis Duareim* born at *S. Brieu* in *Bretagne* of a good Family, when he had hardly reached the fiftieth year of his Age, departed this Life; the most famous Man of the Age for the Knowledge of the Law, next to *Andrew Alciati*, whose Lectures he had heard at *Bourges* on the Subject of Civil Law; to which, by the help of his Master's Instructions, he joined an accurate Acquaintance with Polite Literature and Antiquity; and afterwards was Professor in the same University, to a large Audience, in conjunction with his Countryman *Eguinar Baron*; who, as the times went then, bore a considerable Reputation; tho' now his Name is obscure, and his Writings are generally lost. But *Duareim*, in an advanced Age, had great and sharp Quarrels with *James Cujas* then a young Man; and from thence arose remarkable Animosities amongst the Scholars; insomuch that the University of *Bourges* was divided into Parties, which might have been very dangerous in the Consequence, if *Cujas* had not yielded, and departed to *Valence* in *Dauphinè*: Upon which account the latter afterwards declared himself highly indebted to *Duareim*; to an Emulation of whom it was owing, that, when in his Youth, either through the preposterous Advice of his Parents, or the Levity of his Years, he might probably have deserted the Profession of the Law, he held it fast, after



A. D. he had once laid hold of it, and applied himself all his Life with such  
 1559. Assiduity and Diligence to adorn it. *Duarein's* Works are now in high  
 ~~~~~ repute, as they ought to be, amongst the Learned; and *Cujas* himself  
 set a great value upon them, as appears from this Saying of His; that
 out of four *Francises*, who in the same Age professed the same Science,
Duarein alone pleased him, the others having only touched the Law with
 their Lips. But it happened to His Writings, what *Cujas* was always
 terribly afraid might happen to his Own, namely, that his Lectures,
 taken carelessly from his Mouth by the Hearers, and which had never
 been designed for the Publick, were after his Death, without any
 Choice, mingled with those other Works, which he had published in
 his Life-time: Of this notorious Injury, done to the Memory of a
 Learned Man, *Cujas* used to complain with Indignation; when, calling
 upon Me and some Others who had studied under him, he begged,
 that He and His Writings might not be used in that manner. To
Duarein I will join *Amar de Ranconet*, born at *Perigueux*, who shewed
Duarein himself the way to the Discovery of many things in the Law;
 one universally skilled in Polite Learning, Antiquity Sacred and Profane,
 and the Sciences; and to be recorded as a sort of Miracle, for his
 exact Comprehension of all the various Parts of Learning, which singly
 were sufficient to recommend any one Man to Posterity: For he was
 the First, who opened the true Fountains of the *Roman* Law, illustrated
 Human Learning from the Writers of each Language, and was also
 a perfect Master of the Secrets of Philosophy and the Mathematicks:
 In short, he attained a compleat Knowledge of all things, and had an
 excellent Judgment; and was first made a Counsellor in the Parliament
 of *Bordeaux*, and afterwards behaved himself with great Reputation in
 the *Parisian* Court, as one of the Presidents of the Inquisitorial Classes;
 'till in the Troubles, occasioned this Year upon a Religious account,
 the same Ill fortune, which entangled so many others in the Toils of
 the Publick Calamity, involved Him likewise, and brought him into
 Danger, tho' for a Cause widely different from Religion. Being there-
 fore thrown into the *Bastile* (which by the help of the Stars, and That
 Science, which he had successfully studied with *Jerom Cardan*, he had
 long before foretold), he suffered a cruel kind of Death, at the Age of
 more than threescore Years: He writ very little, but afforded a copious
 Field of writing to Others, by his large and well-chosen Collection of
 all sorts of Books as well Printed as Manuscript, carefully marked with
 his own Notes; from whence the most Learned Men of the Age,
 generally quoting the Author, tho' at other times suppressing the men-
 tion of him, have drawn many things very advantageous both to their
 own Reputation and the Publick Service: Being a Man of Business as
 well as Letters, he was seldom seen to study in the day-time; but had
 so laid out his Time, that taking a slight Supper and going early to
 Bed, he used to rise at Midnight after his first Sleep; much about the
 same Hour, that Our Monks (whose Manners and Institutions, in
 Those things especially, which relate to the Course of Life and the
 Preservation of Health, he highly commended) rise every morning to
 Matins;

Matins; and, like them, he covered his Head with a Cowl, which *A. D.* served conveniently to keep the Cold from his Shoulders, Neck and 1559. Ears: Then he employed four hours successively in reading and meditating; in which Space of time, it was wonderful, he said, what a Proficiency he made; when his Head after the first Rest was cleared of all Dregs, and the Silence and Obscurity of the Night favoured him, and no body interrupted his Meditation, which in the day-time could not possibly be avoided. This Practise he affirmed likewise to be extremely conducive to Health; for that, after the first Sleep, the Phlegm floating at the Top, if one rises, it is easy to hawk it up; but, if you sleep on, it grows thick, and sticks to the Ventricle, and in process of time begets noxious Humours, whereby the Health of Students is infected, more than by any other thing whatsoever. Then he composed himself again to Rest, and, what he had ingeniously began in the former Meditation, at his waking from that pleasant Sleep, generally completed with great Success; and from thence he betook himself to the Business of the Day: He wrote elegantly in *Greek* and *Latin*; insomuch that the Books marked with his Annotations (which, upon the Dissipation of that noble Treasure of general and abstruse Learning after his Death, flew about in great numbers, and still come every day into the possession of Studious Persons) delight the Eye no less with the Fairness of the Writing, than they feed and instruct the Mind with the frequent Sprinklings of an uncommon Erudition. In a short time after, *Joachim Perion*, to whom the World is vastly indebted, resigned his Soul to GOD: He was born at *Cormery* in *Touraine*, and in the rich Abbey of that place, into which he had been initiated from his Childhood, received his Education and at last his Death: This Man, having resolved to accommodate the Version of *Aristotle*, made by *John Argyropylus* with more Fidelity than Beauty, to the Taste of the best Judges in the *Latin* Tongue, whilst adhering too closely to his *Cicero* he paid more regard to a delicate Style than to the Truth, fell into a Fault quite contrary to That of *Argyropylus*; upon which account he felt the Censure of the Learned *Nicolas Cruchius*, and afterwards of *William Guerente*, and had occasion to exercise himself in Literary Skirmishes with *Lewis Strebaeus*. But his chief Contention about *Aristotle* was with *Peter Ramus*; who at the same time was attacked, in some elegant Orations, which were published, by *Anthony Govea*, a *Portuguese*, but one who owed all the Improvements (and Those not a few), made by him in Polite Learning, Philosophy and Civil Law, not so much to his own Country, as to *France*, where he studied from his Infancy, and continued to the End of his Life. *Perion* likewise translated many things with equal Delicacy out of the *Greek* Fathers into *Latin*, and published several other Lucubrations, which are commonly read; whereby his Name, sufficiently celebrated amongst the People of his own Age, was propagated to Posterity. In the same Year died *Robert Stephens* a Native of *Paris*, the King's Printer, and the most eminent of his Profession, next to *Aldus Manutius* a *Roman*, who at *Venice*, and *John Froben*, who at *Basil* carried on the same Business with vast reputation: And These too he

vastly

A. D. vastly excelled in Judgment, Diligence and Accuracy, and the Elegance
 1559. of the Art itself: To whom, upon these accounts, not *France* only,
 but the whole Christian World is more highly indebted, than any
 Country ever was to the bravest of its Generals for the Enlargement of
 its Dominions; and from whose single Industry King *Francis* reaped
 more real and immortal Honour, than from all his famous Actions in
 War and Peace: But, when That Good Prince, and egregious Favourer
 and Parent of Letters went to GOD, This excellent Citizen, who had
 deserved so well of his Country by the Publication of many *Hebrew*,
Greek and *Latin* Books, was unworthily recompensed by our College of
 Divines; which, notwithstanding his Labours for the Good of the
 Commonwealth, and his professed readiness to accept of any reasonable
 Conditions, never ceased to plague him; 'till, tired out with their
 unjust Vexations, he took Counsel of Necessity, and, leaving his
 Country, retired at last to *Geneva*: There he managed the Publick
 Business and his Own together with so much Prudence; that, in spite
 of the Crosses and Inconveniences, which are necessarily to be suffered
 by Exiles, he stuck to his Work; and, to the last Breath of his Life,
 resolutely maintained his laudable Purpose of promoting Learning.
 At length, at the Age of fifty six years, on the 7th day of *September*,
 he submitted to Fate; abounding in Glory abroad, and leaving very
 valuable Effects at home, to such of his Children as should stay at
Geneva: For, as he was disgusted with his ungrateful Country, he
 left this express Condition in his Will; not out of Hatred to *France*, but
 to satisfy what he thought a just Revenge. Accordingly his Son
Robert, who exercised the same Art at *Paris*, according to his Abilities,
 with high Commendation, was entirely excluded from a Share in the
 Inheritance; which fell to *Henry*, a most worthy Son of such a Father;
 who not only carried on the Printing Business for a long time after
 in the same manner, but out of his own Industry contributed many
 things for the Advancement of Literature; amongst other Works, pub-
 lishing, in Emulation of his Father (who had formerly founded a
 Magazine of the *Latin* Tongue), a most copious Treasure of the
Greek Tongue, far preferable to the Treasures of many Princes. Before
 Him, the same Year, on the 6th day of *March*, had carried off *Luke*
Gaurico of *Gifoni*, at the Age of fourscore and two; a familiar Friend of
Paul III. and one thoroughly versed in the Mathematicks, especially That
 Part, which from the Position of the Stars passes a judgment on the Life
 and Fortunes of Men. In a little time after, died, at *Mantua*, *John-*
Baptist Folengio, a Benedictine by Profession, near threescore Years of
 Age; a Man distinguished by his Piety and Charity, and by the Po-
 liteness of his Manners as well as his Writings, which no one will ever
 repent the reading: Whilst the good Man was employing his serious
 Thoughts upon the Reformation of the Church and the Removal of
 Schism, treading in the Steps of *Isidore Clario* Bishop of *Foligno* de-
 ceased four years before (of whom we have spoken above in his place);
 he was translated to a Better Life, on the 5th day of *October*, by an
 easy Death, in the same Monastery, where he had professed. Nor must

we omit the mention of *James Milick*, born at *Friburg* in the *Brisgau*, A. D. of a good Family; a Person famous for the Study of Philosophy and 1552. Physick, and universally agreeable by the Sweetness of his Manners, which he carried in his very Countenance; who, having read Lectures for many years at *Wittenberg* with great Reputation, died there at last of an Apoplexy, on the 10th day of *November*, in the fifty eighth Year of his Age.

The Pope's Funeral being performed in the usual manner, whilst the Fathers were in the Conclave, *Cosmo*, who was in Arms, taking his Opportunity, according to Custom, resolved to reduce the Castle of *Pondo* belonging to *Ubertino de gli Ubertini* in the Confines of *Tuscany* and *Ombria*; which the *Caraffaes*, taking it from the rightful Lord, had given to the *Malatesti* Counts of *Sogliano*: In this Service he employed *Chiappino Vitelli*; who, setting out from *Castro-caro*, upon the refusal of the Garrison at first to surrender, planting his Cannon obliged them to capitulate, and committed the Place by *Cosmo's* direction to the Keeping of *Ubertino*. With the same Alacrity, *John-Francis* Count *da Bagni*, imploring the Aid of *Cosmo*, whom he had always served, applied himself to the recovery of his lost Territories in *Ombria*; which the Pope, as we have related, pretending a Forfeiture incurred by Rebellion, had granted to *Anthony Caraffa*. Accordingly in a short time after, under the Conduct of *Vitelli*, he retook *Ghiaggiuolo* near *Galeata*, defended by *Ferom Bello*; who, at the first Summons having refused to submit, was compelled to it by his own Soldiers, and himself carried as a Rebel to *Florence*. From thence he marched to *Gateo*, which opened its Gates to him: *Monte-bello* was let alone for the present, because it seemed too difficult a piece of work to be dispatched in few days: Then the Troops advanced to *Santa Sophia*; to which Place the Counts of *Piandimeleto* having lately put in their Claim at *Rome*, *John-Francis Gonzaga*, who held it in *Cosmo's* Name, had been dispossessed of it, through the Instigation of Cardinal *Vitelli* (who had a great Interest at that time with the *Caraffaes*); and, as a Traytor, had been conducted to *Rome*, and thrown into Prison; from whence, in the Popular Tumult raised after the Death of *Paul IV.* he was released: This Place, by the Conduct of *P. Philip Pandolfini*, who had three Companies of Foot with him, was taken, and restored to the Count *da Bagni*. *Monte-rotundo* likewise was taken. In the mean time, *Chiappino Vitelli*, having drawn Forces together at *Empoli*, *Burgo*, *San-Stefano* and *Mugello* marched with eight Ensigns towards *Montone*, which *Vitelli* his Cousin-german injuriously detained. This Castle being given by *Leo X.* to *Vitellozzo* and *Nicolas Vitelli* and their Heirs; when it had come by Inheritance to *Camillo* the Cardinal's Brother, who died, leaving only a Bastard Son behind him; the Cardinal had undertaken the Guardianship of the Child; and, in the Name of his Pupil, had received the Place again from *Paul IV.* as a Fief, to the exclusion of *Paul* and *Chiappino* the lawful Sons of *Nicolas*; who from hence, resenting the Behaviour of their Cousin the Cardinal, bent all their Thoughts upon reducing the Place during the Vacancy of the See. From *Burgo* and *Arezzo* a Train of Artillery was

A. D. furnished, which being planted and a Breach made in the Wall, the 1559. Garrison-Soldiers, whom *Angela Rossia*, *Camillo's* Mother and the Pupil's Grand-mother, had with her, fled here and there in a Fright through the By-ways; and *Chiappino*, pursuing them, killed many and made more Prisoners: Amongst the rest fell *Anthony Maria da Perugia*. Four Colours, left in the Town, were taken, and the Castle consigned to the Brothers *Vitelli*. An Agreement was then concluded by the Interposition of *Pallanterio*; who, although he had come to them in the Name of the Sacred College before the Taking of the Place, had not been able to prevail upon them to raise the Siege. At length upon the taking of *Montone* this Point was yielded; that the Troops should not advance any farther; and that the Count *da Bagni's* recovered Towns should be put into the hands of a Sequestrator, 'till the Pope, whose Election was near, should determine of the whole Affair. *Cosmo* came into this Proposal very willingly; being glad of an handsome occasion to end a troublesome War, undertaken merely for the Defence of his Friends, whom he could not, he thought, abandon with Honour: By their own Consent therefore, the Forces were withdrawn, and the Business left to the Decision of the future Pope.

At the same Juncture, a great Conspiracy was discovered at *Florence*, which had lain concealed for a long time. The Head of it was *Pandolfo Pucci*, the Son of *Robert*, who, amongst the Honours of his House, reckoned three Cardinals. This Person, whom his Wealth, fine Parts and pleasant Countenance rendered acceptable to all men, had easily insinuated himself into the Friendship of *Cosmo* and his Wife, from whence he had reaped many considerable Advantages: But the remembrance of an Injury, formerly received, got the better of these recent Obligations: For, some years before, on account of a groundless Suspicion, he had been cast into a secret Prison; which Affront that he might revenge, entering into an Intimacy with *Cosmo*, he had resolved to improve it to his Destruction, and had made *Astoldo Cavalcanti*, the Son of *Thomas*, and *Laurence di Medicis* privy to the Design; to whom he had also added *Richard da Milano*, *Bernard Corbinielli*, and *Puccio Pucci* one of the Tribunal of Eight. *Pandolfo* had been a long time in *France* with the Cardinal *Farnese*, and had afterwards opened the Secret to the *Florentine* Exiles, who were at *Rome*. Although All consented, yet they differed about the time and manner of striking the Blow; so that the thing had often been attempted, but never put in execution. *Siena* being taken, because the Time was pressing, and *Cosmo's* Grandeur grew every day more and more terrible to the Exiles, it was resolved, that the Business should be done by the first opportunity. Some were of opinion, that *Pandolfo*, whilst, according to his usual Familiarity, he should be alone with *Cosmo* in the Inner Chambers, should kill him: But then, for *Pandolfo* alone to attack *Cosmo*, armed in the same manner with himself, seemed too great a Venture; and there was no hope, that the other Conspirators should be admitted to the same Intimacy: Therefore it was judged better, that, whilst *Cosmo* was riding through the City, he should be shot with a Musquet

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Musquet from a Window. Whilst they were intent upon this, and *A. D.* in the mean time carelessly indulged themselves in a licentious and 1559. scandalous way of living; *Cosmo*, getting a hint of the Plot, but uncertain as yet of the Persons, took occasion from their profligate Lusts to thrust *Carvalcanti* and *Medicis* into Prison: When he could fish out nothing, after admonishing the former to mend his Manners, he released Him; but ordered *Medicis* to be confined in the Castle of *Pisa*. For all this, the Accomplices never retired from *Florence*; so great was either their Desire of perpetrating the Murder, or their Assurance of Secrecy. At length, when, by some Friends at *Rome*, *Cosmo* had also learned the Names of the Conspirators; *Carvalcanti* and *Medicis* were again imprisoned, *Da Milano* and *Corbinelli* making their escape: *Pandolfo* too being taken, and interrogated by *Laurence Corboli* an Officer belonging to the Tribunal of Eight, with hopes of Pardon from *Cosmo*, if he would ingenuously explain the Series of the Fact; he immediately put the whole into writing; in which he also confessed, that he had conferred with *Julian Girolami* and *Laurence de' Libri*; but that the former had expressed a Detestation of the thing, as *Francis Nasi* the Son of *Lutoeci* had also done; and as for *de' Libri*, he had not been acquainted with it, but only intreated, to lend a helping hand to *Pandolfo*, if the latter wanted it. At last, when by *Pandolfo's* Confession *Carvalcanti* and *di Medicis* had been convicted, and being put to the Torture confessed the Crime themselves; by the Sentence of the Eight Judges *Pandolfo* was condemned to be publicly hanged; and in pursuance of the same Judgment, *Carvalcanti* and *di Medicis* were beheaded; and Sentence passed upon *da Milano* and *Corbinelli*, as Traytors, for their Flight and Contumacy: *Nasi*, who had retired to *Venice*, was soon after pardoned: *Girolami*, because he had not discovered the Plot, was decreed to spend the remainder of his Life in the Castle of *Volterra*: Lastly, *de' Libri*, as ignorant of the Fact, was dismissed: *Francis di Medicis* and *Leonard de' Nobili* were apprehended upon Suspicion, and soon after discharged by the Order of *Cosmo*; who, thinking the Examples already made, sufficient for his Security, in order to pacify the Discontents occasioned by the Execution of so many Eminent Men, graciously bestowed *Pandolfo's* Estate, which was very considerable, upon his Children: And, whereas there is a Law at *Florence*, that the Effects of Persons condemned for Treason shall be forfeited to the use of the Treasury; and, if they are the Heirs of the Family, that the Share, which will afterwards come to them, of their Father's and Mother's Estates, shall be confiscated even in the Life-time of the Parents: He ordered *Astaldo Carvalcanti's* Portion, which he might have taken out of the Estate of his Father *Thomas* yet living, to be restored to *John-Baptist* the Brother of *Astaldo*.

And now the time drew near, that *Elizabeth* should be conducted into *Spain* to her Husband: The King and *Catherine*, in the beginning of *December*, bore her company to *Chastel-Erault*, and as far as *Portiers*; and, after Embraces, Kisses and the last Farewel, dismissed her, not without Tears. From thence, the King returning to *Blois*, the Princess continued her Journey; and, with *Charles Cardinal of Bourbon*,
the

A. D. the Prince *De la Roche-sur-Ton*, and the Prime Nobility appointed for 1559. her Retinue, was entertained at *Bordeaux* with the highest Magnificence, by the King of *Navarre*, to whom the Charge had been committed of conveying her into the hands of the *Spaniards* deputed by *Philip* for that purpose. It had been agreed, that, on the 1st day of the ensuing *January*, the Delivery of the Lady should be performed upon the Confines of the Realms of *France* and *Spain*, at *La Penna* in the *Pyrenees*: But, the Winter being extremely sharp, as it generally is in those Parts, and the Snows very troublesome, *Elizabeth* and the King of *Navarre* thought it expedient to stop at the Monastery of *Roncevaux*, and there expect *Philip's* Deputies: However, through the Sullenness of the *Spaniards*, near five days were unprofitably spent, in Messages backwards and forwards, out of their scrupulous Anxiety for preserving the Decorum on both sides. At length the Deputies advanced from *Espinal*, two miles distant, to *Roncevaux*, with a numerous Train and great Pomp; two thousand five hundred Horse, finely accoutred, being reckoned in the Cavalcade. The Heads of the Embassy, were the Pillars, as it were, of the House of *Mendoza*, the noblest Family of all *Spain*, viz. the Duke *de l' Infantado* and his Brother the Cardinal *de Burgos*; in whose Retinue were the Marquess *de Zeneta*, the Count *de Tendilla*, the Marquess *di Montechiaro*, the Counts *de Saldama*, *Ribaldava* and *Ribadeo*, *Diego Hurtado* the Marquess *de Cameto's* Son, *Diego Hurtado* and *John Hurtado*, lately Embassadors, the one at *Rome* and the other at *Venice*, *John Hurtado de Fresnes*, and lastly *Francis* Son of the Marquess *de Zeneta*, all of the *Mendoza*-Family; and others of the principal Nobility. The Lower Hall was hung with the King of *Navarre's* black Tapestry, as in Mourning; at the Entrance of which, the Cardinal *de Bourbon* (for *Elizabeth* and *Navarre* were in the Upper) received the Deputies with near three hundred Nobles, and after a kind Salutation led them to a Pavilion; under which when they had sat a while, *Philip's* Diploma, empowering his Deputies to receive *Elizabeth* from the hands of the King of *Navarre*, the Room being dark, was read by Torch-light; and, at the Conclusion of it, they arose. At first, the Cardinal *de Bourbon* had been placed by the Cardinal *De Burgos* and the Duke *de l' Infantado* in the middle; but, because *De Burgos* was the Elder Cardinal, *De Bourbon* modestly declined the Compliment; and thus, the Duke preceeding, *De Burgos*, who had first begun to walk on *De Bourbon's* Right-hand, took the upper Place; and in that Order they advanced towards *Elizabeth*, in the Upper Hall, magnificently adorned with Tapestry and a Royal Pavilion: There *Elizabeth* Sat, within an Inclosure of Balisters; and at her Right-hand the King of *Navarre*, and, below *Navarre*, the Prince *De la Roche-sur-Ton*: Her Left side was closed by some Noble Matrons, and amongst the rest by *Anne* the Duke of *Montpensier's* Daughter, and the Ladies *de Rieux* and *de Clermont*: Behind *Elizabeth's* Throne, stood *Lopez de Guzman*, Grand Master of the Palace, who mentioned the Names of the Lords, as they approached. When the *Spanish* Nobility (which walked first) had kissed their Queen's hands upon their Knees; as the Deputies drew near, *Navarre* and *De la Roche-sur-Ton*

sur-Ton stood up; and *Elizabeth* herself, rising from her Seat, as the *A. D.* Duke *de l' Infantado* was hastening to kiss her Hands and falling upon 1552. his Knees, raised him up, and with great Humanity received him and his Brother the Cardinal. A Speech being then made by *De Burgos* full of honourable Terms and Professions of Obedience, and her Answer, pronounced with a smiling Countenance and becoming Sweetness and Gravity, being received; the Plenipotentiaries turned aside to the King of *Navarre*, and, after mutual Salutations, producing the Diploma, demanded the Queen of him: Then *Navarre*, without reading the Instrument, concerning which he declared himself abundantly satisfied, said, "That from the Greatest King of the whole World he had received this
 " Illustrious Lady, that he might deliver her into the hands of the most
 " Illustrious of all modern Kings, or his Deputies: That accordingly,
 " with a ready and willing mind, according to his Orders, he delivered
 " her to Them, as Persons most worthy, to whose Care and Fidelity
 " such a precious Pledge should be committed: In the mean time he
 " besought them to take especial care of Her and her Health, which
 " he did not doubt but they would earnestly and diligently perform:
 " He said nothing of her Parts and Virtues, a Specimen of which she
 " would immediately give them herself by her Presence and Behaviour;
 " whereby she would oblige all men to confess, that so great a Constellation of Virtues, and so lively a Picture of Modesty and Innocence had never before appeared in *Spain*". After the Delivery of the Princess, *Navarre* spoke a few words of himself; namely, "That
 " in the Articles of Peace, and in the Commission, which he had by
 " him, it was expressed, that the Queen should be conducted to the
 " Confines of each Kingdom, and there delivered to *Philip's* Ambassadors; which had not been at all observed: Since the Place, where they
 " were, was far distant from Either Border, being situated in the midst of
 " the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which of Right belonged to Him; He
 " accordingly protested, that none of the present Transactions should
 " for the future be construed in Prejudice to his Right." After a sober Answer returned to this Speech by the *Spaniards*, they parted on both sides amicably. The Cardinal *de Burgos* and the Duke *de l' Infantado*, taking the Queen betwixt them, put her into a Coach, and on the same day conducted her to *Espinal*, from whence they had come: From thence she was received with Triumphal Pomp and Splendor at *Madrid*, *Valladolid*, *Toledo*, and lastly at *Guadalaajara*, which is thought to have been the old *Numantia*; where the Nuptials were also consummated at the latter end of the ensuing *January*: All which Matters, having been largely described by Others, who had leisure, seem superfluous and idle to Us, in our eager Pursuit of more serious Affairs. Not long afterwards, *Philip*, that he might not be thought from this New Marriage to have contracted New Affections to the Prejudice of the Lawful Successor, calling together the States of *Castille* and the other Provinces of *Spain*, obliges them to take an Oath to *Charles*, his Son by *Mary of Portugal*, as the Lawful Heir-apparent of the Crown. *Lewis de Saint Gelais* Sieur de *Lansac*, who had formerly discharged the

A.D. Trust of Embassador at Rome with high Commendations, had been
 1559. sent along with *Elizabeth*, that he might serve her as Privy-Counsellor
 and Governour as it were, 'till she should be accustomed to the *Spanish*
 Manners. Immediately after *Philip's* Arrival in *Spain*, the King of
Navarre, by the King's Permission, had sent *Peter* of *Navarre* a Bastard
 of that House to him, in order to treat about the Restitution of the
 Kingdom of *Navarre*: But he, having been cut short in the beginning
 of his Petition by *Philip* (who said, that the Kingdom belonged to him-
 self by the best Right, and was the strongest Bulwark of *Spain* against
France), obtained at last a Promise of a Compensation; with an ad-
 ditional Article, that he should not be obliged to take it in *Spain* or
 the *Indies*, and that he should enjoy the Sovereignty of the Places so
 granted, without acknowledging any superior Lord. Mention was
 then made of the Kingdom of *Sardinia*; to which *Philip* shewed himself
 no ways disinclined; but, excusing himself by his late Accession to the
 Throne, promised to think farther upon it, and referred the Matter to
 the *Cortes* (so they call the Parliaments) which were shortly to meet at
Toledo. This passed in the Month of *October*. But, after the Con-
 veyance of *Elizabeth* into *Spain*, a scandalous Abuse was put upon the
 King of *Navarre* (as if the Robbing him of the Kingdom were not
 a sufficient Injury) by *Alfonso de la Cueva* Duke of *Albuquerque*, his pre-
 tended Friend; who, by a certain Emisary *Lescure* by Name (who,
 though a Native of *Bearne*, was in *Albuquerque's* Service, and passed
 backwards and forwards as a Spy) had persuaded him; that if he
 went into *Spain* with a Pass, under Colour of saluting *Philip*, he would
 certainly receive Satisfaction for the Kingdom of *Navarre*. Therefore,
 either through excessive Credulity, or that he had a mind to make the
 last Tryal of the Assurances so often given, without acquainting the
 King, or the King's Embassador *Sebastian de l'Aubespine* Bishop of
Limoges, he sends *John Claude de Levi* Sieur d'*Odaux*, a Man of Quality,
 with a Letter to *Philip*; requesting, that He and his Wife might have
 leave to come into *Spain*, and treat with him in Person concerning
 the Kingdom of *Navarre*. *Philip* was then at *Toledo*; who, having re-
 ceived the Letter and understood d'*Odaux's* Message, enquired diligently
 of the Embassador about the Health of his Wife, who had not as yet
 reached *Guadalaajara*, and expressed himself obliged to the King of *Na-
 varre*, who had so kindly offered his Service to the Queen in her
 Journey to *Spain*; assuring him of an Answer to the other parts of his
 Commission, when he should have deliberated farther about them.
 This passed in the presence of the Bishop of *Limoges*; whom, upon
 d'*Odaux's* Dismissal, *Philip* took aside; and, having asked him, if this
 was done with the King's or His Privy, when the Bishop answered,
 that he had no Instructions from the King about it; two days after,
 going out a Hunting, he caused a Letter to be put into d'*Odaux's*
 hands by his Secretary *Cortevilla*, with this farther Answer; that the
 King of *Navarre*, who desired to treat with him concerning the
 Affairs of *Navarre*, would do better, to spare himself and his Wife
 the trouble of an unprofitable Journey: For that no other Answer
 could

could be returned to his Requests, than what the Emperor had formerly given to his Ancestors, and he himself had lately returned to ^{A.D.} 1559. the Plenipotentiaries at *Sercamp*. *D' Odaux*, being thus dismissed, went away to *Albuquerque*, in pursuance of whose Assurances he had come, in order to expostulate with him: But He, understanding the Matter, to excuse himself, told *d' Odaux*, that if to the Instructions, which he carried to *Philip*, he had added, that the King of *Navarre* desired to come into *Spain*, with a View of meriting *Philip's* Favour by some signal Service, he would have been heard with more Satisfaction: By which Proceeding the *Spaniards* have left it in doubt, wherein they most injured the King of *Navarre*; whether by giving him so short an Answer, and thereby cutting off all hopes of recovering his Dotal Kingdom; or the attempting to draw a Brave Man, of the best Family in Christendom, into a scandalous Obsequiousness, to the Violation of his Honour and Fidelity.

The See of *Rome* had now been vacant for some Months, through the manifest Envy of the *Spaniards*; who, since the total Expulsion as it were of the *French* out of *Italy*, bent their whole Thoughts upon procuring the Election of such a Pope, who would be, either addicted to Their Party, or of so mean a Family and inconsiderable an Interest, that he should not rashly venture upon Enterprises in that high Station, but cultivate Peace in *Italy* with the *Italian* Princes. Whilst therefore immense Pains were taken by *Vargas*, *Philip's* Ambassador, in the rejecting of Suspected Candidates, three whole Months had run out; and there was a probable Appearance of a much longer Vacancy; when the Court was filled with the Expostulations of Christian Princes, demanding, that an end might be put to This Diffension, which occasioned the Rise of other Troubles every where on the score of Religion: And the Bishop of *Limoges*, the King's Ambassador, presented a solemn Complaint to the Duke of *Alva*; from whom he received This Answer, not without a good deal of Emotion; that *Vargas* out of a stupid Ambition abused his Master's Name upon that occasion; for *Philip* desired nothing else, than that by the free Suffrages of the Cardinals such a Pope might immediately be elected, whether *Spaniard*, *German*, *Italian* or *Frenchman*, who, by his Piety and Prudence, laying aside all private Affection and having the sole Glory of God before his Eyes, might maturely provide for the Peace of the Church (which was every where disturbed) and the Tranquillity of the Christian World: That *Vargas* had imposed upon *Philip* at his departure from the *Netherlands* towards *Spain*, by procuring himself, a Person unworthy of the Charge, to be named for such an honourable Embassy: That he had done the same thing before (whether with greater Boldness or Treachery, is uncertain), when by his usual Craft he prevailed, that *John de Figueroa*, sent by his Master to *Rome*, should have Audience refused him by the Pope; that he himself, forsooth, who was then at *Rome*, upon the Exclusion of the Other, might be promoted to his place; upon which account He, the Duke, who then bore the Chief Command in *Italy*, convicting him of Fraud, had thrown him into Prison: That *Philip* therefore had determined to recall

A. D. recall him, and inflict a due Punishment upon him; and in the mean time had strictly commanded the Marquess of *Mondejar's* Son, who was at *Rome*, to take care, that *Vargas* should not in any wise meddle in that Business; and in His Name to deprive him of all Authority; and moreover to enter a publick Protestation in the Conclave, before the Cardinals, in behalf of a Free Election to the Papacy. The Duke of *Alva* besides laid the Blame upon Cardinal *Caraffa*, who, as he said, consulting his private Interest obstructed the publick Freedom. After the Death of *Paul IV.* when the See had lain vacant for four Months and seven Days, at length on the 26th of *December*, between two and three o'clock of the Morning next after *Christmas-day*, *John-Angelo Medichino*, by the Votes principally of *Charles* and *Alfonso Caraffa*, *Alexander Farnese*, *Guy-Ascanio Sforza* and *Lewis de Guise* (out of forty four Cardinals, who were present in the Conclave) was chosen Pope; and, on the succeeding Feast of *Epiphany*, was crowned with the usual Solemnities: And thus he had the singular Felicity, which we shall scarce find to have happened to any Other, of being distinguished by three of the most eminent Festivals of the year; as he was born on *Easter-day*, created Pope on *Christmas-day*, and lastly invested with the Badges of the Supream Dignity on the *Epiphany*. His Father *Bernardin*, born at *Milan* of mean Parentage, and a Farmer of the Revenues there, had fourteen Children by *Cecilia Serbellon*; The Eldest of these was *John-James* Marquess of *Marignan*, whom we have frequently mentioned above, and of whom the Pope his Brother, when he was conducted with the usual Acclamations from the Conclave to *St. Peter's Church*, with Marks of a most earnest Desire demanded of the By-standers his Friends, where he was: Next to the Marquess was *Pius IV.* for so he would be called: The Third, *John-Baptist* by Name, died about fifteen years before: The Fourth, *Augustus*, became Marquess of *Marignan*, upon the Death of *John-James*, and could never agree with the Pope: The last was *Gabriel*, who in the year 1535, at the Siege of *Lecco*, during a War, which *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan* waged with his Brother, was killed by a Cannon-shot at *Mandello*: Of the Sisters, *Clara* the Eldest was espoused to *Wolf Altemps*, a Noble German in the Diocese of *Constance*; from which Marriage sprung the Cardinal *Mark Sitico*, and the Counts *Hannibal* and *Gabriel*: The Second, *Margaret*, becoming the Wife of *Gilbert Borromeo* Count of *Arona*, bore the Cardinal *Charles*, a Man of eminent Sanctity, and Count *Frederick*: The third and last, *Camilla*, was married to *Cesar Gonzaga* the Son of *Ferdinand*. In the beginning of his Pontificate, *Pius*, to make good his Name, used extraordinary Clemency; pardoning the People of *Rome*, for all the Outrages committed during the Vacancy of the See, against the Statue of *Paul IV.* the Arms of his Family, and the Inquisition; on condition, that, at their own Charges, they should repair the Damages, as far as possible. But he afterwards changed; and He, who had hitherto been esteemed humane, patient, beneficent, grateful, mild, and untainted with the Love of Money, seemed of a sudden to have taken up a different Character. He annulled most of his Predecessor's

cessor's Arts, instituting another Order; revoked his Edicts; commanded the Causes of the Monks and Mendicant Fryars, whom *Paul* ^{A.D. 1559.} had forced to return to the Monasteries, which by the leave of former Popes they had left, to be reheard; and relieved such, as upon suspicion of Heretical Doctrine the same *Paul* had kept in Prison, by referring their Cause again to the Inquisition, but with more Moderation and Temper: The Principal of these were the Cardinal *John Morone*, and *Thomas San-felice* Bishop of *La Cava*, formerly intimate Friends of *Reginald Poole*. And, amongst other things, which he did at his Entrance upon the Papacy, it was ascribed to his consummate Prudence, that he ratified the Translation of the Imperial Dignity made by *Charles V.* upon his Brother *Ferdinand*, which *Paul* had disallowed; and that he received that Prince's Embassadors, as the Ministers of a Lawful and Catholick Emperor, with great Humanity and Honour.

The End of the Twenty Third BOOK.





BOOK XXIV.

ARGUMENT.

Turkish Affairs resumed, from the Death of Mustapha and Zeangir. Quarrels betwixt the Brothers Selim and Bajazet, both Sons of Roxolana, during the Father's Life-time. The unfortunate End of the Counterfeit Mustapha, who raised Troubles upon the Borders of the Euxine Sea above Constantinople. Another of the same Name, called Dufmes, having ventured upon the like Attempt after the Death of Mahamet I. disputed the Right of Succession with dubious Success against Amurath II. Bajazet, who was accused of giving Rise to the Troubles occasioned by the Supposititious Mustapha, is reconciled to his Father Soliman by the Mediation of his Mother. Achmet, who after Rustan's Degradation held the chief Post at the Port, because he had given Suspicion of his secretly favouring Bajazet's Intrigues, is strangled in the Divan by the Sultan's Orders. From hence Bajazet falling into Despair, two years after, upon the Death of his Mother, revives the Quarrel with his Brothers: But this at first was composed by the Prudence of the Father, who removed them from the Command of contiguous Provinces, and sent them to Others; ordering Selim to repair to Cogni, and Bajazet to Amnasan, an unluckly Province, where his Brother had lately been put to death: For which reason when Bajazet used delays, and began to raise Money and Soldiers at Engori, with the manifest Favour of the Janizaries; the Father consulted the Mufti, and, having found Bajazet guilty of Treason against GOD and himself, prepares Force against the Force used by his Son in his Defence; and, seizing Cogni, sends a competent Army to Selim, by the help of which, in a Battle fought at Cogni, he defeats his Brother. Bajazet, after a vigorous but fruitless Resistance, making his escape, enters upon an unfortunate Journey into Persia; supposing, that Techmales, exasperated by the Behaviour of Soliman, who had given reception to his fugitive Brother Ercales, would easily, by way of Requital, grant him a secure Refuge: Having eluded the Ambuscades laid for him upon the Road, he comes at last with his Children to Techmales, by whom he is kindly received at first, and made to hope, that the Sophy's Daughter should be given in Marriage to his Son Orcanes. At last, either through Suspicion

or

or upon hearing of Soliman's Approach with a vast Army, Techmales changes his mind; and, having sent away the young Prince's Companions into different places, where on a certain day they were singly put to death, lays the Prince himself in Chains, in violation of the sacred Laws of Hospitality, and confines his Children. Upon the Father's Demand of his Son, and the Refusal of the Sophy (who feared the Vengeance of the brave Youth, if he should escape), it is at length judged more expedient, that with Techmales's Permission Bajazet should be put to death with his Sons. For this purpose Hassan the Sultan's Taster is sent to Casbin; who, carrying Presents to the Sophy, executes the sorrowful Office of an Executioner: And, that no Remains might survive, the youngest Son, which the Father had left to the Mercy of the Grandfather, is strangled by an Eunuch at Bursia by Soliman's Command. In Scotland, James Stewart the Bastard, Earl of Murray, is accused by the King's Letters as the Author of the Revolts in that Kingdom. Auxiliary Troops are dispatched to the Regent out of France, under the Command of De la Brosse; and with him is sent Nicolas de Pellevé Bishop of Amiens with some Doctors of the Sorbonne, in order to compose the Troubles occasioned by Religion. The Confederates, provoked by this procedure, in an haughty Answer disown the Regent's Power and Authority, and conclude a League with Elizabeth Queen of England. A Manifesto published by Elizabeth, wherein she inveighs against the Guises, and justifies the late League; offering to draw off her Soldiers from Scotland, if, a Peace being made, the French Troops might be recalled; and if the Guises, no longer abusing the Wealth of the King and Kingdom, would refrain from injuring their Neighbours, and wounding Her through the Sides of the Scots. By Michael de Seurre, the King's Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, a Treaty is set on foot, for recalling the English out of Scotland; and Reasons are urged on both sides, and candidly discussed: John de Montluc Bishop of Valence is also sent into Scotland; who, being more acceptable than Pellevé, was ordered to give the Confederates Assurances of the King's Benevolence, provided they laid down their Arms, and paid due Obedience to the King and Queen. In the mean time Sebastian de Luxembourg Seigneur de Martigues is dispatched thither, and after him René Marquess d'Elboeuf the Regent's Brother, to succour the besieged Isle of Inch-keith, and the Town of Leith which was altogether blocked up. The English being repulsed with Loss, and the Regent inclining to peaceful Counsels, and being persuaded, that the Antient Religion could no otherwise be preserved, than by leaving the Scots at their Liberty; there came William Cecil and Nicolas Wootton from Queen Elizabeth; who entered into a Treaty with the Bishop of Valence and Charles de la Roche-foucault de Randan: But the Death of the Regent Mary, a Woman of incomparable Virtue, intervening, had well nigh disturbed the Treaty, which however at last was settled; and, with great Applause, both Parties being weary of the War, Peace was proclaimed upon certain Conditions, a general Amnesty granted, and the Fortresses of Leith and Dunbar dismantled. These things were transacted in the Month of August, after the Conspiracy of Amboise had been detected. The Year with Us began with a laudable Decree published in Parliament, concerning
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the Admission of Judges in the Courts of the Realm and the Lower Benches, in order to prevent their being created by Favour or the vile Method of Bargain and Sale: But, through the importunity and Malice of the Courtiers, it fell into Disuse. A Conspiracy formed against the Guises, now Masters of every thing. Its Original, Causes and Pretences. Consultations held thereupon amongst the Protestant Divines. Lewis de Bourbon Prince of Condé secretly chosen to command it in Chief, and Godfrey Barry de la Renaudie to be his Lieutenant. The Latter's Family, Qualifications, distressed Fortune, Arrival at Nantes under a pretence of a private Suit, and vehement Speech to the Conspirators, into which was thrown all the bitter and invidious Reproaches, that had been laid upon the Guises in Pamphlets and private Cabals. Which things, not being fit to be concealed by a faithful Historian, are related in such a manner, that they may be understood as Charges industriously heaped together by Enemies, and for the most part maliciously uttered on purpose to inflame the Minds of the People. The wonderful Confidence of the Lieutenant is seconded by a Resolution and Fidelity amongst the Accomplices no less amazing, the greatness of the Attempt considered. The Plot is at length discovered by a Person of no ill Character, but one, who out of a meer Scruple of Conscience trembled with the Horrour of the Fact. Gaspar de Coligny, before Catherine and Olivier the Chancellor, begs off the Severity of Punishments, with which the Protestants were in all parts harassed. With Consent of the Guises, an Edict is drawn up upon that subject, containing a Pardon for past Offences, to All, except the New Preachers, and such as under Colour of Religion had conspired against the King and Queen, the Royal Brothers and Principal Nobility. Nevertheless De la Renaudie advanced, and (though Lignieres had discovered his own part in the Conspiracy, the Day of Execution, and the Names of the Accomplices) meeting with Pardaillan in the Wood of Chasteau Regnaud, he slew him, and was slain himself upon the spot by Pardaillan's Page. In the mean time the Baron de Castelnau, Mazere, Villemongey and others, are taken, and put to death. Hugonots from whence so called. The younger Maligny, who was said to have undertaken to kill the Duke of Guise with his own hands, being hindered from doing it by the Prince of Condé, escapes. From the Discoveries of the Plotters and the Confession of Condemned Persons, Condé, falling under a just Suspicion, defends himself nevertheless in the King's Consistory with great Boldness; and, when he had declared his readiness to clear his Imocency even by a Duel, the Duke of Guise, by an egregious piece of Dissimulation, offers to share the Common Danger in the Prince's Vindication. The King of Navarre likewise, by secret Informations, is drawn into a Suspicion of Privy to the Guilt. Francis Olivier's Death and Character: That excellent Moderator of the Law is worthily succeeded by Michael de l' Hospital.

A.D.
1559.



It is now Time, that we should, in a continued Discourse, pursue the Narrative of the Turkish Affairs, which have hitherto been related only by Parcels. Except the Auxiliary Fleet, sent every Year, in pursuance of the League, into the Tuscan Sea, in order to infest the Coasts of Italy; we have not heard of any
memo-

memorable Action performed by *Soliman*, for a long time; nor indeed *A.D.* ever since his putting *Mustapha* to death, through the wicked Arts of 1559. his Wife *Roxolana*, and the pernicious Advice of *Rustan*. The Cause of This Inactivity was a Quarrel, arisen amongst his Sons; which at first lay concealed, but afterwards broke out into manifest Animosities, and at last into an open War; and, as long as That lasted, so long the Christian World was at rest from so formidable an Enemy. This we shall now unfold, tracing it from the beginning.

Upon the Murder of *Mustapha* and the Death of *Zeangir* (for *Mahomet* had died, married, some time before), when only two of *Roxolana's* Children remained alive; *Selim* the Elder was marked out by the Father for the Empire; and *Bajazet* was supported by the Affection of the Mother, who, if it had lain in Her power, would have preferred him to his Brother, and settled him upon the Throne: And there were indeed many things in him, which made him amiable, not only to his Mother, but to All men: A smiling Countenance, and complaisant Mien, and also a Mind, as far as then appeared, inclining to Quiet and Studiousness; and, besides all these, a Face exactly resembling his Father's: Whereas there was not the least Similitude in *Selim*; who, by reason of his large Belly, bloated Cheeks, unsightly Visage full of red Blotches (from whence, in the Language of the Soldiery, he was called *The Pudding - Eater*) and his sluggish Life, which he generally passed in Wine and Sleep, was universally hated and despised: Besides, he used no Affability in Salutations, nor had any natural Disposition to oblige; as one who publicly professed, that he would not, by courting the Favour of the People, offend his Father, and bring himself into Suspicion. In comparison of this Man, who was dear to his Father and odious to every body else, *Bajazet*, who of himself was universally gracious, had made himself far more acceptable to the *Turks*; who, either out of Pity to the inevitable Fate, which threatened him from his Brother, or out of respect to his Accomplishments and Good Nature, wonderfully favoured him. *Bajazet* therefore, relying on the Interest of his Mother, and of *Rustan* (who, having been removed for a Time from the Prime Ministry, to allay the Discontents occasioned by *Mustapha's* Death, was then upon the point of resuming the Chief Administration), considered every way, how he might avoid the Force of Necessity, and exchange certain Destruction for Sovereignty; thinking it more honourable to fall, in a generous Struggle for Empire, than to be strangled ingloriously, at his Brother's Command, by the hand of a common Executioner: In the midst of these Thoughts, the following Occasion offered itself with some probability of Success. *Mustapha* had died exceedingly lamented; so that Many could not endure to live after him; Others were set on fire by the Desire of Revenge; More, who had favoured his Designs, being terrified by their own Consciousness, were willing to save themselves by raising Troubles: Nothing but a Leader was wanted: *Mustapha* could not be called again to Life: He might be personated as alive; especially since an Example was fresh in every one's Memory of another *Mustapha*, stiled for that reason

A. D. in the *Turkish* Annals, *Dufmes*, that is to say, *The Supposititious* who in 1559, the Year of CHRIST 1423, after the Death of *Mahamet I.* giving himself out to be *Bajazet Gilderun's* Son, who had really been slain before, in the Battle fought with *Tamerlane*, raised vast Commotions in the *Turkish* Empire; and, in a dubious War, disputed the Succession with *Amurath II.* By the means therefore of *Bajazet's* Emissaries, a Man of mean Birth, but of a ready and forward Boldness, was raised up; who, bearing some resemblance to *Mustapha*, in Stature, Countenance and Mien, professed himself to be the True *Mustapha*; and began to appear in the Country above *Constantinople*, near the Mouth of the *Danube*: There, with a few Followers, whom he had drawn together, when People asked him, who he was, he answered at first very timorously, that he was *Mustapha*; who, flying from his Father's Anger, had artfully escaped his hands; and, to gain Credit to the Lye, he said, that when he was sent for by the Sultan, he did not venture to appear before him in Person; but, by the Advice of Friends, procured one, like himself, by large Promises of Rewards, to go in his stead; that, by observing His Treatment, he might be more fully apprized of his Father's Intentions towards himself: That the Man, before he was admitted to *Soliman*, had without any Cause alledged been strangled, and cast out before the Door of the Tent; and, by the Confusion introduced into the Lines of his Face, whilst he was struggling with the Executioners to defend himself from the Bitterness of Death, he had deceived Many, who accordingly thought *Mustapha* to have been really killed: But that he himself without a Moment's Delay, immediately made his Escape, and, travelling above *Pontus* through the Neighbourhood of the *Bosphorus*, had arrived thither in safety. These things at first he related in Private; but afterwards, when he found the People listening with open Ears to his Story, in publick Harangues; exaggerating the Fact, and laying the Odium of it upon his Step-mother and *Rustan* her Son-in-law, who, bewitching the Mind of the delirious Old Man with their Potions, led him about at pleasure: Then he implored the Faith and Assistance of Mankind against unjust Violence: And, that he might not, by vainly lamenting his Circumstances, amongst Men, who court rather the Fortunate than the Miserable, incite them more to pity than to succour him, he magnified his Prospect of Success; for that there would be wanting neither Courage for the Support of his righteous Cause, nor Friends, by whose help he should soon rise above his present sordid Condition, and take Vengeance of his Enemies; that the Janizaries, the chief Strength of the Empire, were on his Side, and a great part of his Father's Household; and All that lamented him, upon the false Supposition of his Death, who were very numerous, would flock to his Assistance in Crowds, when they should know him to be alive. This was managed with so much Artifice, that Many, who had known *Mustapha* alive, and had seen him lying dead upon the Carpet, yet out of hatred to the present State of things, suffered their Eyes to be imposed upon; and Many others, wrought upon by the Promises and Gifts of the Counterfeit *Mustapha* (for *Bajazet* had provided a Supply

a Supply of Money for that purpose by his Emissaries) and by his cajoling Words and Endearments, secretly favoured his Cause, and lifted themselves openly in his Service: Thus, in a short time, all that Country was put into a wonderful Commotion; and numerous Forces, from all parts, like a compleat Army, took the Field: Of which *Soliman* being informed, gave immediate Orders to the Bashaws of the Provinces, to put a timely stop to the growing Evil; and to fall upon the Impostor with joint Forces, before he should gather Strength, and propagate the Infatuation farther; reprovng in the mean time their Insolence in having suffered Matters to go so far: He moreover dispatched to them Bashaw *Pertan*, his chief Confident, with a Party, not indeed very considerable for Numbers, but picked out of the most trusty of his Colonels, Captains and Serjeants; fearing, lest the Janizaries, either inclined to the Faction, or corrupted with Presents and Largesses, should go over to Him, against whom they were sent. Upon the receipt of these Orders, the Bashaws vigorously joined their Forces; and by Terrors and Threats retarded such of the Enemies Troops as were coming up, and dispersed those, which had already assembled: Upon the Arrival of *Pertan*, they advanced farther; and were now at a small Distance from the Enemy; when, as it often happens in such Cases, the Impostor's Soldiers, not as yet sufficiently confirmed, and surprised by the Speed of the Sultan's Forces, were seized with a Fright; so that at first a Few, and soon after All as it were in a Body, forgetting their Promises, and laying aside Shame, fled away, and abandoned their Leader. The Counterfeit *Mustapha*, waiting to the last before he thought of flying, was taken Prisoner, and with him the chief Contrivers of the Imposture, and immediately sent under a Guard to *Constantinople*: Where, upon a strict Examination by the most exquisite Tortures, *Soliman* discovered the secret Intrigues of *Bajazet*; who had designed, when all the Troops, which he had appointed, should have rendezvoused, to join them with a strong Body, and to march with them either directly to *Constantinople*, or against his Brother, as Opportunity should offer. By *Soliman's* Command, the Prisoners were all drowned at Midnight; for he did not think it for his Advantage, that any of those things should be divulged amongst the Populace; lest his Domestick Misfortunes should come to the Ears of the neighbouring Princes; but in the mean time he bore a violent Resentment against *Bajazet* for that bold Attempt. The Sultana, a discerning Woman, soon perceived it; and, bringing on the Discourse, excused the imprudence of Youth, and desired Pardon for the first Offence: She enforced her Request by the Examples of other Sultans, and, by softening the too uxorious Old Man with Prayers, Tears and Caresses, obtained it; upon Condition, that the Son should appear before the Father, and receive his Commands. The Mother forgot no part of her Business; but by secret Letters admonished *Bajazet*, that he should be sure to come at the first Summons; for that the Danger was past; and his Father, by Her management, had entirely laid aside all Displeasure. *Bajazet*, although he had his Eye upon the late Example of *Mustapha*, never-

A. D. nevertheless relying upon his Mother, of whose Affection he was well assured, comes to the place appointed for the Interview, not far from the City. As he lighted from his Horse, his Father's Domesticks come up to him, and order him to lay by his Sword and Dagger; which, being the common practise with Others, increased the Apprehensions of the conscious Son: But receiving Encouragement from the Voice of his Mother (who stood behind a Linnen Screen, at a Lattice, by which he was obliged to pass), he enters chearfully into his Father's Presence, and falls upon his Knees. Here *Soliman*, after he had commanded him to sit down, exaggerates the Crime in many Words, "That he should dare to take up Arms against his Brother, and indeed his Father; for that he had done his utmost towards subverting the State of Religion, by bringing the *Ottoman* Family, which is its only Support, into the last Danger through Domestick Quarrels; but that however he had resolved to pardon him": Then, after much Discourse upon Divine Providence, "he advised him from thence forward to leave the care of future things to GOD, by whose arbitrary Will and Pleasure Kingdoms are transferred; for if it were so decreed, that after his Death *Bajazet* should enjoy the Crown, it would be certainly accomplished, and no one could possibly disturb the inevitable Course of Fate; but, if GOD thought otherwise of it, it was the part of a Madman to fight against the Divine Will; he should therefore cease to raise Tumults, and not give his quiet Brother any trouble, nor, by disturbing his Father's old age, bring his hoary head, as it were before its time, to the Grave". To this *Bajazet* makes a short Answer, suited to the Time; rather begging Pardon for his Conduct, than justifying it; and promises to be at his Father's Command for the future. Immediately the Sultan, putting on a serener Countenance, orders a Cup to be brought, and reaches it to his Son. *Bajazet*, who feared, lest it might be his last, and yet did not dare to refuse, as he would willingly have done, drank a little out of it; but his Father, drinking out of the same Cup, soon put an end to his Anxiety. Thus *Bajazet*, having, with better Fortune than he expected, gone through an Interview with his Father, and been received into Favour, is sent back to his Government. Not long after, followed the Death of *Achmet*, who, upon the displacing of *Rustan* in order to allay the Discontents occasioned by the Death of the True *Mustapha*, had obtained the Post of Prime Visier. His Accusation was, his former secret Inclination to *Mustapha*, and his late Negligence in discovering the Contrivances of the Counterfeit *Mustapha* and *Bajazet*: Though others imagine him to have been put to death for no other Cause, than that a Vacancy might be made for *Rustan*'s re-entering upon the Administration: For that the Sultan had promised *Achmet*, not to take the Seal from him during his Life; but, when his Wife *Roxolana* pressed for its being restored to *Rustan*, that the Promise might not be broken, it was contrived to save the Lye by putting him to death: And *Soliman* is reported to have said, that he had better die once than a thousand times, which must be the Case, if he were to live in the con-

continual Vexation of seeing his Honour taken from him and transferred upon Another. In the morning therefore, when, ignorant of the Design, he had come into the Divan, where the Council usually meets; one was ready, who in the Name of *Soliman* acquainted him with the fatal Sentence: Such was his Courage, that he shewed little Concern at the Message; but only removed the common Executioner from him, as not enduring to be touched by polluted hands: And, when he had looked about him, with a composed Countenance he asked one of the Company, his Friend, to do him the favour, the last and greatest that could be done, of being his Executioner: With which request the Other at length complied; and, by a Bow-string, not drawn straight at once, but relaxed, that the dying Person might breath again (for so *Achmet* had commanded, as if he desired to feel himself dying), strangled him: He had been infamous in the former part of his Life for Dissoluteness and Robberies, but for the Esteem of his Valour and Military Skill was raised to the highest Honours. This Death, variously taken, according to People's different Inclinations, afflicted *Bajazet* more than Any; but, relying upon his Mother's Kindness, he dissembled his Sorrow, and, as long as she lived, abstained from pernicious Counsels; which, upon her Decease two years afterwards, he resumed, and unfortunately raised a new Storm, which broke at last upon his own Head: For Then, having no hopes left, and being freed from all the Bonds of Piety, he renewed the old Quarrel with his Brother more bitterly than ever; sometimes laying secret Snares for his Life, at other times attempting it by open Force, and often making Inroads upon the Borders of his Province (for *Selim* had obtained *Magnesia*, and *Bajazet* *Chiatea*, contiguous Provinces); where if he could catch any of his Domesticks, he used them severely; and lastly left nothing unattempted, whereby, when he could not hurt his Life, he might diminish his Reputation: He began also to raise Factions in the City by his Emissaries: Of all which Designs his Rival diligently admonished the Father, warning him to take care of his Safety; for that he was mistaken, if he did not apprehend Mischief to his own Person from these Preludes of *Bajazet's* wicked Counsels; that the Father's Life, as well as the Brother's, stood in the way of his unruly Ambition; that he himself was moved by his Father's Danger, not his Own, which he could easily prevent. *Soliman*, inflamed by these Arguments, writes to *Bajazet*, and puts him in mind of his Duty; desiring him to remember, that there would not be always room for Mercy; that he should cease to injure his Brother, and give Trouble to Him, who had but a little Time to live, which being expired, GOD would provide for the Fortune of them both. To These Admonitions though *Bajazet* lent a deaf Ear, yet he returned a proper Answer; but his Actions did not agree with his Words. When therefore the prudent Old Man saw, that *Bajazet* remitted nothing of his suspicious Measures, he thought it necessary to use other means, and to separate the Persons of the Brothers, that their Minds might be better united; since Neighbourhood, which with others conciliates Affection, did but increase

A.D. Their Animosity. He accordingly commanded *Selim* to go to *Cogni*, 1559. and *Bajazet* to *Amnasan*, a Province, in which his late Brother's Blood might teach him what he ought to expect: And, although *Selim* had given his Father no cause of Suspicion, nevertheless, that *Bajazet* might not have a pretence for running hastily into Extremities, if he alone were removed, the impartial Parent resolved to treat both his Sons alike. *Selim*, who saw that these things were done in his Favour, soon obeyed: But *Bajazet* on the contrary, who wanted a Government fitter for his purpose and nearer to the City, used delays; sometimes pretending, that the remembrance of his Brother's Death made him melancholy, and sometimes desiring leave, that he might spend the Winter at least in those other Countries, or repair to the Province, which *Selim* was leaving. Whilst he continued dallying, *Selim* fetching a Compass advanced to *Bursia* a City of *Bithynia*, standing on the *Asiatick* Coast over against *Constantinople*, and shewed himself at his Back: Which *Bajazet* endeavouring to charge upon him, as done with an insidious Design against his Father's Life and his own, found himself disappointed; since *Selim* had done it with the Father's Privy: He was obliged therefore to resort again to humble Prayers, that he might be delivered from the Apprehensions that he had of an unfortunate Government, and that the Father would condescend to grant him the Province, out of which his Brother should go, or any other whatsoever. When *Soliman* persisted in his Resolution, and declared the Exchange of the Provinces to be a fixed Point, *Bajazet* still by his artificial Dilatoriness eluded his Father's Will; not but that he was active enough in levying and arming Soldiers, in raising Money and making the necessary Preparations for his own Defence and the Assault of his Brother: All which although the unhappy Parent knew very well, yet, considering that the Eyes of all Nations were turned upon this Quarrel of his Sons, he thought it best to take the gentlest Methods; that, if possible, these Troubles might be composed without Blood-shed or much Noise. With this View, to *Selim* was sent *Mehemet*, and to *Bajazet* *Pertau*, two principal Bathaws, with Instructions, that Each of the Brothers should immediately repair to the Province assigned to him; and they were charged not to depart from their Sides, 'till they had reached their respective Governments; and *Pertau* besides had a particular Injunction, to have an Eye in the mean time upon *Bajazet*'s Counsels and Actions. *Selim*, pleased with *Mehemet*'s arrival, yielded a chearful Obedience: On the contrary, *Bajazet*, who knew how his Measures must be crossed by the constant presence of one of his Father's faithful Ministers, pretending a Journey to *Amnasan*, dismissed *Pertau* notwithstanding all his reluctance, under pretence, that he should want his Good Offices at Court; desiring him to tell his Father, that he should always pay an especial Regard to his Commands, if he might be permitted by his Brother, whose open Outrages and secret Designs he had much ado to endure any longer. From this Answer when *Soliman* saw clearly into *Bajazet*'s Intention, he forthwith ordered the Beglierbeg of *Greece*, though ill of the Gout, to hasten with the Cavalry to *Selim*'s Succour; and com-

commanded *Mehemet*, at his coming home, to return into *Asia* upon *A.D.* the same Errand, with a Party of the trustiest Janizaries; giving out, 1559. that he was resolved to follow them himself. But the Janizaries murmured, and came unwillingly to the Standard; expressing their Horror and Detestation of a Civil War between Brethren, which in the present Case was by no means necessary, and might very well be spared: For against whom should they draw their Swords? namely against *Bajazet*, one of the Heirs of the Crown, whose Attempts were excusable by Necessity. These open Murmurings coming to *Soliman's* Ears, as he was thoroughly addicted to Religion, he consults the High-Priest, commonly called the *Mufti*, in what Rank That Person ought to be placed, who, in his own Life-time, raised Money and Troops, took Towns, and disturbed the repose of the Empire; again, what were They, who followed his Camp, and abetted his Designs; and They also, who refused to take up Arms against such Transgressors, and justified his Attempt. To these questions the *Mufti* replied, that such a Person, and his Favourers and Abettors, were worthy of the severest Punishment; and that such as refused to bear Arms against him, were Deserters of Religion, and therefore to be treated as Outlaws. Which Religious Answer, *Soliman*, who had been retarded by Considerations of Religion, thinking abundantly sufficient to satisfy the People, caused it to be published, and to be carried to *Bajazet* by his Head Chamberlain. About this time *Bajazet* took one of the Sultan's Chamberlains Prisoner, and afterwards sent him forwards to the City, with This Message to his Father; that he preserved his Filial Duty inviolably, and, as he had never made War upon Him, was ready to pay him an universal Obedience: That he had indeed a Contention for Life and Honour with his Brother, by whose Sword either He must necessarily fall, or his Brother by His; that he had now resolved to bring the Controversy to a final Decision; and therefore besought Him, that he would not meddle in their Quarrel, but leave the Disposition to GOD: Threats were likewise added by the fierce Youth (who was now elated with the Concourse of Troops to him from all parts), in case his Father should cross the Sea to *Selim's* Assistance: For that he had a secure Refuge in reserve; but would not however leave *Asia*, 'till, like another *Tamerlane*, he should have laid it waste and desolate with Fire and Sword: What he meant by the Refuge, namely a Revolt to the Sophy of *Persia* the sworn Enemy of the *Turkish* Name, did not escape the Discernment of *Soliman*; who however at that juncture, before the Brothers had come to Blows, and whilst the Victory was as yet uncertain, extremely feared, lest *Bajazet* surprising *Cogni* should penetrate into *Syria*; and from thence descend into the neighbouring Country of *Egypt*, which lay open, and was not yet sufficiently confirmed in its Obedience; and which, by the People's having the Empire of the *Circassians* and *Mamelukes* fresh in memory, might be convenient for his rebellious Purposes: From whence, if he should once set his Foot in that Country, it would be a laborious Task to eject him; considering the Neighbourhood of the *Arabs*, a People intent upon all occasions of getting Booty; and that the Passage was
easy

A. D. 1559. easy by Sea to any of the Christian Countries. Whilst *Soliman* was employed in these Thoughts, News arrived, that the Town of *Axuar*, which his Son *Selim* commanded under the Title of Sangiack, had been taken by *Bajazet*, and, after the Exaction of severe Contributions, cruelly pillaged: Upon this, thinking Expedition so much the more necessary, the Sultan orders *Selim* to seize *Cogni*, and to prevent his Brother's Projects by Dispatch; and, incamping before the Walls, there to expect his Father's Succours. But *Bajazet*, knowing well, how important a Business he had undertaken, augmented his Troops every day; placing a vast Confidence chiefly in the *Armenian* Soldiery, called *Chiurls*; who, on the day that they came into the Camp, presented him with the sight of a Mock-battle on horseback, so like a True one, that Many were killed, and More wounded, on each side. *Bajazet* had pitched his Camp in a wide extended Plain near *Engori*, a City in all respects exceedingly convenient, and had lodged his Concubines and Children in the Castle: There had flocked to him, all such as had been preferred by the Favour of his Mother, and his Sister the Wife of *Rustan*; and lastly the Dependants of *Mustapha* and *Achmet*, Men of eminent Courage and Military Skill. Many he had engaged himself, by the admirable Dignity and Sweetness of his Countenance, his Generosity, and the Esteem of his Virtue and Good nature: Who were moved partly with Pity for his unworthy Fortune; and partly with Indignation, to see the Father reject such a Son, the very Image of himself, and prefer a paunch-bellied Drone, who had nothing of the Father's Good Qualities: The fault of taking up Arms they reckoned none, because of the Necessity, which impelled him: The same thing had been done by their Grandfather *Selim*, whom the like Necessity had forced, not only to arm himself against his Brother, but also to hasten his Father's Death; and from Him *Soliman* derived his present Right to the Throne: But that *Selim's* Case was still widely different from *Bajazet's*, who by no means opposed his Father, but heartily wished his long Life; and who would not even hurt his Brother, if he might be quiet and secure for him. On these Forces, thus animated, *Bajazet* relying, marched directly against his Brother; who was furnished with the Father's Troops, able Generals, a vast number of Brass Cannon, and all the Necessaries for a War: With whom nevertheless he ventured to join battle, after he had exhorted his Men to fight bravely, and not be terrified with Numbers: For that his Father's Soldiers stood there with their Bodies only, but that their Hearts were with Him; and that, being concerned in Interest to oppose *Selim*, a sluggish, odious Person, who thirsted after their Blood, they could not possibly fight heartily. The Colours then being advanced on both sides, a sharp Battle ensued: *Bajazet* himself, appearing for a long time at the Head of his Men, and in their fight, performed every part of a brave General and a stout Soldier. At length his Troops being disordered by the Artillery, (which was planted in the most commodious places), and borne down by Numbers; after the Fight had been long continued with great Obstinacy and Uncertainty, and many of the Enemies had been slain, he was obliged to sound a Retreat:

Retreat: But he retired in a slow orderly manner, leaving the Victory *A. D.* indeed to his Brother, but bearing the Reputation of distinguished 1559. Valour even from his Enemies; who openly declared, that he had deserved to conquer. As for *Selim*, when he had gained the Field of Battle, he made no farther movement, but was content to see the Backs of his flying Adversaries. The superstitious *Turks* added a Fiction, that, from an adjoining Chappel of one of their Heroes, there arose a mighty Wind, which drove such a Quantity of Dust into the Eyes of *Bajazet's* Soldiers, that they were almost deprived of Day-Light; and, straggling without Order, like Blind Men, were easily routed by their Enemies. *Soliman*, when he heard of the Issue of the Battle, immediately, on the 5th day of *June*, went out of the City and crossed the Sea not departing far from the Shore; that at a distance only he might favour the Fortune of *Selim*, whom he had destined to be his Successor, and had always found faithful and obedient; whereas, on the contrary, he detested *Bajazet*, as one who was obstinately rebellious, and had a Design upon the Crown, in his own Lifetime; whom he also hated so much the more, because by his Conduct in that even unfortunate Battle he had attracted from all Men a larger Share of Admiration and Good-will. He was therefore moved with greater Zeal to destroy him; lest (as it had happened to his own Father *Selim*) he might grow more formidable after the Defeat, than before it. The Report of his passing the Sea, which *Soliman* imagined would put the Friends of *Bajazet* into a Consternation, had This Effect; that *Bajazet*, who, contemning his Father's Authority, had followed the Impulse of his Grief and youthful Passion, being now beaten out of his Measures, and despairing of the Route, which he had designed to take, retired in good earnest into the Province of *Amnasan* with his Followers; where he proposed to lie quiet, if he might be permitted by his Father; whose Inclinations he therefore diligently sounded by Letters and proper Persons, if possibly he might by any means pacify his Resentment: Nor did the Father shew himself much averse to a Reconciliation, receiving at first his Messengers without difficulty, and reading his Letters; neither were his Answers unfavourable; so that a Rumour ran currently throughout the Camp, that Indulgence would be shewn to the Follies of Youth, and that the Father would at last agree with his Son. But this was done by the Sultan himself and the Bashaws with the utmost Art and Dissimulation, that, by alluring *Bajazet* in the mean while with these hopes, and thereby inclosing him as it were in a Net, they might absolutely subdue him. For, you must know, that *Soliman* was apprehensive, lest *Thamas* or *Tecmases*, the Sophy of *Persia*, remembering how his Brother *Elcasses* had repaired to the Sultan, and, with His Support, had commenced a destructive War, would be inclinable to make a Requit; and would not easily suffer his Son, if the Youth should penetrate into his Kingdom, to be wrested out of his hands; from whence there might arise a tedious War, in the course of which the *Persians* might recover their lost Territories: Therefore he employed all his Pains, that the Youth might be crushed, before he should arrive thither. For this purpose the Governours

A.D. were admonished by continual Messages, that they should diligently
 1559 guard all the Outlets towards *Persia*. But no Care or Precaution could
 ~~~~~ baffle the Speed of *Bajazet*; who (whilst he was amused by *Soliman's*  
 affected Lenity, understanding nevertheless, that all Persons, suspected  
 of favouring him, whom his Father could lay hands on, were examined  
 by the severest Tortures as to their Knowledge of his Designs, and  
 afterwards put to death; and that Many, who had actually fallen in  
 his way, had already undergone the like Fate), judging it no longer  
 Time to delay, began to think in earnest of the Retreat, which he  
 had meditated before the Battle of *Cogni*; and, with a flying Retinue,  
 entered upon the unfortunate Journey to *Persia*; carrying away his  
 Children with him; one Son only excepted, whom, being just born  
 and consequently innocent, he chose to abandon with the Mother to  
 the Grandfather's Clemency, rather than to make him a Companion of his  
 troublesome and miserable Flight. This Child *Soliman* had early caused  
 to be placed for Education at *Bursia*, 'till its Father's Success should be  
 determined by the Event; and on the next day, after that *Bajazet* had  
 left *Amnasan*, thinking his Son to be so surrounded on all sides, that  
 he could not possibly escape, in order to deceive him the more, he had  
 given Orders by Proclamation, that his Army should return to *Constantinople*  
 by the Day after *Easter-day*: For the Ceremonies of *Easter* are  
 even celebrated by the *Turks*, according to the Institution of *Mahomet*,  
 the Author of that Sect, not only impious but formidable to  
 the whole Christian World; who, out of the *Jewish* Religion, and  
 the *Christian*, which succeeded the *Jewish*, contrived a New Religion  
 altogether Monstrous, stuffed out as it were with Human and Divine  
 Ceremonies confounded together. As soon therefore as the Father  
 knew of the Son's Departure, because it had happened contrary to his  
 Expectation, he was wonderfully incensed; threatening the Beglierbegs  
 and Bashaws with Capital Punishment, if they did not stop him living  
 or dead. These accordingly, joining Forces, pursued him at the Heels  
 with utmost expedition: He on the contrary used so much Haste,  
 that in most Places he outstripped the Report of his Approach; and  
 particularly imposed upon the Bashaw of *Sivas* with wonderful Subtlety:  
 For as there were two Roads, one of which, being blocked up by the  
 Bashaw's Troops, exceedingly retarded his Journey, he sent some Fel-  
 lows under the appearance of Deserters, to inform him that *Bajazet*  
 had already passed by the other Road: Which Story appearing probable  
 to the imprudent Bashaw, he immediately drew off his Troops from  
 the Pass, which he possessed; and, advancing as it were to overtake  
 him, left him an open Passage behind. With the like Cunning he  
 deceived also the Bashaw of *Erzerum*: For sending Messengers before,  
 to salute the Governour in His Name, and to acquaint him with His  
 intended Arrival, that by resting some days with him He might refresh his  
 Horses, and refit their Shoes; he himself, whilst he fed the Bashaw  
 (who besides was unprepared and therefore returned a civil Answer)  
 with the Hopes of his Coming, in the mean time pursued his way by  
 long Journeys, joining Night to Day, and at last passed the Limits of  
 his



his Father's Dominions. This however was interpreted by *Soliman* to A.D. the Disadvantage of the Bashaw of *Erzerum*, as if he had willingly favoured the Son's Escape; for which reason he was removed from the Government; and afterwards put to death by *Selim* with his two Sons, whose Bodies were first forced in a detestable manner. The enraged Father had a mind at first to fly to the Borders with the Janizaries and Spahies, which he had with him, and to terrify the *Persians* at a distance with a Shew of War: But his Imperuosity was restrained by the Advice of his Friends; who represented the Danger, which threatened the Empire, if *Bajazet*, by a rash Attempt, fetching a compass round *Pontus* and the Lake of *Maotis*, should return to the City, and proclaim Liberty to the Slaves and young Soldiers, who are naturally fond of Innovations; and besides, that the hopes of Booty and better Pay might shake the Fidelity of the Army: For, wheresoever *Bajazet* marched, he had left it written upon the Door-posts of the Caravanseraes, that he would give double Wages to such Soldiers as should revolt to him: Which Contrivance filled the Officers with a Suspicion of the Common Men. At length, when *Bajazet* had crossed the *Araxis*, which divides the two Empires of *Turky* and *Persia* and did not still think himself secure, in order to hinder the Passage of the pursuing Bashaws, he disposed Guards upon the Bank of the River: But when the Bashaws had easily driven These from their Post, and entered the Sophy's Dominions, there advanced towards them some *Persian* Lords, who complained of their Behaviour, in coming armed beyond their own Frontiers, contrary to the Terms of the League. When the *Turks* began to excuse the Action, and to say, that they had not entered their Neighbour's Borders with any Hostile Intention, but in order to recover the fugitive Son of their Emperor; that Excuse not being admitted they returned back, upon Assurances, that the Sophy would do what became him in relation to *Bajazet*, and satisfy his Obligations. The *Turks* thus being sent home, *Thamas's* next Care was to inform himself of the Causes of *Bajazet's* Flight, and the number of his Retinue. To his Petition, setting forth his Brother's insidious Attempts, and his Father's unjust Anger, and begging a place of Refuge, it was at first answered; that he had not acted very considerately in coming to the Sophy, whom he knew to be linked in Friendship with his Father, upon such Terms, that Each was obliged to account the Other's Enemies as his Own: However it was presently added, that, since Fortune had ordered it so, he should draw near with Courage, join hands, and assure himself of an hospitable Treatment. *Bajazet*, having thus unfortunately made his first Addresses to *Thamas*, could not however at the beginning discover any Signs of Treachery or Disaffection: For Hopes were given him of a Reconciliation with his Father; and that one of *Thamas's* Daughters should be bestowed upon his Son *Orcanes*; and repeated Assurances were made to him, that the Sophy would not rest, 'till *Soliman* had granted him the Government either of *Mesopotamia*, or *Babylon*, or *Erzerum*, where he might live without Apprehensions from his Brother, and far removed from his Father: That if a Storm should at any time threaten

A. D. threaten him, he should have his Father-in-law's Protection, as a secure  
 1559. Refuge at his Back, against all Attempts whatsoever. From these Dis-  
 courses, publickly rumoured abroad, *Bajazet* had entertained such a  
 firm Confidence, that he could not possibly suspect a hard thing of *Thamas*;  
 insomuch that, when the Latter sent an Ambassador to *Constantinople*,  
 to treat, as it was given out, of a Reconciliation, he ordered him to  
 carry word, that he had indeed lost One Father there, but had found  
 Another in *Persia*. Whilst these things were in Agitation, whether  
*Thamas* had from the beginning resolved to destroy *Bajazet*, or else fell  
 into a Suspicion, as if *Bajazet* with his Followers, forgetting the  
 Obligations of a Guest, was plotting against him; however it were,  
 changing his mind, he from thence forward considered, how to get  
 him into his Power. *Thamas*, unequal to his Father in Military Ac-  
 complishments, had devoted himself entirely to Sloth; and, within the  
 Walls of the Palace, passed his whole time in idle Pleasures with the  
 Concubines, taking little care in the mean while of the Administration  
 of Justice and the Government. In consequence of this Disposition,  
 he grew jealous of the Valour of a warlike Youth, not only for the  
 present, but with regard to futurity, if he should succeed his Father  
 in the Empire; and began to fear, lest he might nourish a Viper in  
 his Bosom; and from thence he was led to suspect the Intentions of  
 his Companions: And These indeed had been often heard to say with  
 extravagant Wickedness, that it was lawful to kill the Heretick (so  
 They called the Sophy) and to seize his Throne. Nevertheless to at-  
 tempt the thing by Force seemed extremely hazardous: For *Bajazet* had  
 brought with him a choice Body of Fighting Men, who were ready  
 for any bold or desperate Service: The Method of Stratagem therefore  
 seemed more expedient; and accordingly a Discourse was purposely in-  
 troduced, that those numerous Troops were too much streightened in  
 their Quarters, and could not be conveniently supplied with Provision:  
 That it would be better with respect to Victuals and other Accommo-  
 dations, if they were distributed up and down in the adjacent Towns.  
 Which Proposal, though suspected by Men of Prudence and Foresight,  
*Bajazet* could not contradict; as one, who lay under a necessity of  
 obeying, and had no other Dependance in that place, where he was  
 subsisted at the Charge and Pleasure of Another, and where the very  
 Suspicion of his Host's Fidelity might be looked upon as a Confession  
 of his own Treachery. Thus all his Companions were conducted to  
 different places, never more to meet again; and in a few days an op-  
 portunity was taken to surround the several small Parties singly with  
 greater Numbers, and to put them to the Sword: And, just at the same  
 moment, *Bajazet* himself, in the midst of a Banquet, and against the  
 sacred Rules of Hospitality, was laid in Chains, and his Children put  
 under Confinement. Then frequent Messages began to pass continually  
 backwards and forwards: And one was even sent by *Thamas* in quality  
 of Ambassador to *Soliman*, with Presents, amongst which was an *Indian*  
*Pismire*, as big as a middle-sized Dog, a biting and fierce Animal: The  
 Ambassador received for Answer, that *Soliman* insisted upon the Surrender  
 of



of *Bajazet* alive into his hands, conformably to the Sophy's Obligations *A.D.* by Treaty; and thus, after an honourable Entertainment, he was dismissed. Upon the Sophy's using Delays, *Soliman* makes Preparations of War, fortifies the Barrier on the side of *Persia*, and orders *Mehemet* Bashaw, and the Beglierbeg of *Greece* already mentioned, to advance that way with the Janizaries. The Inhabitants of *Georgia* were likewise solicited to enter into the Alliance, as also the Petty Princes of *Hyrkania*; five of whom, the Descendants of *Tamerlane*, were still remaining: He had resolved to march himself to *Aleppo*, a City of *Syria*, reputed the Antient *Beræa*; but the Averseness of the Soldiery to the War, which they looked upon as ominous and fatal, deterred him; Many, without the General's Leave, having secretly left their Colours and returned into the City; who, although in obedience to the Summons they had returned to the Field, yet by this Conduct made it sufficiently appear, how they would be inclined, if any Misfortune or Alteration should happen. When *Soliman* could by no means get his Son alive out of the Sophy's hands, because of the Latter's Apprehensions of Revenge from a Person so highly offended, if he should by any Chance escape; he thought it expedient to follow the next best Course, namely, that his Son should be killed upon the spot by *Thamas's* Permission. This he hoped to obtain of him, because the Sophy in his Letters had always complained, that he had treated the Business negligently by Messengers and Expresses only; but that, if he was desirous of coming to an Agreement at once, he must depute Men of Distinction and Authority; adding These Words, that the Sultan was not a little obliged to him for detaining *Bajazet*; whose Arrival had been a considerable Detriment to him, and had cost him large Sums, which ought in Equity to be reimbursed. *Soliman* therefore, thinking it better to attempt the Sophy with Money, than at His Age to enter upon an hazardous and unnecessary War, dispatched *Hassan* Aga, his Head Chamberlain, or (as others say) his Taster (who had been brought up with *Bajazet* from a Child), to see the Prisoner, lest haply Another might have been placed there in his Room; and in the same Commission he joined the Bashaw of *Massa*, a Person distinguished by his Age and faithful Services. These set forwards with full Instructions in the Depth of the Winter through most difficult Roads, wherein they lost a good part of their Retinue, and arrived at *Thamas's* Court in *Casbin*: And when the Embassadors had seen *Bajazet* (for This they demanded in the first place) deformed in such a manner with the Filth and Nastiness of a Prison, that he could not be known again 'till he was shaved; they came to an Agreement, that, as soon as *Thamas* should be satisfied for his Damages and Expences, and have received a farther Gratuity worthy of so high a Favour, *Soliman* might have leave to put *Bajazet* to death: Immediately, in the same rough Season and by the same dismal Route, *Hassan* hastens back, and tells what he had done to his Master; who orders a Present, with the Money at which the Damages and Charges had been estimated, to be conveyed under a strong Guard to the Frontiers of *Persia*. With this Convoy *Hassan* was sent back, being

A. D. pitched upon for the Executioner of the unfortunate *Bajazet*; for, to prevent any possible Fraud in the Interval, *Soliman* had commanded him to strangle the young Man with his own hands. Here, when they came to the Point, *Bajazet*, desiring, that he might be indulged before his Death in seeing his Children, and dividing amongst them his last affectionate Kisses, was refused; and, being ordered to mind the present Business, was put to death with a Bowstring; and after him, four of his Sons, whom he had brought with him, suffered the like Fate; whose Bodies were carried to *Sivas*, and there buried with the usual Ceremonies: For the Youngest, by the Command of the Grandfather, (who had ordered him to be nursed at *Bursia*, whilst it was yet uncertain what Issue *Bajazet's* Affairs might take) was killed by a faithful Eunuch deputed for that purpose: Upon this occasion, it happened, that the Eunuch, being of a tender Complexion of Mind, employed one of the Porters, a fellow fit for any hard-hearted Service, to do the business for him. But the Porter, notwithstanding his savage Disposition, was so melted at the sight of the Child, smiling upon the fatal String, and reaching out with open Arms to kiss him, that he immediately fell into a Swoon: The Eunuch, who stood without the Door, wondering at the Delay, when he had entered, and found the Man lying upon the Floor, was forced himself to perform the ungrateful Office, and to strangle the little Infant with his own hands. The *Turks* ascribe a great deal to Predestination; referring all things, howsoever intended, if they fall out happily, to GOD as the Author. It was not therefore through Clemency, that *Soliman* had spared his Grandson so long, but because he thought it fit to wait the Event of *Bajazet's* Attempt; lest, if things should have turned out better, he might not seem to have willingly resisted the Purpose of GOD: But now, the Divine Sentence having as it were declared against *Bajazet* by permitting his death, he saw no reason, why Mercy should be shewn to the Son, who would probably copy after his Father's Guilt, and revenge his Death. Thus ended the pernicious Counsels of *Bajazet*; who met his Ruin the sooner, the more he laboured to avoid it: From whence appeared not only the Wickedness, but the Folly and ill Consequence, of *Roxolana's* Project, in hastening the Murder of her Step-Son, in order to promote her own Children to the Throne: Since, through the secret Vengeance of GOD, when their Rival was removed, a mortal Hatred broke out between the Brothers; which produced This Effect, that the Father, once accustomed to shed the Blood of his Children, made no scruple afterwards of venting his Rage against them, and even killed that very Son which she meant to prefer to the Other: But the more happy the Mother was, who, before her Decease, saw the certain Prospect of her Issue's Accession to the Throne, and escaped the lamentable Sight of her beloved *Bajazet's* Death; so much the more unfortunate must the Father be reputed, who reaped This Misfortune from a long Life, that he was forced to stain his hands in the Blood of two hopeful and well-accomplished Sons, and of many Grandsons besides, in order to gratify his Wife, and secure the Government; and that he could  
light



light upon no other means for establishing Peace at home and abroad, *A. D.* than by the Slaughter of his nearest Relations.

1559.

At a wide distance from these Countries, in *Scotland*, when the Armies were just ready to engage; upon the conclusion of a Truce on the 25th day of *July* till the following month of *January*, things remained for some time in a state of Quiet; the Regent taking more than ordinary Care to observe the Truce, because, with respect to her Promises of former Times, she was generally accused of Levity. Secret Reports were nevertheless spread, as if, under Colour of Religion, a Design was laid, that *James* the Bastard Earl of *Murray* should transfer the Crown upon himself, by the Extinction of the Lawful Race. Letters too were sent by *Francis* and *Mary* his Wife, full of the same Charge; which by the Regent's Care were conveyed to *James*. In These, after upbraiding him with past Favours, the most terrible Threats were contained, if the Earl did not lay aside the Design of a Revolt, and return to his Duty: Of which Accusations he purged himself by other Letters; and, the Cause of Religion excepted, which he could not with a safe Conscience abandon, declared himself, and the Rest, who suffered under the invidious Charge of Rebellion, ready in other respects to yield a perfect Obedience. About this time a thousand *French* Auxiliaries came into *Leith* Harbour; upon whose Arrival the Regent reassumed her former Courage, and resolved, what she thought a very feasible thing, to chastise the Revolters. At this juncture the Earl of *Arran*, Son of the late Governour *James Hamilton*, having escaped from *France*, appeared in the Assembly of the Nobles at *Sterling*. He, because, in a Discourse about Religion and the *Scottish* Affairs, he had talked to the Duke of *Guise* with too much Freedom, being seized at *Chastel-Erault* in *Poitou* (where he resided), and, for a Terror to Persons of Lower Degree, destined to Death; had smelt out the Design by some Words of the Cardinal *de Lorraine*, which were brought to him: For the Cardinal, whilst he was vehemently inveighing against the Sectaries in the Parliament of *Paris*, had subjoined, that they would all shortly see the Execution of a Man, equal in Rank to the first Nobility, who should suffer the Pains due to his Rashness, and serve as an Example to Others. By the help therefore of his Friends the Earl had found means to escape; and, appearing just then contrary to Expectation in the midst of the Civil Tumults, joined the Party of the Revolters, and tried to bring over his Father. In that Assembly, the Confederates, seeing our Countrymen busy in the Fortification of *Leith*, and providing it with Soldiers and Victuals, in order to secure to themselves a Retreat in case of Adversity, and an open Harbour in Prosperity for the entertainment of Auxiliaries; they resolved to draw Forces together from all Parts, and to besiege the Place. But the Enterprize laboured under very great Difficulties; since all the Brass Cannon in the Kingdom lay in the hands of the Regent, and the Governour of *Edinburg* Castle, who had not yet declared for them; and they had not Troops enough to form the just Siege of a Town, surrounded on one side by the Sea and a River. Whilst they were hesi-

A. D. hesitating, *De la Brosse* a Knight of *St. Michael*, and a Creature of the 1559. *Guises* (by whom he was sent) landed in *Scotland* with two thousand

Foot: With him came *Nicolas de Pellevé* Bishop of *Amiens*, and some Doctors of the *Sorbonne*; in order to dispute, if there should be occasion, upon the Controversies of Religion. When These demanded a Day for opening their Instructions, they were not only refused Admittance by the Nobles assembled at *Edinburgh*, but absolutely rejected, as Persons, who threatened War, instead of seeking Peace; with This additional Declaration, that if, dismissing the Soldiers, they had come merely to dispute, they should have been heard; and All the world should have perceived, that they were more easily to be influenced by Arguments, than compelled by Force: But that they wondered, how it came to pass, that the Regent without any Provocation had so soon departed from her Covenants; and, expelling the old Inhabitants of *Leith*, had placed there a new Colony of Foreigners, and built a Citadel for the Destruction of the Laws and of Liberty. The same Answer, about a month after, was returned by the Convention at *Edinburgh* to the Regent; with this farther Petition, That, demolishing the new Fortifications, she would command the Foreigners and other Mercenary Troops to go out of the Town: To which the Regent by the Principal Herald, as if the Quarrel were betwixt Enemies, replied; that she was surprized, that Any One should usurp the Government in *Scotland*, besides her Son-in-law and Daughter, from whom she derived all her Authority: That the Duke of *Chastel-Erault* ought to remember the Promises, made to her by word of mouth, and by letters to the King of *France*; that he would not only be obedient to the King, but would take care, that his Son should not intermeddle in the Troubles of *Scotland*; for that his Actions agreed but little with his Engagements: And that, for herself, she had no Thoughts of overturning the Laws and Liberty, much less of gaining the Sovereignty by Force: For why should That be her Aim, which her Daughter already possessed by Hereditary Right? That on the contrary she would do every thing for the sake of Publick Tranquillity, that was consistent with Piety towards God and an Obédience to the Sovereign. That Arms were taken up against Those, who by an open Conspiracy vilified the Lawful Government, and without the Privity of Her, who bore the Authority of the Chief Magistrate, endangered the State of the Kingdom at pleasure, by taking Cities, and entering into a League with the Common Enemies, whom they even entertained in their Houses: That in the mean time she had no aversion to Peaceful Counsels, provided that honourable Terms were proposed: That no opposition, as They pretended, was made to the Treaty by the *French*; who, having come thither by the Command of their King, would long since have left *Scotland*, if Their Contrivances would have allowed it: For which reasons she required, and, by virtue of her Power, commanded, the Duke of *Chastel-Erault* and the other Nobles, and all Persons of what Rank soever, that they should immediately lay down their Arms; if they did not, she declared them guilty of Treason.



Treason. To this Message, on the day after, which was the 23<sup>d</sup> of *A. D.* *October*, the Heads of the Faction returned this bold and haughty Answer to the Regent; That, as she shewed a Disaffection to Godly Piety, the publick Welfare of the *Scotish* Nation and the Cause of Liberty, They, who were Royal Counsellors by their Birth-right, suspended and inhibited her, in the name of the King and Queen, from the Exercise of the Government and the Publick Administration, by what Title soever she claimed it under Their Majesties: And yet, out of that Reverence which they bore to her as the Queen's Mother, they besought her, that she would depart from *Leith*, and within four and twenty hours carry with her all the Mercenary Soldiers; whose Blood, because of the antient Friendship which subsisted between the *Scots* and the *French*, they were very inclinable to spare; and that she would take away likewise all Those, who called themselves Deputies for debating and managing Affairs. Accordingly, by a Decree, they entirely abrogated the Delegated Powers granted to the Regent by her Son-in-law and Daughter, and forbade her to Act in that Capacity, 'till the next Convention of all the States, which should be celebrated in a convenient Place. All, who were present, subscribed to the Decree: And, two days after, they sent a Herald to *Leith*, to order the *Scots*, that within fourteen hours they should leave the Town, and separate themselves from the Destroyers of the Publick Liberty. When this was done, the Confederate Camp was in great Confusion; occasioned principally by the Weakness of the Duke; whom his Relations had so possessed with Terror, that his Cowardice shook the Courage of many others: One main Difficulty was the Scarcity of Money, the hired Troops mutinying in every place for want of their Arrears; for the Remedy of which Misfortune, it seemed expedient, that every Man's Plate should be brought in and melted down: But, the Dies for the Coinage having been taken away, by the Management of some unknown Person, this Device was rendered ineffectual. The Succours, to be expected from the *English*, were uncertain and slow. Nevertheless *John Cockbourn* of *Ormiston* was privately sent, to borrow a small Sum of money from some *English* at *Berwick*: Of whose Departure the Queen being apprized, by the means of Earl *Bothwell*, of whom the Confederates had not the least Apprehension, waylays *Ormiston* as he returned with the Money, and, after wounding him, takes him Prisoner; the Earl of *Arran*, with *James Stewart*, having in vain hastened from *Edinburgh* to rescue *Ormiston* out of *Bothwell's* hands. On the same day, the Provost of *Dumdee* rashly advanced with some hired Soldiers and Volunteers towards *Leith*, and placed the Great Guns, which he had brought with him, upon a neighbouring Hill, supposing the Confederates would come to his Support: But our Countrymen, knowing the Enemy's Cavalry to be far distant, presently sallied with some Companies, and put the Mercenaries to flight: And, a Noise being raised, that the *French* by a shorter way were marching behind them to the Gates of the City, with a View of excluding them; the very mention of it produced such a Confusion, that they all dispersed, and betook them-

A. D. selves by different Routes to Places of safety. In a Sally made afterwards on the 5th day of *November*, with a Design of repelling Our Troops, who had gone out to intercept a Convoy of Provisions on the Road to *Edinburgh*; by advancing with more Impetuosity than Prudence, they were almost cut off from the City, and paid the Price of their Rashness: For as the Marshes on one Side, and a Garden Wall on the other, streightened the Road and exposed it to Our Musqueteers; the Infantry, partly by their own Comrades, and partly by the Horse, were trodden under foot. Many were lost in that Conflict; and more undoubtedly must have perished, if the Earls of *Arran* and *Murray* had not, quitting their Horses, taken an equal Share of the Common Danger, and succoured their Friends in Time. Nevertheless the Hurry and Confusion was so great, that it occasioned the Council-board to debate about abandoning the City: Which being determined by the Nobles, they entered upon their March in the second Watch of the Night; and, without regard to Decency, like a Company of Runaways, hastened to *Sterling*. From thence, finding themselves unable to sustain the Force of Our Troops, they sent *William Maitland* into *England*, to desire Succours of the Queen; if it were only for This reason, That the Danger of *Scotland* concerned the *English*, as Inhabitants of the same Island; and that, without doubt, if the *French* went on to fortify and garrison the most commodious Places in *Scotland*, an easier way would be opened to break the Force of the *English*. After a long Debate, the *English* resolved upon sending Auxiliaries. The Confederates in the mean time took two different Routes, some going to *Glasgow* and others into *Fife*. Our Countrymen, hearing of the intended Succours, thought it best to be beforehand with them, and resolved to make the first Attack upon Those, who possessed *Fife*: And in this March they destroyed *Linlithgow* and the Estates of the *Hamiltons*. Then proceeding to *Sterling*, after a short Stay in that Town, they passed the Bridge, and marching by the River-side scoured all that Coast, which is full of Towns and Villages; and, having plundered every thing that came in their way, arrived at last at *Kinghorn*. When the *Scots* on the other side had invested a little Town, called *Dysert*, with a small number of Troops, they spent twenty days there in light Skirmishes. But the principal Rage was vented upon the Houses, because of the Obstinacy of the Confederates, and particularly upon That of *William Kirkadey*; who, in order to take his Revenge, having observed that *La Bastie* a *Savoyard* had gone abroad with his Company of an hundred Men in pursuit of Booty, lay so long concealed in Ambush, till the *French* were above a thousand Paces distant from their Garrison: Then, sending forwards the Cavalry, he plants himself in the middle, and cuts off the Retreat of Our Men; who, entering into an adjoining Valley, endeavoured to defend themselves under the Walls of an Inclosure; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, and still refusing to surrender, the Close being taken by Storm, fifty of them were put to the Sword, and the rest sent to *Dundee*, after that *La Bastie* by a vigorous Effort had found means to escape. *Buchanan* says



says falsely, that the Captain was killed upon the Spot; whereas he *A. D.* is actually living at the time of my writing this Account. In the 1559. mean while a Committee was chosen out of the whole Confederate Body, to go to *Berwick* in order to draw up a League with the *English*; which was finished at *Berwick*, on the 27th day of *February* in the ensuing Year, upon These Terms: "That, in opposition to Foreigners, if any  
 " should land in the Island with a Warlike Intention, they should  
 " mutually furnish Succours, the *Scots* serving in *England*, and the  
 " *English* in *Scotland*: That, in consideration of the Poverty of the  
 " *Scots*, *Elizabeth* should defray the Charges; and all the Booty should  
 " reciprocally be yielded to the *English*: That the Towns and Castles  
 " should forthwith be restored to the antient Possessors: That the *Scots*  
 " should give Hostages, who were to remain in *England*, as long as  
 " the Marriage subsisted between *Francis* and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*,  
 " and after its Dissolution." Not long after, *Elizabeth*, to give the reasons of her undertaking the Defence of the *Scots*, and to remove the Scandal of violating the Treaty lately made with the *French*, publishes a Manifesto at *London* on the 24th day of *March*, and takes care to have it dispersed in *France*; wherein she sets forth; that, although she had been highly injured, by *Mary* of *Scotland's* usurping her Titles and Arms, yet she could never persuade herself to think, that those things were done with the Consent of the King of *France* and his Wife (who were both young and apparently incapable by their Age of knowing any thing of the matter), nor with the Advice of the Princes of the Blood or the States of the Realm; but rather by the Arts and Contrivances of the ambitious *Guises*, who considered the Troubles of Kingdoms as their own Advantage, and from a Love of Innovation promoted Wars after Wars; because in a State of Tranquillity they despaired of enjoying any longer That unlawful Power, which they abused to the purposes of aggrandizing their Family: For to what End could the Titles and Arms of *England* be assumed, but in order to Her Ruin? or why were Hostilities commenced in *Scotland* under Colour of Religion, but that, when they should have distracted the Forces of *France*, they might at all Adventures watch their Opportunity, if possible, of making themselves Masters of *Britain*? She had therefore frequently dealt with them, that they would strike out those Names and Titles, and not suffer the almost extinguished Seeds of Enmity to shoot up again upon such an unjust Occasion; and that they would use their Endeavours, that the Tumults arisen in *Scotland* upon a Religious Account (which for the sake of Neighbourhood and the Common Cause, she could not neglect) might be amicably composed: That this also might be easily done, if the *French* Soldiers were drawn off from thence; in which Case she would likewise recall her own Troops: And that All might discern, how zealously she was disposed towards the publick Quiet, both amongst her own Subjects and her Neighbours, she had engaged herself to procure, by the Interposition of her Embassadors, that the Tumults should cease, and that the *Scots* should return to their bounden Obedience to their Queen: But that these representations had

A. D. had hitherto failed of Success, which grieved her exceedingly; nevertheless she desired, that the Stipulations, lately concluded with the *French*, might stand good, and that her Intentions therein might be universally known: Accordingly she commanded her Subjects, to maintain Friendship and Commerce, as heretofore, with punctuality and freedom, to make honourable mention of the *French*, and to do no kind of thing, whereby they may be justly charged with breaking the Articles of Peace: She reciprocally wished, that the *Guises* would forbear, by abusing the Wealth of the King and the *French*, to injure their Neighbours, and to wound Her through the Sides of the *Scots*: In which Behaviour if they still persisted, she could not be wanting to her Duty, nor abandon the Safety of her Friends and her Own in the present Exigency and Danger: And she hoped, that God, the Vindicator of Justice, would prosper her righteous Arms, and effectually defend her and her Friends against the unjust Views and Efforts of their Enemies. The *Guises*, perceiving what a Load was laid upon them in this Manifesto, employed *Michael de Seurre*, a Knight of *Malta*, the King's Ambassador at that time in *England*, to treat with *Elizabeth*; that she would recall the Forces sent by her into *Scotland*, and not by her Assistance increase the natural Savageness of that People, and their disobedience towards the Lawful Government of the King and Queen: The Bishop of *Aquila* too, *Philip's* Ambassador to the Queen of *England*, and *Glaion* his Master of the Ordnance, being desired, seconded this Motion: *John Montluc* Bishop of *Valence* was also sent thither as Ambassador extraordinary; a Person not unacquainted with the *Scotish* Affairs, and one besides, because he was reported to favour the Cause of the Protestants, less suspicious to *Elizabeth* and the Confederates in *Scotland*. But when the Queen of *England* persisted in her Resolution, that she would not recall her own Troops out of *Scotland*, 'till the *French* had drawn off theirs; *De Seurre*, repeating the mention of the King's good Offices to the *English* (that thus by clearing his Master's Character with Foreign Princes, he might cast the Odium of renewing the War upon the *English*), declared the King's Intention to be no other, than to maintain the Peace made by his Father *Henry* with the *English*: That Forces had been sent into *Scotland* with the sole view of reducing the Rebels to Duty; in which Affair, before he betook himself to Arms, he had implored the friendly Assistance of *Elizabeth*; and even now requests, that she will interpose her Mediation: For that the only Aim of his Arms is, that an equitable Peace may be settled in *Scotland*, and the Legal Obedience rendered to the Sovereigns: That if this may be done with the Queen of *England's* Interposition, the King will be extremely obliged to her, and immediately countermand his Troops: That he had already signified the same thing to her by the Bishop of *Valence*; and therefore was the more surprised, that, notwithstanding this, she not only sent Aids to the Rebels in *Scotland*, but openly and every where exercised Hostilities against the King: That the King therefore may clearly demonstrate his Disinclination to Warlike Counsels, he again declares, that he desires nothing more, than that the Rebels in *Scotland* would return to

Their



their Duty, and, begging pardon, promise to be obedient for the future to *A. D.* the King and Queen: In which Case, he would grant an Act of Oblivion 1559. for past Offences, and draw off all the Forces from thence, except such as should be judged necessary for the support of his Own and his Wife's Honour. But, if the *English* will nevertheless continue to assist the Rebel *Scots* and molest his Troops, he Protests, that it is not willingly, but upon Force, that he descends to Arms, though in a just Cause. This Remonstrance *De Seure* delivered in writing to the Queen, and on the 20th of *April* caused it to be every where published. During this Paper War on both sides, our Countrymen, after having wasted *Dy-sert* and *Weems*, marched towards *Cowper*; and, when they had advanced a little way along the Sea Shore, upon the sight of a Fleet near the Cape of *Kincraig*, which they took for their own, they were filled with Joy: But when it appeared to be an *English* Fleet, and Intelligence arrived, that the Land-Forces of the same Nation were approaching the *Scottish* Borders, changing their Design, they retired in haste, without staying to refresh themselves, part to *Kinghorn* and part to *Dumfermeling*. And now, either out of uneasiness at the present State of things, or out of hatred to the *Guises*, Many, who preferred Peace and Liberty to War and Slavery, and More still, from an inclination to the Protestant Cause, began to show themselves less favourable to the Royal Interest: And so much the more, because they suffer'd vast Inconveniences from our Troops, who indeed committed Depredations in all Parts with excessive Licentiousness. This disaffection was increased by a groundless but credited Report, that the *French* designed, at the conclusion of the War, to outlaw all the Nobility, upon whose Estates a thousand *French* Horse-Cuirassiers should be quartered. This, as was pretended, having been caught as it fell from the Mouth of *De la Brosse*, and found in some intercepted Letters of his to the King and the *Guises*, wonderfully inflamed the Animosities, which upon other accounts were already kindled against the *French*. Accordingly most of the Inhabitants of *Fife*, either for fear of the Enemy, or forced by the Outrages of their Allies, revolted to the side of the Confederates. In the beginning of the Spring, *Sebastian de Luxembourg* Seigneur de *Martigues*, a young Gentleman of great Quality, and no less Merit, brought one thousand Foot and some Horse in two Ships from *France*; but the Ships, after landing the Troops, being too negligently guarded, were taken in the Night-time by the *Scots*. *Martigues* was intended to be followed by *René Marqués d'Elbæuf* the Regent's Brother; who was bringing the Money and other Necessaries in eight Ships, but, meeting with a Storm, returned to the Port from whence he had loosed. The *English* having reinforced their first Fleet with another, and riding at pleasure as Masters of the whole Sea, held the Isle of *Inchkeith* besieged, and entirely cut off the Communication of *Leith* with the Sea. In a different Quarter, the Men of *Fife*, going to *Perth* and conferring with *Huntley*, solicited the Northern Parts, and drew them almost all to their Side. In pursuance of a Proclamation, that the respective Parties should meet together by the latter end of *March*, when most of them had rendezvoused at *Linlithgow*, they ad-

A. D. 1559. vanced on the first of *April* to *Haddington*, and joined the *English* Army, consisting of six thousand Foot and two thousand Horse; with whom they incamped at *Preston*. On the same Day, the Regent, (who had been averse to Extremities, and thought, that the *Scots* were to be kept to their Duty by a moderate Government rather than by Severity; and had also admonished her Brothers, that, if they desired the preservation of the antient Religion, the *Scots* should be freely left to their Own), partly that she might be removed from Danger, and partly to shew her Disinclination to warlike Measures, retired with a few Domesticks into the Castle of *Edinburgh*; using herein the advice of *Henry Clutin d'Oysel*, on whom she very much relied; a Man of quick Parts, but withal of great Probity and Experience; who guided himself rather by the Rule of Equity, than by the pleasure of the *Guises*, and from the beginning had advised an amicable Agreement, openly condemning the violence of new Counsels, as altogether unsuitable to the present Circumstances. *John Areskine*, a Man of tried Innocency and Diligence, held the Castle, which he had received by a Decree of the Publick Council under this Restriction, that he should not surrender it to any one, but by the Order of the same Council: And, although he provided with exceeding Caution against a Surprise, either by Force or Stratagem, yet he would not refuse Admittance to the Regent in such an Exigency; managing the Point with the utmost Prudence, that at the same time he might perform his Duty, and yet retain the Castle in his Power. The Confederates, hearing of This, although they had deprived the Regent of the Government, yet, being uncertain with respect to the Event of the War, writ to her from *Dalkeith* on the 4th day of *April* in a far more moderate Strain; and humbly besought her, that she would order the *French*, who threatened the Nation with Slavery, to leave the Kingdom, and that she would deliver the desperate Populace from their Apprehensions; promising in the same Letters, that, let them suffer the worst of Hardships, no Danger should force them to depart from their Allegiance to the Queen, or to oppose the King her Husband in any thing, which did not tend to the Ruin of their Country's Liberty, or to the Destruction of them or their Posterity. Two days after, our Men going out of *Leith* in order to possess a neighbouring Hill, where they supposed the Enemy would pitch their Camp, after a long Engagement, being over-powered with Numbers, were forced back into the Town: During the Siege, frequent Conferences passed without Effect; 'till the Bishop of *Valence* on the 21st day of *April* came into the *English* Camp, and from thence repaired to the Regent in *Edinburgh* Castle, and, after discoursing with her for two Days, returned to the Confederates; but still with no Success. From that time to the 7th day of *May*, hardly any memorable Transaction happened in the Siege of *Leith*; except that the *English*, observing, that by reason of the Distance, the Balls fell to the Ground without doing any considerable Execution, crossed the River *Leith*, and brought the Cannon nearer to the Town; that from this new Post they might fire with more Force and Certainty, and have an opportunity of coming



ing to close and repeated Engagements with our Troops. Soon after, *A. D.* upon occasion of an accidental Fire in the Town, a Skirmish ensued; 1559. whilst by frequent Vollies of Cannon Shot they endeavoured to hinder our Men from extinguishing the Flames, and at the same time made an Assault upon the Walls: But this not succeeding, on the 4th day of *May*, by the help of scaling Ladders the *English* advanced to the Storm with great Fury, but were repulsed by our Countrymen with greater, losing near two hundred Men: Which, as it put Courage into our Men, without doubt slackened the Vigour of the Confederates; although the Duke of *Norfolk*, from his Province, which reaches a great way along the Borders between the Rivers *Tweed* and *Trent*, by the promise of Succours persuaded them to continue the Siege; nor indeed did he forget his Promise, but immediately sent a Reinforcement of two thousand Foot. But, about this time, *William Cecil*, upon whose Counsels the whole *English* Affairs, even at That time, rested, and *Nicolas Wootton* came into *Scotland* by *Elizabeth's* Commands, in order to treat of a Peace: Upon whose Arrival, the Fury began to abate on both sides; whilst our Men, being cut off from all hopes of Relief, were reduced almost to Despair by the shortness and streightness of Provisions, which distressed them more and more every Day; and the *English*, broken by a tedious and inconvenient Siege, and wanting all sorts of Necessaries as well as the *French*, heartily desired an End of the War; and lastly the *Scots*, because they fought without Pay, and therefore could hardly be engaged to keep the Field, when they saw the War, whatever the final Issue of it might be, carried on at their Expence, were universally glad to hear the mention of an Agreement. The *English* were the Parties, who treated with *Charles de la Roche-foucault de Randan*, and the Bishop of *Valence*. For the King, and Queen *Mary*, thought it beneath their Honour to stipulate upon an equal Foot with their own Subjects. And now, when the Business was looked upon as concluded, and a Parliament was summoned to meet in the month of *July* following; the Death of the Regent, quite worn out with Fatigue and Sorrow, which happened on the 10th day of *June*, well nigh disturbed the Negotiation; because upon her Decease the Confederates were apprehensive of more violent Counsels. For in truth she was a Lady of an excellent Disposition, inclined to equitable Measures, and by her Goodness and Conduct had won the fiercest and most remote Inhabitants of those Islands to a Sense of Duty. And They, who, apart from Passion, sincerely considered the state of Things, were of opinion, that there would have been no Rupture between Her and the *Scots*, if she might have managed Matters by her own Discretion; but, as she depended upon the Will of Others, that is, her Brothers, and held but a precarious Authority in *Scotland* (as being obliged to consult them like an Oracle, upon all important Occasions), it fell out, that sometimes she seemed intirely regardless of her Word and inconsistent with herself. Her Body, by the Care and at the Charge of her Brother the Cardinal, was removed into *France*; and interred in *St. Peter's Church* at *Rheims*, of which Con-  
vent



A.D. 1559. vent her Sister *Renee* was Abbess, in the middle of the Choir under a noble Monument. Although her Death seemed likely to introduce a change of Affairs, yet by the Diligence of our Embassadors, and the Labour of the *English*, who wanted an honourable occasion of putting an end to a consuming War, it was brought about, that at length, with a wonderful Consent of all Parties, on the 8th day of *July*, Peace was proclaimed upon these principal Conditions: "That the *French* within twenty days should sail away with their Effects, in Ships to be furnished by the *English*, because there was not a sufficient number of *French* Vessels for the Transportation of so great a Multitude: That the Walls of *Leith* should be demolished, and the Fortifications of *Dunbar* dismantled: That, upon the performance of these Articles, the *English* should draw off their Forces: That *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, with the Consent of her Husband, should grant an Act of Oblivion for all things done and committed in *Scotland*, from the 1st day of *March* in the preceeding Year to the 1st day of *August* in the present Year; and this Act should be confirmed in the next Parliament, which accordingly was deferred to the month of *August*: That the Parliament should be holden by the Authority of the King and *Mary* his Wife, who should be allowed, that they might not seem wholly dispossessed of the Government, to retain a Garrison of sixty *French* Soldiers in the Isle of *Inchkeith* and in *Dunbar*." After this, in a Session of Parliament at *Edinburgh*, *James Sandelands*, a Knight of *Malta*, was pitched upon to go as Deputy into *France*; whither he soon repaired, and appeared at Court, to discharge his Function according to the Terms of the Pacification. There he was severely reproached by the *Guises*, that He, who had devoted himself to a Sacred Military Order, should undertake to bring a Message to the King from Men infected with the Poison of an execrable Sect. These things fell out much about the time, that the King's Illness began to increase; so that *Sandelands*, being dismissed without an Answer, as soon as he had reached *Paris* in his way home, was overtaken, on the 13th day of *December*, by the News of the King's Death. But Now it is Time, that I should pursue the Thread of our Own Affairs, from the beginning of this Year.

On the 1st day of *January*, that the Year might receive an Auspicious Commencement, a Law was registered, whereby, in order to secure the establishment of learned and upright Judges in the Supream Courts of the Realm and in the Lower Benches, it was enacted, that, for the future, the Judges themselves, when there happened a Vacancy by Death, should have the Power of naming Three Persons eminent for Probity and Knowledge of the Law, out of whom the King should choose which Person he pleased. This Righteous and Salutary Decree, obtained by the Persuasions of *Francis Olivier*, and frequently afterwards repeated, was prevented from taking place by the Ambition and Avarice of the Courtiers; who, seeking a Profit by the irreligious Estimate and shameful Sale of Publick Places and Honours, by wicked Edicts multiplied the Judges to an excessive number, in order to increase,



crease, as they pretended, the Royal Revenue: And thus a most illustrious Body of Men, whose Reputation the Publick was concerned to maintain in order to keep All the Estates of the Kingdom to their Duty, began by degrees to grow cheap, through the Contagion of sordid Traffick; by means of which, Men of no Merit, by the Strength of their Riches, or by the favour of the Courtiers, attaining those Honours, easily suffered themselves to be corrupted. In the mean time, Complaints running high against the Translation of the Government from the Princes of Blood and the Council of the States, to whom by Right and the Antient Laws of *France* it belonged, upon the *Guises*; a Conspiracy began secretly to be formed against them, into which many Persons entered; some, out of hatred to the present State of things, and the insolent Dominion, as they gave out, of the *Guises*; others under pretence of Religion, the Liberty of which they were enraged to see oppressed, and the Professors of it every day tormented with cruel Punishments; others again, from a Desire of Innovations, whom Poverty, Fear of Judicial Sentences, or Consciousness of Guilt, made restless; and these were very numerous, at a time, when, through the Depravity of Morals, this once flourishing Kingdom, which had been supported by excellent Laws, was sinking, by a fatal Change, into Ruin. To give the Design a Colour of Justice, it was alledged, that the *Guises*, despising the Authority of the States, had usurped the Supream Authority in the Nation: That, abusing the Age of a weakly Prince, they had ingrossed the Power of the Army, and converted it to their private Advantage; that they robbed the Treasury, oppressed the Liberty of their Country, harassed all such as professed a Reformation of Religion, and lastly directed all their Counsels to the Destruction of the Commonwealth. And, that all things might be done with the Face of Law and according to Legal Forms, Acts and Proofs were drawn up in secret, because it could not be done openly; and Consultations too, upon the Subject, were held by the most Eminent Lawyers of that Age in *Germany* and *France*: The Opinions likewise of the Protestant Divines were consulted; whether with a safe Conscience, and without incurring the Guilt of Treason against the Rightful Magistrate, it was lawful to take Arms for the Safety and Liberty of the Nation, seize *Francis* Duke of *Guise* and his Brother *Charles* the Cardinal, and force them to give an Account of their usurped Administration and Conduct. As to the former, they answered, according to the Questions proposed to them, that it was lawful to oppose Force to the illegal Dominion of the *Guises*, provided the Princes of the Blood, who in these Cases are the legal and native Magistrates, or one of them, would lend their Authority, and it were done with the Consent of the States, or the greater and soberer part of them; since it would be a superfluous thing to advise the King about it, who by reason of his Age and Inexperience could not manage his own Affairs, and was held as a Prisoner by the *Guises*; so that there was no room for the ordinary Course of Justice. Encouraged by these reasons, the Contrivers of the Plot, whosoever they were, began to think of choosing



A. D. a Leader for this important Enterprize: And they were not long at a 1560. loss, for a proper Person: For the King of *Navarre*, either from a natural Indolence, or from the Terrors represented to him by his Ministers, if he should meddle in any Troubles, contented himself with providing for his own present Security; so that all Men immediately cast their Eyes upon his Brother *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*, a Man of high Courage, and one, who hating the Insolence of the *Guises*, and being besides pinche in his private Fortune, was ready rather to do an Injury than suffer one. Nevertheless his Name was not at first given out; but, after the manner of those, who raise Recruits in *Germany*, a Nameless General was appointed; under whom *Godfrey Barry* Sieur de la *Renaudie* commonly called *La Forest* was chosen to serve as Lieutenant; an indefatigable young man, descended from an Antient and Noble Family in *Perigord*; who, after a tedious and vexatious Suit, in relation to a Benefice, which had been possessed by his Unkle in the *Angoumois*, and was claimed by *John du Tillet* Protonotary of Parliament, had at length lost his Cause, and, for a Charge of Falshood, unluckily incurred by him (as it often happens in such Cases), had been severely fined, and at last banished for a certain Term: In which Interval, whilst he resided at *Lausanne* and *Geneva*, having gained the Friendship of many persons, who had fled their Country for Religion, he had founded their Inclination, as well as That of some others, in his Travels through the several Provinces of the Realm in Disguise: A Man as well made for Action as Contrivance, and besides burning with Revenge, and desirous by some signal Exploit to wash out the Stain of an ignominious Sentence, which had passed upon him, more for Another's Crime in reality than his Own. This Person therefore, when a Lieutenant-General was wanted, voluntarily offered his Service, and undertook the part of going about the Provinces, and by himself and his Friends of gaining the Hearts of his Acquaintance and others whose Names had been given him. These he appointed, by the 1st day of *February*, to meet every Man at *Nantes*; wherein he was assisted by *La Garaye* a Gentleman of *Bretagne*, who had been chosen for a Second to *Renaudie* himself. At this time the Parliament of the Province was sitting in that City: And it seemed convenient for their purpose, to contrive an important Law-suit, with the addition of a Wedding, which amongst Gentlemen is usually celebrated with a numerous Train of Friends and Relations, that their Rendezvous might be performed without Suspicion. As soon therefore as the Conspirators in great numbers were come together into the City, *Renaudie* visited them all at their respective Inns, and by *La Garaye* again felt their Pulse, whether they persisted in their Resolution, and were ready to take up with their Lot, whatever it might be, for so just a Cause. He then summoned them to a certain place; and, agreeably to his promptness of Speech and Action, after mutual Salutations and Embraces, is reported to have harangued them in this manner. "That smiling Serenity of Countenance and Composure of Temper, which, methinks, I see in Your Faces, my dearest Companions and Fellow-Soldiers, and in the  
" Looks



" Looks of all this Assembly, not only testify an unusual Alacrity, *A. D.*  
 " but also promise the highest Fidelity and Constancy in the Prose- 1560.  
 " cution of this Affair; and will not suffer us to doubt, that a  
 " Business, undertaken for the sake of the Commonwealth with such  
 " Harmony of Wills and Affections, can fail of a fortunate Issue: For  
 " since so choice a Company, flourishing in Years, mature in Pru-  
 " dence, exercised by Experience, are met together, and what I think  
 " more valuable, with such Secrecy and Silence from far distant Countries,  
 " being singled out for this Service by the special favour of God; it  
 " is not to be admired, that you are not frightened with the Diffi-  
 " culties of the Enterprize, or the Greatness of the Danger, or with  
 " the fear of Punishment, like Criminals; but are ready to spend your  
 " Life and Blood, that You may vindicate Your Country's Liberty,  
 " and save the Necks of Freemen from the Yoke of impending Sla-  
 " very. And although to Men of Courage, and of Experience in  
 " both Fortunes, few Words are needful; yet, that something certain  
 " may be determined concerning the Place, Time and Method of Exe-  
 " cution; and that, if any Scruple yet sticks in your Generous Breasts,  
 " as if the Arms, which we take for the Commonwealth, were unjust  
 " and unlawful, it may be torn away by the Roots; I have thought  
 " it expedient to say something of the Business itself. It has been  
 " evident to you all, I suppose, for some time, how, in a manner  
 " contrary to Law and to the Rules of Honour, the *Guises*, Men of  
 " Foreign Extraction, removing the Princes of the Blood from the Helm,  
 " have usurped the Sovereignty in *France*: And this I suppose to have  
 " been abundantly cleared to You by Reasoning and by Books published  
 " upon the Subject. But what is the Drift of these pernicious and justly  
 " suspected Counsels, no one, I think, can be ignorant, who knows at  
 " least, from what Beginnings, and by what Course, Arts and Contri-  
 " vances this fatal Family has insinuated itself into *France*, and by the  
 " means of Intermarriages has insensibly risen to its present Grandeur.  
 " To make the Case more evident, since it is pertinent to the Purpose,  
 " I will recapitulate the Story from the first Original. *John* Duke of  
 " *Lorraine* (which Province, severed from the Kingdom of *France*, that  
 " Family at this time possesses as a Fief of the *German* Empire) left two  
 " Sons *Charles* and *Frederick*, by *Sophia* of *Wurtemberg*: Of whom when  
 " the former had been made the Father of many Children by *Margaret*,  
 " Daughter of *Robert* of *Bavaria* Count Palatine; *Isabella*, upon the  
 " Death of her Brothers and Sisters becoming Heiress of the Family, mar-  
 " ried *René* Son of *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* and Grandson of King *John*,  
 " and brought the Dutchy of *Lorraine* as a Portion into her Husband's  
 " Family. From this Match sprung *Jolande*, who, upon her Father *René*'s  
 " being taken Prisoner by *Philip* of *Burgundy*, after a tedious Confinement  
 " in the Castle of *Dijon*, married *Frederick de Vaudemont* the Son of  
 " *Anthony* and Grandson of *John* Duke of *Lorraine*. After this, upon  
 " the Death of *Lewis* the Elder Brother, *René* succeeded to the Kingdom  
 " of *Naples* and the Principality of *Provence*. At length, being driven

our



A. D. "out of the Kingdom of *Naples* by the *Arragonians*, after the Decease of  
 1560. "his Wife *Isabella*, he left his Son *John* in Possession of *Lorraine*, which  
 "had fallen to him by Inheritance from his Mother. *John* dying was  
 "succeeded by his Son *Nicolas*, who died before Marriage, whilst *René* still  
 "remained alive, and spent the remainder of his Days in *Provence* and *Anjou*.  
 "By the Death of *John* and his Son, *René* Son of *Frederick de Vaudemont* inhe-  
 "rited the Duchies of *Lorraine* and *Bar* in the year of Christ 1473;  
 "being excluded from the Inheritance of *Provence* by his Grandfather,  
 "who chose to bequeath That to *Charles* Count *du Maine*, his Bro-  
 "ther *Charles's* Son, the next Head of the Family of *Anjou* after his own  
 "Death, rather than to his Daughter *Jolande* and his Grandchildren by  
 "her, who were Foreigners; and whom, because he had been obliged,  
 "in order to free himself from the irksomeness of a long Imprisonment,  
 "to bestow his Daughter upon *Frederick* at that time his Enemy, he did  
 "not much love. This *René*, being indebted to *Philip* Duke of *Burgun-*  
 "dy, by whose Support his Father *Frederick* had taken *Jolande* to Wife,  
 "and by that Match had gained a Prospect of recovering *Lorraine*, re-  
 "turned the Favour abundantly to *Charles* the Son of *Philip*; when with  
 "detestable Ingratitude he surprised him at *Nancy*, and procured him to  
 "be perfidiously slain. He, having afterwards undertaken an unsuccess-  
 "ful Expedition into *Italy*, in order to enter upon the Succession of the  
 "Kingdom of *Naples*, and having commenced a Controversy for the  
 "County of *Provence*, with *Lewis* the XIth (who, by the last Will of  
 "Charles Count *du Maine* dying Childless, possessed it by a legal Right)  
 "nevertheless, out of a vain Ostentation for the Present, and with the unjust  
 "hopes of some future Advantage, retained the undue Titles, and trans-  
 "mitted them to his Posterity. The same Person, when at first he had  
 "insincerely courted and married *Margaret* Daughter of *William de Har-*  
 "cour Count *de Tancarville*, and Heiress of a very large Estate, which the  
 "House of *Lorraine* at this Day possesses in the *Pays de Caux*, and by the  
 "Marriage Articles had drawn from her a Grant of those Estates, after-  
 "wards, pretending Deformity and Barrenness, he repudiated that un-  
 "happy Woman, retaining her Fortune; and, during the Life-  
 "time of his Wife, married *Philippe* the Sister of *Charles* Duke of *Gel-*  
 "dres, by whom he had several Children. Of These, there survived  
 "the Father *Anthony*, *Claude* and *John*; the two latter of which first fixed  
 "their Residence in *France*. As for *Claude*, the Son of an ungrateful Father,  
 "that he might fill the measure of his Father's Ingratitude by Impiety,  
 "as if Ingratitude were a step to Impiety, endeavoured to deprive his  
 "Brother *Anthony* (because he had been born of *Philippe* in the Life-time  
 "of *Margaret*), as a Person begotten in Adultery, of the Succession to  
 "the Duchy of *Lorraine*; not so much as sparing the Honour of their  
 "Common Mother: Which having in vain attempted, and being de-  
 "feated in his impious Designs upon his own Country, he brought his  
 "unjust Pretensions with him into *France*, assuming even at that time,  
 "though privately, the Name of *Anjou*; and, having married *Antoinette*  
 "of *Bourbon* Aunt to the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*,  
 "through the Recommendation of his Brother *John* the Cardinal, who  
 "was



“ was in high Favour with *Francis*, he obtained the Government of *A.D.*  
 “ *Champagne* and *Brie*: And although under a brave King, and one, 1560.  
 “ who could not easily endure an Affront or Fraud to be put upon  
 “ the Royal Majesty, he covered his innate Ambition with the utmost  
 “ Dissimulation; nevertheless through the prevalence of Nature he  
 “ shewed his Temper, when to *Anthony*, who was infested, as he said,  
 “ by the Anabaptists, he carried Auxiliary Troops from his Govern-  
 “ ment without the King's Orders: Which was resented so highly by  
 “ *Francis*, who interpreted these Preludes as a Trial of his Patience,  
 “ that he would never probably have forgiven the Affront, but in  
 “ favour of his Brother *John*, and of *Anne de Montmorency*, who excused  
 “ the Action: And indeed he remitted it upon This condition; That  
 “ for the future *Claude* should abstain from Court, and not appear in  
 “ his presence. The remembrance of this Conduct having stuck fast  
 “ in the mind of that prudent Prince *Francis*, as long as he lived; at  
 “ his Death, amongst the salutary Precepts, which out of his Concern for  
 “ Posterity and the Realm he gave to his Son *Henry*, This was one of  
 “ the Principal, That he should beware of the Ambition of the *Guises*,  
 “ and consequently admit them to no Share of the Government. But  
 “ to what End do we mention these things? why, that All may un-  
 “ derstand, with what sort of Men we have to deal; namely with Them,  
 “ who burning with Hereditary Ambition and as it were with a traditional  
 “ Desire of invading the Rights of others, think of nothing less, than the  
 “ Destruction of the King and Royal Family, the Oppression of the  
 “ Kingdom's Liberty, and in short the total Overthrow of the Com-  
 “ monwealth; who value nothing, so that by Murders, criminal and  
 “ malicious Accusations and Outlawries, they may satisfy their private  
 “ Lust, and at last altogether abolish the Antient Honour of the *French*  
 “ Name by their Foreign Machinations. Now turn your Eyes to  
 “ Those Children of *Claude*, who at present govern the Realm. When  
 “ *Henry*, regardless of his Father's Admonitions, advanced the Lords of  
 “ *Lorraine* to publick Dignities; what bold Schemes did not they  
 “ immediately form? What Degree of Insolence did they not exercise?  
 “ Their first Attempts were laid against a Person, to whom their  
 “ Father owed his Safety, *viz.* *Montmorency* himself; whom they tried  
 “ to degrade from the Office of Master of the Palace, by proposing  
 “ an Edict, that such as held two Offices, should quit one at their  
 “ Option, and retain the other. Which when they could not obtain  
 “ from *Henry*, yet, that they might not seem to have advised the  
 “ Edict to no purpose, the Cardinal of *Lorraine* deprived his Colleague  
 “ *de Tournon* of the Order of *St. Michael*; and, under favour of an  
 “ Affinity contracted with the Dutchess *de Valentinois*, who by her  
 “ Fascinations influenced the King in every thing, gave such Counsel as  
 “ put the Court and the whole Kingdom into Confusion. By these  
 “ Methods *Peter Lizet* was displaced, who, notwithstanding his Aversion  
 “ to the Favourers of the Reformed Worship, had maintained the  
 “ Chief Post in the Parliament of *Paris* for twenty years together with  
 “ VOL. II. 5 U “ the



A. D. 1560. " the strictest Innocence, as his Poverty abundantly testified: His Accusation was, that he had not paid That Honour to the Lords of Lorraine, which he contended to be due only to the Princes of the Royal Blood. Afterwards *Francis Olivier* likewise, at his Instigation, was dismissed by *Valentinois*, because he knew that *Olivier* would do Justice with the Antient Strictness; whom nevertheless the Cardinal, to remove the Scandal of that Action, has lately drawn again from that Retirement, in which he lived happily at home, into the troublesome Sea of Business; that he might serve as an honourable and convenient Screen, not only for the Advancement of his private Interest, but to cover his Usurpation of an unlawful Power contrary to the Laws of the Realm. This same Cardinal, immediately after *Henry's* Coronation, making a Journey to *Rome*, and assuming the Title of *Anjou*, began to insinuate himself into the Royal Family. But *Montmorency*, perceiving the Tendency of that Family's ambitious Measures, persuaded the King, that he should admonish the Lords of *Lorraine*, to content themselves with the Arms of *Anjou*, and to abstain from the Title. The *Guises* at that time also returned a Grant, which by Flatteries and wicked Arts they had extorted from *Henry*, whilst he was Dauphin; whereby the good-natured Prince had promised to restore the Principality of *Provence*, when he should come to the Crown: Than which what can be invented or related more bold or more impudent? But the Duke of *Guise's* excellent Services to the King and Kingdom of *France* make a great Noise. Come then, let us, apart from all Passion, discuss this Point. The City of *Metz*, which had been taken by the admirable Diligence of *Montmorency*, he fortunately maintained against the powerful Army of *Charles V.* and the United Strength of all *Germany*. They who make the most of it, celebrate the Good Fortune more than the Valour of the Duke; to whom the Defence of a most strong City, guarded by the Flower of the *French* Nobility and the choicest Infantry, was committed, against an Emperor once indeed very famous. This indeed cannot be denied: But the Emperor was at that time decrepid, and undertook the Siege rather in a Fit of Despair, than with mature Deliberation; that he might recover the lost Affections of the *Germans*, and by some signal Exploit wipe off the ignominy, which he had lately sustained by his mean and sudden Flight from *Inspruck*; who in that Siege met with more Obstructions from foul Weather and a severe Winter, and from his Familiar Distemper the Gout, than from the Duke of *Guise* and Our Countrymen; who in the mean while sat under Shelter from the Weather, and securely laughed at the vain Attempts of the Enemy. Which Reflection having been frequently made by *Montmorency*, who lay encamped at a small distance against any Emergency, when it was related to the Duke, wounded the vain-glorious Man to the Heart, and increased the Animosities, which he had maintained for some time with his Rival. But the Reputation gained by the Defence of *Metz* was almost obliterated by the Fight of

" *Renty*;



" *Remy*; in which the Duke, having been carried by his Impetuosity A. D.  
 " to too great a Distance from the Field of Battle, was put in mind 1560.  
 " of his Duty, and brought back by Monsieur *De Chastillon*. From  
 " which time he has prosecuted his troublesome Monitor with an im-  
 " placable Hatred, which nothing but Death can put an End to.  
 " However, as to his other Military Services, I am not willing to im-  
 " peach his Conduct; but content myself with discovering the per-  
 " nicious Counsels of Him and his Brother the Cardinal, and leaving  
 " them to Your Consideration. But let us grant, that all the Duke  
 " of *Guise's* Actions in War are glorious; Are they of such Consequence,  
 " as to make amends for the Mischiefs and Calamities, which through  
 " his Ambition the Kingdom has sustained, and which have paved  
 " the way for future Misfortunes, whereof they themselves have volun-  
 " tarily laid the Foundation? During the Truce for five Years, when  
 " our Affairs were prosperous in *Italy* and the *Netherlands*, and the  
 " Enemy's Circumstances reduced to a low Ebb, All Men began to  
 " hope, that an honourable Peace would be settled in the Realm; In  
 " which Case, Their Projects, which subsisted by Wars and Troubles,  
 " must have vanished. For this reason they never rested, 'till, under  
 " Colour of defending the Pope, (a manifest Dotard, and one who  
 " suffered himself to be led about at the Pleasure of his Brother's Sons)  
 " they had disturbed the Peace; and, by violating the Truce at an  
 " unseasonable Juncture, and carrying with them the chief Strength  
 " of the Nation into *Italy*, they had betrayed *France* to the Enemy:  
 " What Evils have followed from thence, we all know, and cannot  
 " remember without Tears: Which They nevertheless, serving their  
 " own Interests by the Publick Disasters, have turned into an occasion  
 " of secret Joy. For when so many brave Generals were slain,  
 " and *Montmorency* with many others taken Prisoner at *St. Quintin*, the  
 " Duke of *Guise*, who had been unsuccessful in *Italy*, having, sooner  
 " than he expected, obtained his Darling Wish (namely, the Chief  
 " Command, upon the removal of his Rival), flew as it were in a  
 " triumphant manner into *France*; and, removing the Duke of *Nevers*  
 " from the Command of the Army, undertook the Siege of *Calais*  
 " (which had long been designed by Monsieur *De Senarpont*, and which  
 " *Montmorency*, if he had not been made Prisoner, would have exe-  
 " cuted); after the Place had been diligently viewed, and its Strength  
 " examined by *Peter Strozzi*. From the taking of this Town he gained  
 " a vast addition of Fame; and, although he had been highly indebted  
 " to the good Services of *D'Andelot* and *D'Estree*, he made an ill Re-  
 " quital to the former of these; whom by his Brother the Cardinal  
 " he traduced to the King, as a Person infected with the Poison of  
 " Heretical Pravity, and procured to be imprisoned; bestowing the  
 " Post of Colonel of the *French* Infantry upon *Montluc* a Creature of  
 " the *Lorrainers*. The like Indulgence of Fortune he experienced in  
 " the same Year; when, by attacking a Tower in pursuance of the  
 " same *Strozzi's* Advice, he took *Thionville*, which Monsieur *De Vieille-*  
 " *ville* had besieged for a long time. But when it had been agreed,  
 " that



A.D. 1560. " that, immediately after the taking of that City, the Duke of *Guise* should join Forces with *Paul de Thermes*, who with that Expectation had entered *Flanders*; he, who envied the Glory of *De Thermes* an excellent Man and most valiant Officer, spent the Time unprofitably in refreshing his Soldiers, as he pretended; and, by an affected Delay of more than twenty Days, left *De Thermes* and his Troops to be cut in pieces by the Enemy; with This View no doubt, that, when all the Generals should be removed out of the way, He alone might draw the whole Military Power into his own hands and Those of his Friends. Then, taking Occasion from the Publick Calamity, he renewed his Application for wresting the Dignity of Master of the Palace from the Captive *Montmorency*; but in This he failed, through the prevalency of that Interest, which *Montmorency*, though absent, preserved with his indulgent Master, over the Intrigues of the *Guises*. Why need I now mention the secret Cabals of the *Spaniards*, and the clandestine Schemes concerted with the Cardinal *Granvelle*, during the Negotiations of Peace; in order to foment a Civil War in *France*, under Pretences of Religion, when the Foreign War should cease? For to this Account must be charged that bloody Consultation, commonly known by the Name of the *Mercurial Convention*, holden in the Parliament at *Paris*, soon after the Peace; in the midst of which, at the Instigation of the *Guises*, the King unexpectedly entered the House; that by his Presence he might confirm the wild Rage of some Persons, and check the Freedom of Others in delivering their Sentiments: The Result of which Convention was, that Judgment passed upon the Judges themselves, as Favourers of Sectaries; and thus, by stripping an illustrious Order of its Authority, free Licence was granted for the meanest of the People to commit Outrages upon miserable Men. But if, during *Henry's* Life, whilst *Montmorency* had a considerable Influence, the *Guises* flattered themselves with executing their turbulent Counsels; what shall we now expect from them, when, after dismissing *Montmorency* and reducing the Princes of the Blood to Distress, they bear an absolute Sway, under a King who is a Boy, and a Queen who is their Kinswoman? Now then, I beseech You, let us call to mind what they have already done, and what they are likely to do hereafter; and from thence let us form a Judgment of their present Contrivances, and the Tendency of their wicked Counsels, if a timely stop be not put to them. Immediately after *Henry's* Death, when they sat at the Helm, they removed *Montmorency* from all Publick Administration, driving away the King's own Relations. But this may admit of an Excuse, because they could not depend upon the Strength of their own Authority, without destroying Theirs. But as it is the Nature of Ambition, that it knows no Measure, and cannot be confined within the Bounds of Moderation and Reason, nor even of Piety; at length they accomplished, what they had hitherto in vain attempted, his Degradation from the Office of Master of the Palace. And, from this beginning striking a Terror

" into



" into Others, they assumed the Priviledge of exercising an uncon- A.D.  
 " trouled Barbarity, introducing a new Face of Things, displacing the 1560.  
 " old Servants of the Realm, and substituting others: And, what  
 " exceeds all Cruelty, when Gentlemen, who had done good Service  
 " in War and Peace, demanded their Debts; and others, who had  
 " been at vast Expences for the Publick Cause, implored the King's  
 " Bounty; they erected a Gibbet for Payment, and presented a  
 " Halter instead of a Gratuity. And these things we see and hear,  
 " the Commonwealth yet standing. What will be done, when That  
 " is overturned? What, when the Clergy is plundered, the Nobility  
 " extinguished, the Freedom of Judges oppressed, and lastly the Com-  
 " monalty reduced to extream Poverty? Shall we expect Mercy  
 " from Those, who fear all Men, and have offended such Numbers?  
 " What then do we wait for? 'Till our Misery proves the Truth of  
 " that excellent and wise King *Francis's* Prediction, and of My Words?  
 " 'Till our cruel Masters lye so heavy upon our Necks, that they  
 " cannot be shaken off? Why then do we stay, and do not rather  
 " awake, that we may deliver the King from Danger, our Country  
 " from Fear, and Ourselves from the hard Yoke of Slavery? But the  
 " Royal Name stands in the way; with which these Robbers, impious  
 " to their own Kindred, ungrateful to our Countrymen, and cruel  
 " towards All, cover their Insolence as with a Shield; and brand, as  
 " Rebels, Such honest Men, as oppose Their unlawful Power, and  
 " assert the Authority of the States. This Scruple affects Many, through  
 " a false Notion of Obedience arising from Prejudice; which is now there-  
 " fore by the force of Argument, to be rooted out of People's Minds.  
 " The Voice of GOD requires, that we should submit to Kings,  
 " even when they command unjust things; and They, who refuse  
 " Obedience to the Powers ordained by GOD, do without doubt resist  
 " the Divine Will: Which obliges us to take the more care, since we  
 " see even Good and Innocent Men obnoxious to Calumny, that we  
 " do not commit any Action, whereby we may seem to have affronted  
 " the lawful Magistrate. But We are not at all concerned with the  
 " King; but against Traytors, that is, Enemies of the King and the  
 " Nation; who are so much the more dangerous, as they reside in  
 " the Heart of the Kingdom, and, supported by the Wealth of a  
 " young and ignorant King, assault the King himself and the Kingdom  
 " too with Impunity. Now then consider with yourselves; whether  
 " it is reasonable, that the Royal Name should protect Them, who  
 " meditate the King's Ruin, who lie in wait for the Liberty, Life and  
 " Fortunes of *Frenchmen*, and who lastly direct all their Counsels and  
 " Thoughts to the Destruction of the Commonwealth. For what do  
 " you think is the Drift of those sinister Reports, which have been  
 " industriously spread by them, of the King's Ill Health, and his  
 " shameful Distemper (and of which nevertheless they have charged  
 " the Invention upon Us)? but in order to make an Experiment of  
 " Our Patience, and discover their Intentions (when the King shall  
 " be removed out of the way, the Royal Family extinguished, and  
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A. D. 1560. "the chief Heads of the Nobility lopped off), of retaining by Force  
 "That Sovereignty, which they Now hold as Depositaries under  
 "the Reign of a Child. Whilst this is in their Thoughts, Who  
 "can think the Life of the King and of his Friends secure from Injury  
 "and Peril under such Guardians? But by their giving out, that the  
 "King is weakly and short-lived (which God forbid), they sufficiently  
 "declare, what wicked Hopes they have entertained; which, if For-  
 "tune does not favour, they seem ready to accelerate even before the time.  
 "But We, as we ought to do, both hope and pray, that He, whom  
 "they call short-lived, may enjoy a very long Life; and pour out  
 "daily Supplications for his Safety; waiting for that blessed Day,  
 "when he shall be capable of ruling the Kingdom by himself, and of  
 "lending a gracious Ear to our just Complaints. In the mean time,  
 "since his Life, and with it the Publick Safety, is in Danger, and there  
 "is no room for Delay; we, unless we would appear wanting to our  
 "Duty and ourselves, and prodigal of the *French* Honour, are  
 "bound, by the Fealty which we owe to our King and Country, to  
 "spend our Life, Pains and Fortunes; that we may avert Ruin  
 "from the King's Person, and remove the *Guises*, who lay snares for  
 "his Life and the whole Royal Family, from the Court. And now,  
 "in order to effect this with a safe Conscience, I desire you, in vin-  
 "dication of your Sincerity and Allegiance, to join with me in this  
 "publick Protestation, which I here openly make to God; that I will  
 "not speak, act, or think any thing against the King, the Queen  
 "Mother, the King's Brothers or the Princes of the Blood; but will  
 "preserve their Majesty and Dignity, the Liberty of my Country, and  
 "the Authority of the Laws from the Violence and Tyranny of Fo-  
 "reigners." When *La Renaudie*, concluding with these Words, desired  
 "to know of the Company, if this was desired and meant by them; they  
 "all with one Mind, rising from their Seats, gave their assent to the lat-  
 "ter part of his Speech; and not a Man was to be found, who, fright-  
 "ened with the difficulty of so entangled an Affair, thought any further  
 "Deliberation needful. In the next Place, the Protestation was engrossed,  
 "under which they thought themselves secure; then, the Acts, Evidences  
 "and Consultations of Lawyers and Divines being exhibited, they began  
 "to debate the method of Execution: Here it was resolved, that, in the  
 "first Place, a vast multitude of Men, unarmed and defenceless, should  
 "be sent forwards; who, by a Petition offered to the King, should  
 "humbly beg Liberty of Conscience, and an unmolested Profession of Reli-  
 "gion; that in the mean time a choice Party of Horse should patrol on  
 "the same day round about *Blois*, where the King then was; and,  
 "being received into the City by their Confederates, should start  
 "new Demands against the *Guises*: That These, upon their refusal to  
 "depart from Court, and to give an Account of their Administration,  
 "should be killed; and, then at last, the Prince of *Condé*, who desired his  
 "Name to be concealed till that critical Minute, should put himself at  
 "the Head of the Confederates. The 15th of *March* was the Day fix-  
 "ed for their General Meeting. But before they left *Nantes*, they sorted  
 "out



out amongst themselves the Provinces, from which they were to bring *A. D.* Succours; so that, to *James la Mote*, Baron de *Castelnau de Chalosse*, fell 1560. *Gascoigne*, to *Mazere* a Captain of Distinction the Territory of *Bearn*; *Perigord* and *Limousin* were assigned to *Du Mesnil*; *Poitou*, *Angoumois* and *Saintonge* to *De Vailly Brezé*; *Anjou* and *Maine* to *La Chesnaye*; *Normandy* was chosen by *Sainte Marie*; *Picardie* by *Coqueville*; *Champagne*, *Brie* and the *Isle of France*, by the younger *Ferrieres Maligny*; and lastly *Provence* by *Chasteauneuf*. Some Gentlemen of the first Rank were likewise disposed up and down the Kingdom; who were to see, that the Townsmen did not take an Alarm at the report of an Insurrection, and to hinder the Conveyance of Succours to the *Guises*. From thence they returned by different Ways, every Man to his own House, with the same Silence, with which they had come. *La Renaudie* himself repairs to *Paris*, in order to meet *Anthony Chandieu* the Pastor of the Church in *Paris* (who afterwards changed his Name to *Sadael*), and to acquaint him in Person with what had passed at *Nantes*: And it was really a wonderful thing in this Conspiracy, that the Hatred conceived against the *Guises* could prevail so far; that, before the Realm was torn with any Internal Commotions, or the Royal Majesty fallen into Disregard, the Populace accustomed to Rebellions, or the Gentry to Revolts; in short, whilst Allegiance was every where in full force; so many Men should assemble together from different Parts of the Kingdom, and, notwithstanding their Numbers, preserve their Fidelity and keep the Secret; insomuch that the *Guises* were sooner informed from *Germany*, *Italy* and *Spain*, than from the *Elies* (so their Emissaries were called) which hovered about the Country; and it was with much difficulty, that One Person in all *France* was at last found, who, though a Protestant, yet, trembling at the strangeness, and, as he thought, the pernicious Example of the Attempt, from a motive of Conscience, rather than from any hopes of Reward, divulged the Design. This was *Peter des Avanelles*, a *Parisian* Lawyer of considerable Learning, who had a House in the *Fauxbourg* of *S. Germain*; with whom *La Renaudie*, for his better Concealment, lodg'd. He, from the vast Crowds of People coming to his Guest, suspecting the matter as it was, fell at last into a familiar Conversation with *La Renaudie*; and, having understood the thing from him, which he pretended at first to favour, when he had long revolved it in his Mind, was astonished with the Greatness and Hazard of the Attempt, and persuaded that it could not be done with a safe Conscience; whereupon he goes to *Stephen L'Allemant* *Sieur de Vouzay* Master of Requests, who managed all the Cardinal of *Lorraine's* secret Affairs, and, in the presence of *Milet* the Duke of *Guise's* Secretary, discovers the Plot. His Information hardly met with Credit; but, because Intelligence came every Day to the *Guises* from distant Places, that Snares were laid for them, which, if extream Care were not taken, threatened them with utter Destruction, *De Vouzay* thought the Discovery not to be neglected: Pursuant to His Opinion, *Milet*, carrying *des Avanelles* with him, rides Post to the Duke of *Guise*; who with the King had just then departed from *Blois*, in order to go to *Amboise*,  
a small



A. D. a small Town, and therefore requiring a less Garrison, and besides 1560. well defended with a large and strong Castle; which unexpected Alteration is thought to have put the measures of the Confederates into no little Confusion. Upon the Road *Des Arvanelles* confers with the Cardinal; and when amongst the Conspirators he had named a certain Person of Quality, who had a Brother at Court, the Cardinal by His Means seduces the Other; and, attempting him either by Threats or Careses, learns the whole Scheme of a Plot, scarce before suspected: Which contributed very much to the Separation and Surprizal of the Confederates. In the mean time *des Arvanelles* was detained, and by the Duke's Orders sent forwards to *Amboise* in Custody; that, if the Information proved false, He should be responsible for the Calumny; but, if true, they might use his Testimony for the Conviction of the Accomplices. The whole Court was filled with Consternation, every one remaining in Suspence and Uncertainty of the Event. Then the Marshall *Francis de Montmorency* was commanded to send, under a strong Guard to the King, *Robert Stewart*, *Anselme Soubelles*, and the Bailly of *S. Aignan*, who were confined in the Castle *du Bois de Vincennes*, because they were thought Abettors of the Plot: These were presently conducted to *Amboise*, masked and single, that they might not talk together, nor be known by any: And because a Doubt arose concerning the Brothers Admiral *Coligny* and *D'Andelot*, whether They too had not corresponded with the Conspirators; the *Guises*, who feared their Wealth and Power, but much more their Valour, advised *Catherine*, that by Letters full of kind Expressions she should summon them to Court on pretence of consulting with them upon an Affair of Moment: These immediately repaired to her with their Brother the Cardinal: And, when they were admitted to a private Conference with *Catherine*, *Coligny*, in the presence of *Francis Olivier*, having obtained Liberty of Speech, vehemently inveighed against the new and violent Administration of the Government, and affirmed the greatest part of the Nation to be provoked and discontented upon that Account; of whom nevertheless he did not despair, but that they might be brought back to their Duty and be pacified, if the Punishments, inflicted throughout *France* upon unhappy Men, were intermitted, and Liberty of Conscience granted, till by the Sentiments of a Lawful and Free Council the Religious Controversies might be composed. *Olivier*, who was excessively zealous for reforming the Church, and besides hated all severe Sentences in such sort of Causes, caught greedily at those Words of *Coligny*, and carried them to the *Guise*; advising, as the most likely Remedy for softening the People's Passions, that by a publick Edict a Pardon should be granted for past Offences, and hopes given of shortly holding a Free Council, with an allowance of Liberty to Consciences in the mean time. The *Guise*s approved the Expedient, as accommodated to allay the approaching Storm: Accordingly an Edict was soon drawn up to that purpose; from the benefit of which the Preachers were excluded, and whosoever under colour of Religion had conspired against the King, his Mother and Brothers and the other Princes and Ministers of State, and in short against



against the Royal Authority, and who had rescued Prisoners out of the hands *A. D.* of the Apparitors, intercepted the King's Letters and Orders, and detained 1560. the Bearers of them. This Edict was sent to the Parliament; and, upon *Giles de Bourdin* the Royal Procurator's pressing the Matter, because it came recommended by Letters of the *Guises*, it was registered without Delay, on the 12th day of *March*; together with a secret Arret of Parliament, to which, when they should afterwards come to the Execution and Interpretation of the Edict, recourse should be had. In the mean time the Duke of *Guise* bestirred himself, sending Persons through the Provinces to raise Recruits, and to exhort the Gentry to take Arms for the King: To the same purpose Letters were directed to the Governours, with Instructions, that, whomsoever they should find in Arms, either Horse or Foot, making their way towards *Amboise*, they should secure them. *Philibert de Marfilly* Sieur de *Cipierre* was sent to *Orleans*; whither the Prince of *Condé* came shortly after in his way to Court; and, when he had there understood the Discovery of the Plot, nevertheless pursued his Journey: And *La Renaudie* himself was so obstinate, that, although he knew of the same, yet he could not be diverted from his purpose; and he experienced the like Resolution and Fidelity in all his Comrades. But, when on the 4th day of *March* he had arrived at *Carreliere en Vendômois*, not far from *Amboise*; as the Conspirators came to him from all Parts, he appointed the 17th day of *March* for the General Rendezvous: For, the Place being altered, there was a necessity for altering the Time. *La Renaudie* had set apart about five hundred Horse of the Gentry and a Company of Foot, whom he had drawn out of a greater number from the Neighbourhood of *Amboise*: And This Order was agreed upon; that the Younger *Maligny* should conduct sixty of the Chief Gentlemen and Officers into the Town to the Prince of *Condé*, and, because the Inns were very streight, should conceal them in Cellars and Garrets. Another, whose Name was not divulged, had undertaken to lead Thirty, and to bestow them in the Castle. *La Renaudie*, followed chiefly by *Castelnau* and *Mazere*, was, in the Evening before the Day appointed, to be at *Noizay* not far from *Amboise* with the remaining Forces; which he was to send into the Town in the morning by small Parties, that they might not be suspected. He himself had resolved to enter *Amboise* about the Hour of Dinner, having ordered part of his Men to seize the Gates of the Town, and part to apprehend the *Guises*: Which being done, a Signal was to be erected upon the Top of the Castle, at the sight of which, the rest of the Forces, which lay concealed in a neighbouring Wood, should run thither, and through the Park-Gate enter the Castle. Amongst Those, to whom the Scheme had been communicated, was one *Lignieres* a Captain, who had also plighted his Fidelity: But He, either repenting of the Fact, or corrupted with Money, goes about that time to *Amboise*, and opens the Matter to *Catherine*; and giving her the Clew of the last Plan agreed upon for the Execution, tells the Names of the Commanders, and the Places through which they were respectively to advance, together with the Quarters. By his Information the *Guises* being



A. D. being acquainted with the Measures concerted, and having a good  
 1560. number of Armed Men about them (who, according to the singular  
 Fidelity of *Frenchmen* to their Sovereign, had taken an Alarm at the King's  
 Danger, and flocked thither from all parts), they send Detachments to  
 all the Places marked out; which, marching in Companies and pene-  
 trating by Night into the Wood, might surprize the single Parties of  
 the Conspirators. Before all things, they repaired to *Frédoumiere*, the  
 Place first appointed for the Rendezvous, whilst the Plot was designed  
 to be executed at *Blois*. But *Messieurs Francis* and *Madalene de Constance*,  
 the Lords of the Place, had fled from thence with all their Friends:  
*Davins* was taken, with about twenty of the Conspirators; who, seeing  
 the Plot detected, secretly made their Escape. Many others also were  
 made Prisoners, who were afterwards led in Troops to *Ambaise*. But  
 Within, in order to provide for their Security, the *Guises* had changed  
 the Royal Guards, and ordered the Park-Gate to be barricaded. Then,  
 that the neighbouring Cities might be kept in order, *Lewis de Bueil*  
*Count de Sancerre* was immediately sent to *Tours*, *Francis de Sepeaux*  
*Sieur de Vieilleville* to *Orleans*, the Marshall *Paul de Thermes* to *Blois*, the  
*Duke de Montpensier* to *Angers*, *Claude de la Roche-foucault* *Sieur de Bar-*  
*bestene* to *Bourges*, and *Claude Coucy Burie* to *Poitiers*. Neither was this  
 done without a Design: For these Gentlemen, being generally suspected  
 by the *Guises*, were as it were banished to Cities, from which there  
 was the least Apprehension; and thus, under an honourable Pretence,  
 removed from the King's Presence and Their Company. After This,  
 when *De Bueil* had learned, that some Armed Men were assembled in  
 the Suburb of *Tours*, on the Road leading to *Plessis*, he hastens thither with  
 his Followers: And, when he had found *Castellau* and *Mazere* there,  
 covered with Coats of Mail under their Cloaks, he demanded, whither  
 they were marching: Upon their answering, that they were going to  
 the King, *de Bueil*, representing to them, that their Habit and Posture  
 were improper for Peaceful Men, and producing the King's Orders  
 for seizing all Persons who were upon the Road in Arms, would fain  
 have detained them Prisoners. But They, by the help of their  
 Friends, not only delivered themselves from Danger, but without  
 Blood shed drove *de Bueil* into the Town; who, in vain calling to Arms  
 and crying out *Treason*, when he saw no body come out of doors to  
 his Assistance, suspecting the Townsmen to be concerned in the Con-  
 spiracy, and fearing more from the City than from *Castellau*, presently  
 wrote to the *Guise* an Account of what had passed between Him, *Castellau*  
 and the Townsmen at *Tours*, and demanded Succours. *Saint-André* there-  
 fore was sent thither, but to no purpose: For *Castellau* had by this time  
 sent his Men back to *Sumar*; and himself, crossing the River, as it  
 had been agreed, had joined *Mazere* at *Noizay*. And in truth there  
 was some Ground at that time for suspecting the Fidelity of the In-  
 habitants of *Tours*, most of whom embraced the New Religion; inso-  
 much that from that Place, the ridiculous and odious Name of  
*Eugene* now took its first Rise; by which, They, who had been for-  
 merly stiled *Lutherans*, were afterwards vulgarly denominated all over  
 France.



France. The Original of it was This: As every City with Us has *A. D.* peculiar Names, for such imaginary Bug-bears and Hobgoblins, as are 1560. invented by Nurses and others in order to frighten Children and Simple Women; at *Tours*, one King *Hugh* is celebrated, who is said to ride about the Skirts of the Town in the Night, and to beat and strip every one he meets. From hence the Name of *Hugonots* was given to Those, who in like manner, in the Night-time (because they could not do it in the Day), met together by Troops in the same Places, to Pray and hear Sermons. The King being informed, that notwithstanding the Discovery of the Plot, *Castelneau* and his Accomplices were arrived at *Noizay*, forthwith sent thither *James* of *Savoy* Duke de *Nemours*, by the Direction of the *Guises*, with whom He was strictly united, that he might intercept the Conspirators, or by some means or other hinder their Attempts. *De Nemours*, hastening with a flying Party to *Noizay*, surprises *Mazere* and *Ramay*, as they were walking before the Castle. Upon which, *Castelneau*, sending word to *La Renaudie* of the Mischance befallen to his Companions, immediately shuts himself up with his Men in the Castle; which *De Nemours*, disposing his Troops in proper Stations, invests; and, carrying his Prisoners *Mazere* and *Ramay* to *Ambaise*, returns again immediately after Dinner, with about five hundred Horse, drawn from the confused Multitude of the King's Retinue. At length he summons *Castelneau* to a Parley; who, having in vain sent a Courier to *La Renaudie*, when he found that no Succours could be sent in Time, thought of doing his business rather by Words than by Arms. Hereupon *De Nemours* demands of the Conspirators the reason of their coming; putting them in mind, that the Requests of the People ought not to be carried to the King by the way of Sedition and Tumult: For, if there were any things, wherein they desired Satisfaction, why did not they wait upon the King peaceably and humbly, rather than, contrary to the known Laws of Allegiance, and the faithful Practise of the *French* for so many Ages, prepare Arms and Violence? They ought therefore to lay down their Arms, and disperse their Forces; lest their first Rashness might involve them in greater Guilt, and bring a Scandal hereafter upon the *French* Name by some unheard-of Villany. Besides this, he promised them, upon their Submission, his Protection, a ready Admission to the King, and perfect Safety. To this Speech the Multitude answered, that Instructions had been given to *Castelneau*, which He was to carry to the King: Then *Castelneau* began to speak; and, after professing his Allegiance and Fidelity to the King; declared, that the Confederates entertained no turbulent or seditious Thoughts; but that there were many things, which, if he might be permitted by the *Guises*, he was desirous of saying before the King himself: And he did not despair, but that their New Sovereign, if he was not influenced by the Anger of others, would pay some regard to the just Petition of so many well-deserving Subjects. Then he lashed the *Guises* for their Insolence, Pride, and extravagant Grandeur beyond the Rank of Private Men, whereby they paved the Way to an Usurpation of the



A. D. of the Sovereignty itself; and said, that the Confederates had assembled, on purpose to expostulate with the King concerning Their Outrages; and had taken up Arms against Them, not against the King, and That rightfully: For when should they afterwards dare to desire Redress, if they did not seasonably, by Force of Arms, nip the growing Power of these Men in the Bud? Or what Relief could they hereafter expect, unless the Publick Administration were managed according to the antient Laws of the Realm? At which Words, the Rabble flocked about the Duke of *Nemours*; and besought him to persuade the King, that he would receive the Complaints of so many poor and innocent Men; and that the Protection of the Laws, which was taken from them by the Iniquity of their new Masters, might be restored: After much Disputing and Confusion of Voices, Assurances being given by *De Nemours*, that, if they would go along with him to the King, they should suffer no Harm, nor be put under any Confinement, *Castelneau* proceeds with his Followers to *Amboise*; where when the Conspirators required an Audience of the King, and appealed to *De Nemours's* Word of Honour, they were not only refused, but bound and cast into Prison. In the mean time, *La Renaudie*, who was already upon the Road, hearing of *Raimay's* and *Maxere's* Misfortune (for the Express sent by *Castelneau* had used extraordinary Diligence) pursues his March with all possible Speed; in hopes both of relieving *Castelneau*, and easily making himself Master of *Amboise*, which he supposed to be destitute of Soldiers. This happened on the 15th day of *March*. The next Day, the Foot, who marched through the Wood in small Parties, being surprised, before they could join one another, by several Detachments of Horse, which had been informed of every thing by Scouts, were either put to the Sword, or taken Prisoners with little trouble; and, being hand-cuffed and tied to the Tails of Horses, were carried as it were in Triumph into the Town; to some an unacceptable, but to most People a piteous Spectacle: Of These very many, before a Question had scarce been put to them, were hanged, just as they were, booted and spurred, upon the Battlements of the Castle: The *Guises* demanded the immediate Execution of the Chief Officers, as necessary for the sake of Example: But they were opposed by *Olivier*, who thought it best to wait the final Event. However from hence the Duke of *Guise* took Occasion to obtain a Patent, wherein the King created him (as the worthiest and most deserving Man in the Realm) Lieutenant General and Prime Minister; after a Preamble, setting forth; that at first he had chosen to restrain his Subjects by Mildness and Indulgence rather than by Severity, but that he had experienced the same Fortune with his Father; and, since he saw the People generally rendered so much the more obstinate, he had judged it necessary to employ the Force of Legal Authority against the Seditious: That, in the same Manner, that his Father had suppressed the turbulent Citizens of *Bourdeaux*, he himself, with regard to Those, who, falling into the detestable Crime of Rebellion, knew not how to make a right Use of his Clemency, would take the Advantage of his Prerogative.



gative. The Patent, drawn up by the Secretary *Florimond Robertet de A.D. Fresne*, with the usual Clause of, *With the Advice of the Council*, being 1560. brought to *Olivier* to be sealed; He, who had heard nothing of the matter, and did not care to see the Power of the *Guises* increased, of whose Violence he was heartily weary, at first refused to set the Seal: But, when the Duke, impatient of a Repulse, insisted upon it, *Olivier* complied; after he had obtained, in order to lessen the Scandal of that Patent, that on the same day, viz. the 18th of *March*, an Edict should be published; wherein Pardon was granted to Those, who for the Cause of Religion had met in Arms, rather through Simplicity than Design; provided they laid down their Arms, and within four and twenty hours returned every man to his own house; and, to remove all Suspicion of Mischief, did not march with a greater Retinue than of two or three Men; and that the same Persons should be allowed, when they had quitted their Arms, to wait upon the King, and offer their Prayers and Petitions. On the following day, *La Renaudie*, who pursued his way by long Journeys to *Amboise*, in the Wood of *Chasteau Regnaud*, was met by *Monsieur De Pardaillan*, sent thither by the King with a Party of Horse to pick up the Conspirators; upon whose galloping towards him, when *Pardaillan's* Pistol missed Fire, *La Renaudie* closes in, and runs him through the Body with a Sword; but, as he was grappling with his Adversary, he was presently killed by a Pistol-Shot discharged at him by *Pardaillan's* Page. His Body was carried into the City, and fixed to a Gibbet upon the Bridge, with this Title hung about the Neck, *The Ringleader of the Rebels*. Then, when it had served long enough for Show, it was quartered, and the Limbs set upon Poles without the City. Two also of his Domesticks were taken, one of whom named *La Bigne*, who was said to be perfectly instructed in all his Master's Counsels, was put to the Question, and compelled to explain ingenuously some Papers written in Cypher. He, yielding to the Force of the Torture, disclosed the whole Affair, and explained the Measures concerted against the *Guises*. In those Papers was contained the Protestation drawn up in the Assembly at *Nantes*, and a Petition to be offered to the King, at a Meeting of the States, in the Name of the *Lutherans*; wherein, after an honourable Profession of Loyalty to the King, they desired a Mitigation of the Sentences, and a Remission of the Punishments. *La Bigne*, being examined about the other Accomplices and principal Leaders of the Conspiracy besides those already taken, and particularly about the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*; and not naming Them, but saying, that he heard the Prince of *Condé* mentioned, as the Man, who, if Fortune had favoured the Enterprize, would have appeared to head it; from thence the *Guises* conjectured, since *Condé* had been concerned, that *Gaspar de Coligny* and *D'Andelot*, united to him both by Blood and Affection, were doubtless privy to the Design, though *Catherine* asserted the contrary: For which reason, they still feared, lest this first Commotion, howsoever stifled, might be followed by a Greater; and therefore they affirmed Exemplary Punishment to be necessary, that the Boldness



A. D. of the more powerful Malecontents might be restrained by the Severities exercised towards the Inferior Officers. But, whilst *Olivier* was contriving Delays, behold! the Conspirators, notwithstanding the Disappointment of the Plot, resume their Courage, and order one Captain *De la Motte*, to march at the head of some trusty Fellows, who with a Party in the Town, which they knew to be secretly inclined to their Interest, should take Arms at a signal given: Then *Coqueville* and *Des Champs* were commanded to the Suburb, which faces *Vendôme*, in order to seize the Bridge; whilst *Bertrand Chandieu*, the Brother of *Anthony* the Pastor, should advance from *Blois* with a choice Party to the Convent of the *Minimes*, and, through a Wicker-Gate, near the River, which was very weak and might be burst open with a Man's Heel (for That had been observed), force their way into the City. But when *Chandieu* had come late, and not 'till the Day began to break; at the sight of Armed Men wearing white Scarfs across their Breasts, the whole Town rung to Arms; and, Guards being immediately placed at the Gates, this final Effort of the Conspirators miscarried. Yet, the Gates being shut (for within all things were full of Confusion), they had time enough to make their Retreat. Some however were taken, who went on foot, and were shortly after drowned in the River. With this Accident the *Guises* being exasperated, and *Olivier* precluded from offering Excuses, the Indulgence, granted by the last Edict, was revoked by a publick Proclamation; because the Conspirators, having relapsed into the Crime, remitted by that Edict, were unworthy to reap the benefit of it; and Detachments were sent out again, to pick up the Stragglers; and, though they might be returning home, to apprehend them and bring them to *Amboise*: Amongst these was taken the Younger *Villemongey*, *Briquemaui's* Brother: And because the People loudly murmured, that so many Men were every day thrust into Prison and hurried to Execution, the Ranger of the District of *Amboise* was ordered to scour the Wood, and, whomsoever he should find in Arms, to put them to death without Process. Under Colour of this Order, several Merchants were taken, robbed and killed. Then, by the King's Command, the Prince of *Condé*, who was in the Castle, was stopped, and forbidden to depart from Court without His Majesty's Licence; which Affront he dissembled with consummate Prudence. In the next place, a new Guard of Carbineers was instituted, under the Command of *Anthony du Plessis* Seigneur *De Richelieu*, commonly called *the Monk*, because he had professed that sort of Life, and afterwards renouncing his Vow had run into all manner of Excess and Debauchery. Which thing, done by the *Guises* under pretence of the King's Safety, most People thought to be contrived for the Security of their own Persons. Then came on the Tryal of the Prisoners: But the Sentences and Punishments of Many were precipitated; whilst some were hanged in the night-time upon the Battlements of the Castle; others, the sight of whom was thought likely to affect the People, were drowned; tho' great numbers were in the day-time hurried in an unusual manner to Execution, without any Label certifying the Crime, or the usual



usual Proclamation of the Executioner, and lastly with their Names *A. D.* suppressed; so that the Dead-bodies floated upon the River, the 1560. Streets of the Town swam with Blood, and the Cross-ways bore a horrid Forest of Gibbets loaded with Men. The Leaders were preserved to the last; that, by Torture, the secret Abettors of the Conspiracy might be known from their Confession. The first Person produced was *Raunay*; who, informed of *La Bigne's* Confession, when he saw the whole Scheme detected, upon a Promise of Life made to him, as usual, by the Committee, if he would ingenuously confess what he knew, subscribed *La Bigne's* Information. But being examined, whether the Life of the King himself was not likewise aimed at by the Conspirators, he constantly denied it; and, though he was put to the cruellest Tortures, affirmed nothing more to be designed, than the Murder of the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*. Then he was confronted with *Mazere*; who acknowledged indeed, what *Raunay* had said to be true; but when he was questioned in relation to the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, whether They too were not privy, he firmly denied it of the King of *Navarre*; but that he had heard from *La Renaudie*, that the Prince of *Condé* would have headed the Conspiracy, if it had taken Effect. There remained the Baron *De Castelnau*; who, being confronted with *Raunay* and *Mazere*; rejected the Testimony of them both, for reasons allowed by the Law, by proving *Mazere* to be a Madman, and alledging several Instances of Frenzy; but, with regard to *Raunay*, by affirming, that there had been an old Grudge betwixt them, upon account of which they had fought. Then the Discourse falling upon the Subject of Religion, when he produced several Texts of Scripture; *Olivier*, pretending to wonder, how a Man, bred up to Arms from his Youth, should so soon have become a Divine; asked him in a sneering way, where he had studied the sacred Books: To which words *Castelnau* answered, that, during his late Captivity in the *Netherlands*, he had relieved the Irksomeness of a Prison by the reading of the Scriptures; and when he had told the same thing to *Olivier* at his Seat of *Lewville*, where he paid him a respectful Visit at his Return, the Chancellor had very much commended him for it: Accordingly he could not but wonder in His Turn, how a Man of tried Probity and Prudence should now at Court, in favour of the *Guises*, so shamefully change his Opinion, as to condemn That, which at home, when he was free from ambitious Thoughts, he had lately approved; and, when the Time was approaching, that he must give an account of his Life to God, should choose to please Men rather than God himself. Here the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, as if, when the Question turned upon Theological Controversies, it was His Province to speak, took up the Discourse, and pursued it with *Castelnau*; whilst *Olivier*, who secretly favoured the New Religion, but condemned the Licentiousness of Subjects in taking Arms upon that account against the Prince, sat silent. *Castelnau* was in high favour with the Lords of the Court: And therefore *Helionore d'Orleans* Duke of *Longueville*, *Coligny* and *Andelot*, and lastly the Duke d'*Aumale* himself, Brother to the *Guises*,



*A. D. Guises*, earnestly besought the King, that the Man might be pardoned; 1560. for that he had been drawn aside by the Heat of Religion, and not by any Evil Intention, to lend his Name to the Conspiracy; and that otherwise he was a brave Officer, and of known Fidelity and Prudence. To these things they added, the Honour of his Family and the Merits of his Ancestors; reviving also the Memory of a Fact almost forgotten, in order to gain his Pardon of the King. For, some years before, *Charles Duke of Orleans*, in that very Town, being attended with a select Company of young Lords, in which were *Castelneau* and his Brother; when he had mixed himself, in Disguise, with a Crowd of Coblers, who were looked upon as stout Fellows, and were revelling upon a Holiday; in the wantonness of the Sport there arose such a fierce Quarrel, that, the Duke's Retinue being repulsed and dispersed by the Numbers or Force of those Men, hot with Wine and provoked with the Affront, he himself was almost born down in the narrow Streets, and in imminent danger of his Life; but with difficulty he was preserved by the help of the Brothers *de Castelneau*, who cried out, that it was the King's Son, whom they assaulted: One of the Brothers, interposing to stop the Fury of the Rabble, was killed by them, before he could be heard; and the Other, the present Criminal, after receiving a dangerous Wound, had at last saved *Charles's* Life at the hazard of his Own. But, notwithstanding all this, and though *Catherine* remembered the Fact, and seemed to yield to the Prayer of those Gentlemen, his Pardon could not be obtained of the King; through the contrary Clamours of the *Guises*, who affirmed it to be necessary for Example's sake, and for the King's Safety, that no Indulgence should be extended to a Crime of so heinous a nature. When therefore the Sentence was read, by which *Castelneau* stood condemned as a Traytor, the Man, impatient of Injury, could not command his Tongue, but, "I am innocent (says he) of this Crime; as I am not conscious of any wicked Design either against the King, his Mother, Wife, Brothers or Kinsmen, who are the Persons comprehended within the Laws made against Treason. If to take Arms against the *Guises*, Men of Foreign Extraction, and Usurpers of the Government in opposition to the Laws of the Realm, be Treason, they ought first to be declared Kings; which, let Posterity see, that they do not some time or other affect. For My approaching Death, and the Thought of a Better Life, set me free from that Apprehension." With which words he submitted his Neck to the Axe. After his Death a Libel was found concealed in his House, wherein the Plan of the Design formed against the *Guises* was contained; and with it a Protestation, whereby the Conspirators engaged themselves to preserve the King's Person sacred. On the same day Many others suffered Death; who, appealing to God, since their Appeal to Men was not admitted, implored the Divine Vengeance. Amongst these, the *Sieur de Villemorey* before mentioned, when he had foretold a Series of Wars, Slaughters, Desolation and final Ruin, which the Ambition of the *Guises* would bring upon the Realm; at last, dipping his



his Hands in the Blood of his Comrades, who had been put to death *A. D.* before him, and lifting them up to Heaven, "See, says he, Great 1560. " and Good GOD, the innocent Blood of thy People, which Thou " will not suffer to pass unrevenge": Which were his last Words. The *Guises* had taken care, that the King's Brothers should be Spectators of these Executions, on purpose (as Many, who resented that Proceeding, gave out) to inure them from their Childhood to shed the Blood of their Subjects. The Lords also and all the Ladies of the Court stood at the Windows to see the Spectacle: Only *Anne da Este*, the Duke of *Guise's* Wife, a tender-hearted Woman (and who from her Infancy, at *Ferrara*, under her Mother *Renée*, had imbibed the Doctrine, which was then persecuted, from her Acquaintance and Conversation with *Olympia Morata* an accomplished and learned Lady), is said to have shed Tears; and of her own accord to have admonished *Catherine*, that, if she desired the Safety of the King and Kingdom, she should abstain from the Capital Punishment of Innocent Men. The Younger *Maligny* had fallen under a Suspicion, as if he had been concerned in the Plot. And indeed this appeared from the Confessions of the condemned Criminals: Nay he was even charged with taking a sudden resolution, after the Discovery of the Design, of killing the Duke of *Guise* with his own hand, when the latter should be retiring at Midnight almost alone from the King's Bed-chamber in the Castle to his Own; which having communicated to the Prince of *Condé*, he was forbidden by him to attempt it: He therefore, having reason to be afraid, made his escape by the help of a fleet Horse lent him by *De Vaux* the Prince's Master of the Horse. When his Flight came to be known, and by whose Assistance he had escaped, *De Vaux* was apprehended by the King's Command; and upon this occasion the former Suspicions were increased against the Prince of *Condé*; whom the *Guises*, not venturing to charge him openly, traduced to *Catherine* by secret Accusations. The Cardinal insisted chiefly upon the Confessions of condemned Persons, Grounds of Suspicion, Presumptions, and his secret Favour to the Lutherans; and pressed, that a timely Stop might be put to the impending Calamities: For that *France* was now torn to pieces by Civil Animosities, and there were already some people, who called themselves Partizans of the Prince of *Condé*: That, if seasonable Remedies were not applied, in a short time the Kingdom would be split into more Factions. To these things he added, that Arms were privately lodged in the Prince's House, and his Retinue went every day armed about the Palace: That this Licentiousness was to be cured by making Examples, which, the more illustrious they were, would scatter the greater Terror amongst the Rest. *Catherine*, giving Ear to an Information, in which she was so nearly concerned, commanded the Prince's House to be narrowly searched, sending *Nicolas de Brichanteau* Sieur de *Beauvais* Nangy for that purpose. But when He, after curiously searching all the Corners of the House and even the Trunks, could find nothing; all that she had to do, was to comply with the Cardinal's Advice of calling the Prince before her; upon whose appearing, she



A.D. acquainted him with the common Reports and the suspicious Whispers, 1560 and admonished him not to stain his Honour for the future by mixing with seditious and abandoned Wretches. The Cardinal stood by; who, putting on an Air of Modesty and Friendliness, took up *Catherine's* Discourse; and, after begging him to pay a regard to the Counsel of the prudent Queen, asked *Condé*, whether he was willing, that the Criminals under Confinement should be produced, and examined by the Queen, whilst he himself should lie concealed behind the Tapestry, within hearing. But this Proposal the Prince refused; saying, that He was not a Person, who could lie hid with Decency, or concerning whom any Interrogatories ought to be proposed. Nevertheless afterwards, when he had consulted with his Friends, whether he should attempt his Defence, or suffer the Rumour and Credulity of the Vulgar to wear off with Time, he was first of Opinion to dissemble the matter: But, when he found to his Grief, that the King himself reproached him with the same thing, and that the Embassadors, who were about the King, by Letters to their Masters had propagated that Report; calling to mind his Honour, and being impatient of an infamous Character, he demanded a publick Audience of the King; and, in the presence of *Catherine*, the *Guise* and the Foreign Embassadors, after he had, with his usual Fluency, by Arguments best suited to his Circumstances, purged himself with extraordinary Confidence; he subjoined, That if there was any Man, who accused him of attempting the Fidelity of Cities, or of corrupting the *French* to the Destruction of the King, or of contriving the late Conspiracy, he was ready to lay aside the Prerogative of his Honour, and to defend his Innocency by Arms. Whilst he was yet speaking, the Duke of *Guise* took the Words out of his Mouth, and proclaimed, that it was an intolerable thing, that a Prince of such Eminence should lie under so flagrant a Calumny; that He also was ready, if a Combat might be permitted, to share the Danger in behalf of the Prince's Innocency. These things being said on each side (whether with greater Assurance on the Prince's part, or Dissimulation on the part of the Duke, is uncertain), when no Body appeared to accept the Challenge; the Prince, in an humble posture, besought the King, that he would not hearken for the future to such sort of Calumnies, but consider him as a faithful Subject and a most observant Kinsman. The King of *Navarre* was likewise secretly charged by the same Cardinal with bearing a share in the Conspiracy; and there was indeed room for Jealousy, because *Mazere* one of the Conspirators, supported by His Favour, had married a rich Wife in the Principality of *Bearne*, and was reckoned amongst his Domesticks: But it quashed the Suspicion, that, at the same time, by the Orders of the King and *Catherine*, he had routed a Body of two thousand Men, who at the Instigation of *La Renaudie* had taken Arms in the *Agenois*. *John de Ferrieres* commonly called *the Elder Maligny*, as a Person intimately acquainted with the King of *Navarre*, fell also under Suspicion; and was obliged, in order to save himself, to leave the Court. But *Des Arvanelles*, after the Insurrection was suppressed, either fearing for his Safety, or influenced by



by Repentance, that he might remove himself far from the Sight of *A.D.* Those, whom he had so grievously offended, imposed upon himself a 1560. voluntary Exile, and retired into *Lorraine*; being rewarded by the Duke of *Lorraine*, at *Guise's* Recommendation, with the Bailiwick of a certain Town, wherein he might exercise his Industry: A Good Man in other respects, and Learned, and one, who all his Life-time embraced the Doctrine of the Protestants; and, when ever any *Frenchmen* fled their Country, upon their travelling that way, he assisted them with his Purse, and did them all the Good Offices possible, from the very Time almost, that he left *France*; so that it appears, that he was moved by Conscience (as thinking all Cabals and clandestine Counsels to be unjustifiable under a Lawful Government), rather than by Hopes or Rewards, to discover the Design to the Ruin of his Friends.

About this time, *Olivier*, tired with the present State of Things, and worn out, not so much by Old Age, as by Chagrin, fell into a fatal Distemper; with which whilst he was struggling, he is reported to have received the Cardinal, who came to visit him, with a Look of Aversion, and to have turned his Back upon him; frequently uttering reproachful Expressions, whereby he meant to signify, that the Cardinal had forced him upon disagreeable Measures; and thus, amidst Sighs and Groans, this excellent Patriot resigned his Soul to GOD: The fittest Man, without all dispute, for that high Station, if he had lived in better Times, or had found his excellent Counsels more favourably received by Those, who held the Reins and governed the Minds of his Sovereigns! His Death occasioned a long Debate at Court, concerning the Choice of a Successor. *John de Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*, a Favourite of the *Guises*, but a Man of Prudence and Gentleness, refused the Offer of that Dignity; which he is said to have done, not so much out of Modesty, as from his Apprehensions of the impending Calamities; for the encountering of which, openly acknowledging his Unfitness, he cast the Burthen from him: But it is more true, that, contenting himself with having the Place offered to him, he vainly affected the Reputation of Modesty by his Refusal; because, knowing it to be designed by the King for Another, he despaired of obtaining it: This other Person was *Michael de l'Hospital*, one of no great Family, but of singular Virtue and Courage; who, having run through all the Honours of the *Long Robe* with the highest Character of Prudence, Learning and Probity, first as a grave Counsellor of Parliament, then as President of the Court of Accounts, afterwards as Extraordinary Master of Requests, and lastly as Counsellor of the sacred Consistory (before that Honour, by being imparted to greater numbers, fell into Disrepute); had lately waited upon *Margaret* with her Husband the Duke of *Savoy* as far as *Nice*, in the Capacity of her Chancellor. This Nomination was procured by the Interest of Mademoiselle *Jacqueline de Lony* the Duke of *Montpensier's* Wife, who held the first place at that time in *Catherine's* Friendship; a Woman of admirable Parts, and One, who cast a jealous Eye upon the growing Power of the *Guises*. This Lady infused her own Fears into *Catherine*, who



A. D. 1560. who had experienced the Violence of the *Guises*; and shewed her a certain way for arriving at the Sovereignty which she panted after, by proposing the Choice of a Minister, through whose salutary Admonitions she might defeat their pernicious Counsels: It happened too opportunely, for the more easy compassing of the Business, that he was also in high favour with the Cardinal of *Lorraine*: For he had punctually paid his Court to the Cardinal; and had also gained some Share in the King's Affection, by the Character of his Worth, and the Credit of some beautiful Verses, which he had lately published for the Instruction of the Royal Infants. *Catherine* therefore takes an early Opportunity, and obtains this Dignity of the King for *De l'Hospital*; the *Guises*, when the thing was finished, giving their Consent: She then took care to have it secretly signified to him, that he owed his Promotion to Her, and not to the *Guises*; and that she hoped therefore, he would hereafter pay more regard to the King and Her, than to Them, whose Ambition all men already detested. Nor was *Catherine* deceived in her Expectations. For there has not been a Man, for many Ages backwards, more worthy of that high Office, or, who with more Virtue and Constancy, opposed the Torrent of Ambition and Avarice at Court. But, in his assiduous Labours for restoring the antient Honour of *France*, and forming the King's tender Years and Manners, he was so stiffly opposed by a Combination of the Chief Lords; that from hence Men of Experience might conjecture, that the Kingdom would soon take some fatal Turn. Upon the Receipt of the Message, *De l'Hospital*, who knew that *John Bertrandi*, then a Cardinal and gone to *Italy*, had been created Vice-chancellor, after *Olivier*'s Dismission, upon This Condition, that, if *Olivier* died first, He should succeed in that honourable Post; and that a Patent had been sent to him by King *Henry* to that purpose, and registered in Parliament; refused to enter upon the Magistracy, till *Bertrandi* had renounced the Right acquired by that Parliamentary Confirmation.

The End of the Twenty Fourth B O O K.

BOOK





## BOOK XXV.

## A R G U M E N T.

*Letters sent from the King to the Parliaments and Governours, and to the King of Navarre himself, upon the Suppression of the Tumult. The thing vastly exaggerated in the Parliament of Paris, and the Duke of Guise honoured with the Title of Preserver of his Country. Letters also sent by the King to the Princes of Germany upon that Subject. Messieurs de Coligny, being now suspected, leave the Court. The Edict of Romorantin; whereby the Trial of Sectaries is left to the Bishops, and the Civil Courts deprived of all That Jurisdiction concerning them, for which the Parliament had so obstinately contended above five years before; De l'Hospital giving way to it, and, since he could not hold on a right Course, shifting his Sails; that he might not shipwreck the Commonwealth upon the Rocks of the Spanish Inquisition, which was then pressed for. Severe Penalties in the same Edict against unlawful Clubs and Cabals, and Seditious Disputes about Religion; with a Reward to Informers, and an additional Clause, for the prevention of Calumnies, that false Informers should suffer the same Pains that were provided for the Criminals: Pastors are also commanded to attend the Care of their Flock. By De l'Hospital's Advice, an Assembly of the Princes and Chief Lords is summoned to meet at Fontaine-bleau. New Seeds of Animosity sown between the Guises and Montmorency, on occasion of a Controversy started between de Boullainvilliers and Messieurs de Rambures Brothers by the Mother's side, concerning the County of Dampmartin; Montmorency having purchased the Right from One Party, and the Duke of Guise from the Other. The Prudence and Equity of the Parliament in that Cause. Sentence at last passes in favour of Boullainvilliers, from whom Montmorency derived his Title. Francis de Vendosme, one of the First of the French Nobility, disaffected to the Guises. The King comes to Tours, and at his Entrance is received with ridiculous Ceremony. Catherine, disgusted with the Guises, shews more Indulgence to the Protestant Party. A Treatise, under the Name of Theophile, presented to Catherine in behalf of their Innocency, by Francis Camus the Son of a Glover belonging to the Household, a young Man of great Simplicity and wonderful Candour; whom I afterwards saw an Old Man; and from whom I learnt many things relating*



lating to these Matters, which I have delivered with the same Fidelity, that I received them: He had then spent his Life in Voyages into the East; and, travelling frequently to Egypt with his Wife, had often discoursed familiarly with John Melenius Patriarch of Alexandria; and he constantly traded with so much Credit, that he seems to deserve Credit in every thing else. A Book published against the Guises, intitled *The Tyger*, the Publisher of which (for no Discovery could be gained of the Author even by the most exquisite Tortures) is hanged. The Prince of Condé leaves the Court, and retires to Nerac in the Dutchy of Albret, to his Brother the King of Navarre. La Planche, the chief Writer of these Affairs, is taken aside by Catherine; and, being desired to assign the Causes of these Troubles, boldly and freely answers; that the Guises ought to be reduced to a Lower Rank, and that the Princes of the Blood should be restored to the Post of Prerogative, from which they had been degraded, and to their Dignity. At Fontaine-bleau, a solemn Assembly is holden; at which Gaspar de Coligny offers a Petition for Liberty of Religion. Grave Speeches, made by John de Montluc Bishop of Valence, and Charles de Marillac Archbishop of Vienne; and the Bishops ordered to hold themselves in readiness for an OEcumenical Council: And in case such an one cannot be obtained from the Pope, it is pronounced, that the King would act adviseably, if he thought of celebrating a National Council by the first Opportunity; and, if the Punishments, decreed against the Sectaries, were in the mean time intermitted; and likewise, if the vile methods of Bargain and Sale were banished out of the Church: For that otherwise it would happen, as St. Bernard foretold; That CHRIST would descend from Heaven, and, resuming the Scourge, would in an ignominious manner drive the Priests, as he formerly did the Merchants; out of his Temple. After this, an Assembly of the States is proclaimed, and Troops distributed throughout the Provinces at the Discretion of the Guises. La Sague, betrayed by Bonneval, is seized with many Letters about him directed to the King of Navarre. Francis de Vendosme committed Prisoner to the Bastile. A vain Attempt for surprising Lions. The Cardinal de Bourbon, being deceived, leads his Brothers into an Error. Francis de Barbançon Sieur de Cani, and Robert de la Haye apprehended. The Protestant Doctrine spreads in Dauphiné. Valence taken by Lawrence de Maugiron and pillaged. Charles de Monbrun takes Arms, and raises Troubles in the County of Venaiscin; and, failing of Success, flies to the Swiss Cantons. The Brothers Anthony and Paul de Mouvens take Arms in like manner for Religion in Provence: Anthony, in a Tumult at Draguignan, is cruelly slain: Paul flies to Geneva; who in the following years distinguished himself amongst the People of his own Persuasion by his Military Atchievements. Disturbances, upon account of Religion, in the Dutchy of Bretagne.

A. D.  
1560.



THE Tumult of Amboise being suppressed, Anne de Montmorency (whilst he was at Chantilly, preparing for a Journey into Poitou and Bretagne, in order to visit his Daughter Joan the Wife of Lewis de la Trimouille, and to see Chasteau Briand and his other Estates) receives a Letter from



from the King, by which he is commanded to repair to the Parlia- *A. D.*  
ment, and there, in the King's Name, to give an Account of the *1560.*  
Transactions at *Amboise*. He went accordingly, on the 28th day of *March*,  
into the Parliament-House, and complied with the King's Or-  
ders; commending the Duke of *Guise* and his Brother the Cardinal,  
for their excellent Service in that Affair. However in the Discharge of this  
Office, he gave but little Satisfaction to the *Guises*; when he said, that  
hardly any Private Man could endure, that, in order to assault one of his  
Friends or Acquaintance, his House should be broken open; much less  
could a King endure, that a Band of Seditious Men should meet toge-  
ther to assault his principal Ministers, and to invest the Castle of *Am-  
boise*, where he was. For the *Guises* desired to have it said and be-  
lieved, that the Conspiracy was laid against the King, his Mother *Catherine*  
and his Brothers, by a Company of Men, who had first discarded the  
Faith, that they owed to *God*; which once violated, they had not  
scrupled to attack the King himself; in order to overturn the Royal  
Government, and, by confounding all Ranks, to reduce it into the Form  
of a Republick, after the Example of the *Swiss-Cantons*. In the Par-  
liament, every thing was extolled beyond measure, through the Prone-  
ness of Obsequious Men to pay their Court to the Ministry; so that,  
when the Members sent a Rescript to the King, in a Letter, which,  
contrary to Custom and in a manner unworthy of their Dignity, they  
subjoined to the Duke of *Guise*, they basely flattered him with the  
Title of *Preserver of his Country*. A Copy of the King's Letter was dis-  
patched to all the Governours of Provinces, on the last day of *March*;  
and they were admonished, to take effectual Care, that no Commo-  
tions were raised upon that Occasion. To which Letter, because many  
things were said against the Protestants, as Promoters of Rebellion,  
an Answer was returned by certain Persons; wherein the whole Blame  
was thrown upon the *Guises*; who, as they contended, ought to render  
an Account of their Administration in a General Assembly of the  
States. Which Answer was sent by unknown Hands to *Paris* and *Rouen*,  
and conveyed to the Parliament of each City. As for That of *Paris*,  
neglecting the matter, they sent the Paper by an Apparitor to the Car-  
dinal: But when the Parliament of *Rouen* had deputed a Committee of  
their Members to carry the writing to the King; the *Guises*, fearing,  
lest the Story, being divulged and more curiously examined, might  
create them a greater Load of Ill-will, excluded them from the King's  
Presence, and obliged them to return home. In the next Place, on the  
9th day of *April*, the King writ an accurate Narrative of the whole  
Affair to the King of *Navarre*, the Governour of *Guienne*; saying,  
that it was owing to the Providence and Mercy of *God*, that by the  
Discovery of that treasonable Conspiracy he was preserved; and giving  
a particular Detail of the whole Transaction, which, he said, had been  
misrepresented by the Reports of Malignants: For that after a diligent  
Inquiry it plainly appeared to him, that some Persons guilty of Capi-  
tal Crimes, or under Sentence of Condemnation, or apprehensive of  
condign Punishment, had conspired to destroy Him, his Mother *Cathe-  
rine*,



A. D. *rimé*, his Wife and his Brothers; and, incited by a mischievous Rage, had  
 1560. endeavoured to introduce a New Form of Government. Which when  
 they could not openly effect, by arming the Populace, whose Loyalty  
 to their Sovereign Prince has always been inviolable, they had concerted  
 the Villany with certain Ministers of the New Religion; Men of tur-  
 bulent Dispositions; who, under Colour of Piety, excited a great number  
 of injudicious People to take a share in that monstrous Enterprize; in Con-  
 fidence, that by the force of Arms they should obtain from their Prince  
 the Toleration of a Sect, which has so often been solemnly con-  
 demned; and, if this did not succeed, that the Palace might be stormed  
 This was written in Terms of great Asperity, without any mention of  
 the *Guises*, who took that care, to remove the Scandal of the thing from  
 themselves, and lay it upon the King. Many things were said of the  
 Prince of *Condé* in a very handsome manner; which yet, whilst  
 they excused him, glanced at his Character: Namely, that he had  
 been heavily impeached by the rest of the Conspirators; which how-  
 ever the King knew to be a malicious Fiction of his Accusers; and ac-  
 cordingly rejoiced to see the Innocency of his dear Kinsman cleared up  
 by more substantial Vouchers. He then proceeded to intreat them  
 both, that, with joint Affection, they would contribute their Service to  
 the Commonwealth. And, as for *Navarre* himself, who was easily  
 caught with the Bait of Promises, he exhorted Him to employ his  
 Sword, in rooting out the Remains of the Conspiracy; naming some  
 particular Incendiaries, as *Boisnormand*, and *David*, an unfrocked Fryar,  
 who went about from one Party to the other: Nor did *Navarre* fail of  
 vigorously executing his Orders; but, after routing a Body of undisci-  
 plined Forces in the *Aginois*, exercised extream Severity against suspect-  
 ed Persons, and drove them almost out of all *Guienne*. Letters were  
 then sent likewise to Foreign Princes: And, because the Confederated  
 Princes of *Germany* were said to have been privately solicited, and were  
 loudly reported to have encouraged the Conspirators by their Advice  
 and Good Wishes; there was deputed to *Frederick* Elector *Palatin*, *Philip*  
*Landgrave of Hesse* and *Christopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, *Bernardin Boche-*  
*tel*, afterwards Bishop of *Remes*, under the Pretence of confirming the  
 Friendship with them; that, after putting them mind of the late Servi-  
 ces done them by his Majesty's Father, he might expound the Series of the  
 Transaction of *Amboise*. It was added to his Instructions, that certain Per-  
 sons, being questioned by Tortures, had confessed many things con-  
 cerning Them, as if they had abetted the Conspiracy; which however  
 the King looked upon as false and groundless: For that Changes in the  
 Government of neighbouring Realms could be advantageous to none  
 less, than to the Princes of *Germany*: They ought therefore to preserve  
 the King's Amity inviolable, which they had lately found so bene-  
 ficial, and prefer the antient and quiet State of *France* to Novelties and  
 Cominations. To this the *German* Princes, after a magnificent Com-  
 memoration of the King's Friendship and their old League with the  
*French*, and a decent and modest mention of themselves, answered in  
 few Words; That they had never concerned themselves with the Schemes  
 of



## Book XXV. OF HIS OWN TIME.

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of Seditious Men; that they held the Power of Kings and Magistrates in sacred Veneration: But that the King could not be too cautious, how he shewed an extraordinary Indulgence to some Persons, who, incited more by their private Malice and Lust than the Good of the Realm, exercised Cruelties towards Men, never before found guilty of any Crime: They besought the King therefore, that he would moderate the Punishment of Innocent Men, and forbear inflicting cruel and precipitate Severities upon their Brethren of the same Religion: That it should seem to be the likeliest Method of establishing Tranquillity in France, if (what had succeeded so well in Germany some Years before) Peace were granted to the Minds and Consciences of Men. At the same time, the Brothers *de Coligny* departed from Court, fearing the Power of the *Guises*, to whom *Gaspar de Coligny*, with too much freedom, in his private Conferences with *Catherine*, had shewn himself an Enemy. But when the latter came to take leave of *Catherine*, he received Orders to go to *Normandy*, and endeavour the Suppression of the Troubles in that Province, to inquire into the Causes of the Tumult, and give her a punctual Account of them: Which indeed he diligently performed, and, laying the Blame of those Disturbances upon the *Guises*, again admonished *Catherine*; that, if she desired the Safety of the King and Kingdom, she should procure the Edicts made in favour of the Protestants to be religiously observed, and command a stop to be put to the Punishment of harmless Men. After this, the Prisoners, confined at *Blois*, when they had been several times examined, and some even by Tortures, privately furnishing themselves with Ropes and breaking the Bars, made their Escape. Shortly after, they likewise, who were at *Tours*, and amongst them *Robert Stewart* and *Anselme de Soubelles*, who had been brought from the Castle of *Vincennes*, did the like. The Bailiff of *S. Aignan*, endeavouring to escape, was so bruised by a Fall, that he was retaken and thrown again into Prison. Those Gentlemen, after their Flight, writ taunting Letters, which they took care to have conveyed to the Cardinal of *Lorraine's* hands: But, what vexed him to the Heart, was, that in those Letters they pretended, that they had been heartily grieved for the Flight of the Prisoners at *Blois*, because they thought it would trouble his Eminence; and that They therefore had likewise run away, with a design of overtaking the Fugitives; which they hoped to accomplish, and to bring them back to him in a short time with a more numerous Retinue. Upon this, the Man, who was naturally timorous, fearing lest new Commotions might spring from this Accident, advised the publishing a Proclamation; by which, in the Preamble the King set forth, that he was unwilling to have the first part of his Reign distinguished by the Punishments and Calamities of his Subjects; but, after the Example of his Heavenly Father, he desired to spare the Blood of Wretches, to consult their Welfare, and, if possible, bring them back into the Way; and that he placed more dependance on Clemency than on the Severity of Laws: Accordingly he forgave all Offences committed on the account of Religion, to Those who should return to the Worship of the *Roman* Church. Then, in the month of *May*, the



A.D. Edict of *Romorantin*, so called from the Place, was made; wherein the 1560. King declares himself chiefly concerned for Two things, Piety and Tranquillity; and in the first Article decrees, that the Cognizance of Criminal Sects should remain with the Bishops; depriving the Civil Courts of all That Jurisdiction therein, for which the Parliament of *Paris*, as we have related, contended so stiffly above five Years before. And yet the Writers of this Age ascribe that Alteration to the singular Prudence of *De l' Hospital*, who, being born down by the Impetuosity of the *Guises*, and unable to steer a streight Course in the Civil Administration, by shifting Sails at least gained One Point, that he prevented the Vessel from splitting upon the Rocks of the *Spanish Inquisition* (the introducing of which had often been debated in the Reign of *Henry II.* and was now pressed by the *Guises* with the most ardent Zeal, as the most likely means of establishing their Interest), and so weathered that dangerous Gulph without exposing the State to certain Mischief. But in the other part of the Edict it was provided, that None should dispute in a seditious Manner concerning Religion in Conventicles or unlawful Meetings, nor draw armed Men together: There was a further Command given to the Provosts and Puisney Judges, from whom there lay no Appeal, that they should make diligent search after Criminals, and confiscate the Estates of Condemned Persons: In the same Edict Rewards were promised to Informers: But, lest a handle might seem thereby to be given to Raisers of Calumny, it was added, that false Accusers should suffer the same Penalty as Criminals. The Pastors were moreover commanded to attend diligently the Care of the Flock committed to them, and by their Presence, Example, Manners and Preaching of the Word, to confirm the fluctuating Minds of their Parishioners. From that time, either through Fear or Cunning, the Cardinal shewed himself more merciful towards suspected Persons; and gave an easy Admittance to the Ministers themselves, not slighting their Addresses, but even frequently hearing them dispute upon Religious Controversies: And, that he might give hopes of more peaceable Days for the future, and satisfy the Complaints of Many, who urged a General Assembly of the States; he proposed to *Catherine*, that she should summon a Convention of the Princes, chief Counsellors and Knights to *Fontaine-bleau*, where they might consult together for the Benefit of the Realm. Not long after, new Seeds of Offence were sown between *Montmorency* and the *Guises*, who made but an ill Return for the honourable Service lately done to them by the Constable in Parliament. For when a Dispute had arisen between *Philip de Boullainvilliers* and *Odard de Rambures*, Brothers by the Mother's side, concerning the County of *Dampmartin*, of which each of them pleaded a Grant from their Common Mother, and *Montmorency* had bought *Boullainvilliers's* Right; the Duke, who would sooner have deserted the strongest Engagement in the World, than let slip any opportunity of giving Trouble to his Rival, in a short time after, acquainting *Montmorency* first with the Design, purchased *Rambures's* Interest at a great Price; and also solicited *Boullainvilliers*, that, annulling the Bargain made with *Montmorency*, he should transfer his Right upon the Duke's Brother the



the Cardinal, as his Patron, under the Title of a Donation: But the *A.D.* Contrivance did not succeed. A Royal Commission was obtained by 1560. each Party, whereby *Montmorency* was substituted in the Place of *Boullainvilliers*, and the Duke in That of *Rambures*. But the Parliament, which observed their Friends beginning to flock into the City from all parts, and apprehended Danger from the eagerness of the respective Parties, to prevent Blood-shed, prudently decreed, taking no notice of the Commissions, that the Suit already commenced should be prosecuted and determined under the Names of *Boullainvilliers* and *Rambures*. It is scarce to be told, how most of the Nobles were provoked with the injurious Treatment of *Montmorency*; not so much for His sake, as because they esteemed it an unworthy thing to trample upon a vanquished Man, and thought themselves liable to be affected by the Precedent. It is certain, that the Vidame of *Chartres* was said to be violently enraged, and, in a Discourse with *Gabriel de Montmorency* *Sieur de Monberon*, the Constable's Son, at *Paris*, to have pronounced, "That the Insolence of the *Guises* was not to be any longer endured: "That the Patience of their Kings and Nobles had been sufficiently "tried in the Reign of *Francis*, by their Father *Claude's* carrying Troops "into *Alsace*, and daring to dispossess *Philip de Chabot*, in his life-time, "of the Government of *Burgundy*; and by the Behaviour of the present *Francis*, after his Father's Example, by taking the Province of "Dauphiné from *Laurence de Maugiron*: And lately, when the Suppression of the Lutherans (as they are called) was in agitation, the "Duke of *Guise* had said in words of high Contempt, That he would "begin with *Anthony d'Asse* Seigneur de *Grammont* the Vidame's Brother-in-law, as being a *Gascon*, and consequently more safely to be prosecuted. But that *Grammont*, descended from the illustrious House of *Asse* "in *Bigorre*, and adopted by the Cardinal de *Grammont* into his Family "and Arms, by the Marriage of his Brother's Daughter, was a Person "of great Distinction amongst the *Gascons*, whom the Duke named "with such Contempt; and, if there were occasion, could bring "with him as numerous a Retinue of Vassals, as the Lords of *Lorraine* "themselves: That Messieurs de *Ferrieres* *Maligny*, his Sister *Louise de Vendôme's* Sons, were maliciously prosecuted by them for the same "Cause." In short he concluded, "That, since the Power of the "Guises foreboded the manifest Ruin of the Kingdom and of the "French Nobility (in which he himself bore a considerable part); he would "employ his Fortunes and all Lawful Means in conjunction with the "Princes of the Blood and the Nobility, to oppose the Dominion of "insolent Men, whom he did not doubt of easily reducing to Order: "For that He (this was added by way of Return for the Affront put "upon the *Gascons*) who would make a just Estimate of the Princes "of *Lorraine* and their petty Sovereignty, would, in comparison of "Them, consider the Others as Constellations in the Firmament of the "whole Christian World." This not being said so secretly, but that it reached the Ears of the *Guises*, hastened the Vidame's Ruin, as most People imagine.



A. D. 1560. In the mean time, the King, preparing to leave *Amboise*, before he went out of the Dutchy of *Touraine*, resolved, at the persuation of the *Guises*, to make his solemn Entrance into *Tours*: Which carried the Appearance of an Honour done to the City, but was generally otherwise interpreted; as if it were cunningly contrived, that the King might by his presence confirm a City deservedly suspected, and which in the time of the Insurrection seemed to waver, and might bring the remaining Conspirators, if any could there be found, to condign Punishment. The Seigneur *de Richelieu* was sent before, with a Party of Carabineers exactly like himself. This Man, watching for an opportunity of raising a Sedition, and from thence of pillaging the City, when he had refrained from no sort of Outrage, found, contrary to his Hopes, that the Citizens bore all his affected Injuries and Provocations with an obstinate Patience: Because they had been apprized of his Intentions, and were resolved to wait the King's Arrival without giving the least Offence. But, on the day of the King's Entry, there happened a ridiculous thing (by chance, as the Citizens say, but, as I rather think, designedly) which sorely galled the jealous Hearts of the *Guises*. A Baker's Son being desirous of seeing the King, the Father dressed him out for the Sight in This Fashion: He covers a Mill-Afs with his Wife's Smock, and sets the Boy upon it, with his Eyes blinded with a Handkerchief, and a wooden Helmet, on the Top of which sat a red-headed Bird like a Parrot, which continually pecked the Crest with her Bill: Then two young Men, dressed like *Aethiopians*, having their Faces daubed with Ink and a Foreign Habit, led the Afs on each side by the Bridle. This Pageant most people took to be meant for a Representation of the Government, which was possessed by a Young King, blind for want of Years and by the Art of his Ministers, but administered by Foreigners: Nevertheless the Magistrates made an Excuse for it, as done by an ignorant Fellow. On the same day, that the King arrived, he retired to *Marmoustier* beyond the River. *Richelieu*, vexed to leave a Place without any notable Adventures, from whence he had conceived such hopes of a rich Booty, at last made use of This Device, in order either to draw the Townsmen into an Offence, or else to involve them in the Offence of Others. When he had run through the City at Midnight, singing Psalms in the Vulgar Tongue, loud enough to be heard in every Corner, and, contrary to his Expectation, could get no body to join him; he then fell to singing ludicrous and malicious Songs against the King, *Catherine* and the *Guises*, wantonly beating Passengers, and breaking Windows all the Night long with his Companions. The next day he gave Information of the Fact, which he represented to the King and *Catherine*, as committed by a Remnant of the Mutineers of *Amboise*; on purpose, that he might provoke the King to take a precipitate Revenge upon the City of *Tours* already suspected; and that, before the Truth could appear, the City might be abandoned to the Pillage of Him and his Soldiers: And in reality the City was upon the Brink of Ruin, the King being prodigiously incensed; and it was with difficulty that the Mayor and Aldermen could prevail



prevail by their Prayers, that a strict Enquiry might be made into the *A. D.* Truth of the Fact. At length the Shame of this scandalous Calumny <sup>1560.</sup> fell upon the Authors, and the Innocency of the Citizens was proved to the King's Satisfaction. Only the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, that he might shew them not to be altogether blameless, upbraided them before the King, for having suffered *David*, the Deserter above-mentioned, to scatter his wicked Doctrine in publick Sermons. This Man was then Chaplain to the King of *Navarre's* Wife; and, having been afterwards, in prospect of bettering his Condition, won over by the Cardinal of *Lorraine* (who wanted to sift out the Secrets of *Navarre's* Family), and deluded by him, met with this Reward of his Fickleness and Treachery, that he became justly suspected and unacceptable to each Party, and at last died in extream Want.

*Catherine*, hating these Arts of the *Guises*, thought it incumbent upon her to deal more cautiously with them for the future; and, either that she was disgusted with the Violence of the *Guises*, or desired to know the Secrets of the Protestants, by the means of *Chastellux* her Almoner, she courts the Affections of that afflicted People; and obtains from them, that *Anthony Chandieu*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, and well versed in Theological Studies, who taught, as she understood, at *Paris*, might be sent to her; pretending, that she extreamly wanted to talk with him, and hoped, because of his Birth and universal Reputation for Sincerity and Learning, that she might learn from him the true Causes of the Insurrection and the properest Remedies. *Chastellux*, having communicated the thing to *Herman Tasm*, one of *Catherine's* Gentlemen of the Chamber, who was not averse to the Protestant Doctrine, repairs to *Tours*, in order to gain intelligence in that place, where *Chandieu* was. But he was then absent from *Paris*, and from the whole Kingdom; and *Charles d'Albiac du Plessis* acted as Minister in that City; who, when he was desired to come to Court in *Chandieu's* room, excusing himself to his Friends by *Catherine's* Insincerity and the hazard of a Compliance, refused to go. It was resolved therefore to give *Catherine* Satisfaction by a Writing; which contained in substance,

“ That in the Tumult of *Amboise* Arms were taken up, not against  
 “ the King, or *Catherine* herself, or the Royal Brothers, but against  
 “ Those Men, who in opposition to the Laws of the Realm had  
 “ usurped the Publick Administration; and who, with a capricious  
 “ Tyranny endeavoured not only to plague the Body, but to reduce  
 “ the Minds and Consciences of Men to a miserable Servitude: To  
 “ Their Ambition, for instance, it was owing, that no Benefit could  
 “ be taken of the Edicts made in favour of the Protestants, and of  
 “ Those who had taken Arms for the Liberty of their Country: That,  
 “ in the Promulgation of them, the Civil Courts had annexed many  
 “ things contrary to the King's Intention, by an Arret of Parliament,  
 “ for the Concealment of the Fraud: That the Duke of *Nemours*,  
 “ who had promised Indemnity to the Confederates, thought himself  
 “ acquitted of his Engagement; so that in Their Cause the Decree of  
 “ the Council of *Constance* was renewed, which declared, that no Faith



A. D. 1560. "ought to be kept with Sectaries: That, lastly, the King's Ears were closed to the Complaints of suppliant and miserable Men against the Cruelty and Avarice of the *Guises*; who, having been fleshed with the Slaughter of Innocents in the War of the Boors about thirty five years ago, and always from that time accustomed to Blood, now thirsted continually for the Blood of *Frenchmen*: By the Craft of the same Men it was brought about, that the Hopes of the Council so often promised were disappointed, and the Method of holding it was so preposterously concerted, that the chief Direction of it was left to those very Men, who caused the Grievance, that is, the Prelates; and that the King, who ought to preside, and to see, that the Controversies should be decided by the Word of GOD, held but the second place: For these Evils there were but two Remedies; namely, to call a free Assembly of the States, and to settle a Lawful Administration by their Authority according to the Laws of the Realm: For, Peace being once established, a better Provision would be made for Religion, than if the Business were begun in troublesome Times: In the mean while, there ought to be a Cessation of Punishment, and a Liberty allowed to Consciences; which Who could bear to see insnared into a necessity of receiving Human Traditions and Modes of Worship, framed by the Will of every Man, and not in pursuance of the Divine Command? The Publick Profession of Religion ought also to be permitted, till by the Sentence of a Lawful Council the Disputes might be ended, and Peace restored to the Church: In which Council, it was not to be doubted, but that Their Cause would appear Superiour." This Treatise, subscribed with the Name of *Theophile*, was given to *Francis Camus*, the Son of *Catherine's* Glover, that he might convey it to *Chastelluz*: Whom not finding at Court (because he had lately made a journey to *Margaret* the Duke of *Savoy's* Wife), by the Advice of *De Paz* *Sieur de Feuquieres*, and of *Mademoiselle Claude de Beaune*, *Catherine's* intimate Confident, he resolved to deliver the Writing, into *Catherine's* hands: And, finding her at *Loches* in the Convent of *Beaulieu*, in a narrow and dark Passage, he presented her with the Writing, and with a Confession of Faith, lately made at *Paris*, wrapt up in the same Pacquet, and immediately retired out of her Sight. Behind *Catherine*, followed the Queen her Daughter-in-law, who by the general Direction of her Unkles had a watchful Eye upon her: *Catherine* therefore, since the thing could not be hid, put the Writing into her Hands, that she might impart it to the *Guises*. Immediately *Camus* was sent for, and, whilst Questions were proposed to him about *Theophile*, of what Province he was; upon the coming up of the King and the *Guises*, a fresh Injury was started by the Cardinal, whether he did not know the Chief of the Conspiracy of *Amboise* to be a Prince of the Blood: Upon his confessing nothing, he was referred to *De l'Hospital*; who, in the presence of *Charles de Marillac* Archbishop of *Vienne* and *John de Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*, again interrogates him concerning the Author of the Libel; whom he constantly affirmed to be one *Theophile Bordenave* a Native of *Gascogne*, from whom he had lately received



ceived it at *Tours*, with orders to carry it to *Catherine*. Then, partly A.D. with hopes of Pardon, partly with fear of Punishment (a fictitious Sentence of Death being read aloud to him in the usual Form), *Camus* being distracted, upon his Confessing nothing else, was cast into a Dungeon at *Loches*; from whence he was shortly after removed to *Romorantin*, upon the King's coming thither. Being strictly examined as to the Look, Stature, Appearance and Abode of that Man, whom he named *Theophile*, he returned a pertinent Answer to every Question; except the improbability of his saying, that, the Man had retired to *Geneva*; which he asserted, on purpose, that, if he were carried thither in order to find him out, he might find means of escaping. But through the prattling of *Camus's* Sisters, who were at *Tours*, when it came to be known that *Theophile* was a feigned Name; He, fearing for his Accomplices, lest, whilst the Author remained uncertain, they should all be brought into Trouble, confesses, that the Writing had been given to him by *Claude Servin*, whom he knew to be far enough removed from Danger. Then, being again questioned about *La Garaye*, a Person concerned in the Conspiracy of *Amboise*, with whom he had lodged for a considerable time in the same Inn, and about the rest of the Conspirators, he was remanded to Prison; where this innocent young Man, (with whom, after a long course of Travels which he had run through, I came at length to be familiarly acquainted) was so long detained, through the singular Favour of God, 'till, upon the Death of King *Francis* at *Orleans*, and the new Act of Grace published by *Charles* at his first Entrance upon the Government, and the Releasement of the Prisoners for Religion, he was discharged out of Custody.

About the same time, there was published another Libel, by an unknown Author, intituled *The Tiger*; wherein the Cruelty of the *Guises* was lashed with extraordinary Sharpness. That it might not go unpunished, a poor Bookseller was taken up, named *Martin L' Hommet*, who, being put to the Torture, to make him confess the Author of a Book which had been seized upon him, and from whom he had received it, upon his confessing nothing, was condemned to the Gallows. Whilst he was leading to Execution, a certain Pedlar of *Rouen*, booted and just come off of his Journey, seeing the Populace enraged, and ready to lay violent hands upon the poor Criminal, advises the By-standers to moderate their Anger; for that their Desire would soon be satisfied by the hands of the Executioner; and they had no occasion to stain their own hands with the Blood of a miserable Man. By which Words, he turned the Rage of the People from the condemned Wretch upon himself; and, being with difficulty saved from the Rabble, was seized by the Archers, who were present, and thrown into Prison; and soon after, in the same Street of *Maubert*, where *L' Hommet* had been hanged, was put to Death as an Accomplice; through the invidious Pains of *De Lion*, a Counsellor of Parliament, who to please the *Guises*, with an over hasty Severity, condemned to Death an innocent Man, who had escaped the Fury of the Rabble.



A. D. 1566. At the same time, the Prince of *Condé* had taken an occasion to leave the Court; and upon the Road had sent Letters to his Brother of *Navarre*, setting forth the evil Intentions of the *Guises* toward him: For that a Consultation had been held in the King's Cabinet for apprehending him, by the Advice of the Cardinal *de Lorraine*; but that the Duke of *Guise* had cunningly opposed it, on purpose to try the Temper of the Privy Counsellors: That he had accordingly resolved to provide for his Safety, and to retire to Him at *Bearn*. This the *Guises* understanding by Spies, which they entertained in every corner of the Prince's House, immediately writ Letters to him full of Affection and Benevolence, but couched in ambiguous Terms; wherein they made him a Tender of their Friendship, as far as was consistent with the safety of the King and the Nation; that they might retard his intended Journey: A Copy of which Letters the Prince immediately sent to his Brother. As to the King of *Navarre*, he approved the Prince's Resolution, and expressed a longing Desire to see him; but added, that it concerned his Reputation, that, before his Departure, he should return to Court, and by his Presence confirm them more and more in the Opinion of his Innocency. But neither did the Stratagem of the *Guises* succeed, nor did the Prince think it proper to acquiesce in his Brother's Admonitions: But, foreseeing Danger in Delay, he resolved to go immediately into *Guienne*: Whilst he was travelling with Relays of Horses, he met *Henry D'Anville*, *Montmorency's* Son, at *Mont Lebery*, and, after a quarter of an Hour's Discourse with him, pursued his Journey. *D'Anville* went from thence to *Chasteaudun*, whither the King, in his way to *Paris*, had already arrived. The Cause of *D'Anville's* coming to Court was, to request the King, that the *Guises*, who had declared an Enmity to his Father and his whole Family, might not hereafter intermeddle with his Interest or That of his Relations. But the unexpected Departure of the Prince of *Condé* for *Guienne*, his secret Conference with *D'Anville*, and the Latter's unusual Demands struck a Fear into *Catherine* and the *Guises*, lest the Prince was gathering Materials for a new Insurrection. It increased the Suspicion, that, when *Catherine* was talking with *Thomas Perronet de Chantonet*, Cardinal *Granvelle's* Brother, and *Philip's* Ambassador at that time to the King, the Discourse falling upon the Tumult of *Amboise*, *Chantonet* said, that he did not see any more likely Course for settling the Peace of *France*, than, if the *Guises* should retire from Court for a Time, and the Princes of the Blood and the Constable *Montmorency* were restored to their Dignity. Which was designedly thrown out by *Chantonet*, who delighted in fomenting Troubles, that he might breed a Quarrel between this light and ambitious Woman and the *Guises*, and thereby cast every thing into still greater Confusion. Nevertheless the *Guises* gave it another Construction, as if these things were said in *Montmorency's* Favour by the Order of *Philip*, who both countenanced *Montmorency*, and entertained many of his Relations about him.

But *Catherine*, who feared the rise of new Commotions, though she knew the Cause of them well enough, sent for *Lewis Renier Sieur de la Planche*



*Planche*, Sister's Son of *John du Tillet*, and a particular Friend of young *A. D. Montmorency*, just when the King had come to *S. Leger* in the Forest of *1560. Monfort*; and of Him, as a Man well versed in Business and exercised in a variety of Employments, she requires, that he would freely discover what he thought to be the real Spring of the present Troubles in *France*; and by what Methods they might be prevented. He, who suspected this to be an Intrigue of the *Guises*, that, under colour of asking Advice, they might penetrate into his secret Thoughts, began at first to excuse himself, and to beg that he might be spared the invidious Burthen of so important an Office, which could not be discharged without the Offence of the great Lords: On the other side, *Catherine* insisted upon it; for that it was the Duty of a good Man, and a Lover of his King and Country, to speak out boldly, what he thought conducive to the Publick Good; especially when there was no small Danger in Dissimulation and Silence. By these Reasons, *La Planche's* Obstinacy being conquered, Preparations were made for opening the Scene; in which, whilst the Cardinal of *Lorraine* lay concealed behind the Tapestry, *La Planche* in the Presence of *Catherine*, whom he supposed to be alone, after asking Leave, begins in this manner; "That there were  
 " two sorts of Those Men, who stood accused as the Authors of the late  
 " Troubles in *France*, and commonly went by the Name of *Hugonots*:  
 " For that some of them regarded nothing but Religion; Others pre-  
 " tended indeed the Cause of Religion, but were more concerned a-  
 " bout the Government: That *La Renaudie*, a Man of an enterprising  
 " Genius, had gained the Hearts of both those Parties, and encouraged  
 " them, under the pretence of offering a Petition to the King, to take  
 " Arms. But that he had done this out of a private Pique, that  
 " he might revenge the Death of *Robert de Heu* *Sieur de Buy*, a  
 " Nobleman of *Metz*, his near Relation by Affinity: For that *De Heu*  
 " had married one of the *Sieur de Rognac's* Daughters; and *La Renau-*  
 " *die*, when he had fled his Country for Religion or rather on ac-  
 " count of an ignominious Sentence and was at *Lausanne*, had married  
 " the other: That *De Heu*, returning from *Germany* with Letters from  
 " the Protestant Princes to the King of *Navarre*, and being apprehend-  
 " ed and examined by *Michael Vialar* the Provost of *Paris*, concern-  
 " ing his Correspondence with the said King, upon his making no  
 " Confession, had been cruelly mangled with the Tortures of the Rack,  
 " and had expired under them in the Castle of *Vincennes*: That *La Re-*  
 " *naudie* therefore had easily won the Hearts of both Kinds of *Hugonots*;  
 " the former, because they could not any more endure the Vexations  
 " and Punishments, which they suffer'd every where in *France*; and  
 " the latter, because they resented the transferring the Publick Admi-  
 " nistration upon Foreigners, to the Contempt of the Princes of the  
 " Blood: That the former might be easily satisfied, if Synods of Di-  
 " vines were called, wherein the Religious Controversies might be pro-  
 " posed, and, apart from the Lust of Disputation, decided by the  
 " Word of GOD; and if, in the mean time, the Severity of Sentences  
 " being mitigated, more Moderation were used for the future in the



A. D. 1560. " Proceedings against these unfortunate Men, together with a strict  
 " Observance of the Royal Edicts. But that there would be more  
 " Difficulty in managing the latter sort of Malecontents; whom there  
 " could be no hopes of appeasing, unless by a Decree of the States,  
 " or some other method, the *Guises* were removed from the publick  
 " Administration, and succeeded therein by the Princes of his Majesty's  
 " Blood: Who, although (as they really are of a gentle and generous  
 " Disposition) they seem easy to be managed and ready enough to  
 " comply with their Sovereigns, would be heartily sorry to see their  
 " Prerogative communicated to others: And that indeed it was appa-  
 " rent in the first place, that the Name of *Prince* was never given to  
 " Any in *France*, but to such as descended from Our King's in the  
 " Male Line; of which sort They only are considered in that Rank,  
 " who derive their Original from *Lewis IX.* of Blessed Memory: For  
 " that the Houses of *Courtenay* and *Dreux*, though descended from  
 " *Lewis the Gros*, are not now-a-days reckoned amongst them: For  
 " that reason *Peter Lizer*, First President of the Parliament, whilst he  
 " was sitting in Judgment, loudly and publickly told the Advocate of  
 " the *Guises*, who stiled them *Princes*, that in Publick Acts it was not  
 " customary to attribute the Name of *Princes* to any other than the  
 " Royal Progeny: That besides it was constantly reported, that  
 " *Francis de Bourbon* Count de *S. Paul*, when with Indignation he saw  
 " the Duke of *Guise* calling himself *Prince*, jocularly replied to the  
 " By-standers, that the Duke talked *German* in *French* Words. That  
 " it was likewise apparent from Domestick Examples, that the *French*  
 " have never been able to bear the Government of Foreigners, and  
 " that such as usurped it contrary to the Laws of the Realm, have  
 " generally been roughly treated, and suffered the Punishment of their  
 " Rashness: For that *Charles de la Cerda* the Great-Grandson of *Alonso X.*  
 " King of *Castile*, who had married the Daughter of That *Charles* of  
 " *Blais*, to whom the Parliament adjudged the Principality of *Bretagne*,  
 " and had been created Constable by *Philip de Valois*, was killed at  
 " *L'Aigle* near *Alençon* by a Conspiracy of the Nobles, because he  
 " claimed the Administration of the Realm. That *Stephen* of *Bavaria*  
 " likewise, Brother to *Isabel* the Wife of *Charles VI.* was seized in his  
 " own Castle at *Villeneuve* on the *Seine*, and, after That had been pil-  
 " laged, expelled out of the Kingdom. That lastly *Rene*, to come  
 " more home to the Point, the Grandfather of these very *Guises*, who  
 " vainly stiled himself King of *Sicily*, in the Reign of *Charles VIII.* was  
 " driven from Court by *Louis Malet de Gravelle* the Admiral: That it  
 " was His Interest to see carefully, that Those Honours and Titles,  
 " which are due to the Royal Family alone, don't fall into disrepute  
 " by being rashly and promiscuously communicated to Others; whereby  
 " the Dignity of the Royal Children, of whom he had Many, might  
 " in process of time receive a Prejudice: That an early Stop ought  
 " to be put to the bulwarks of Ambitious Men; and that such Persons  
 " were to be restrained within the Limits of Modesty, who by these  
 " Preludes provoked the Patience of the Nobility and the True Princes.  
 " Several other things were added by him in relation to their Ancestors,  
 particularly



particularly to *Godfrey* Earl of *Bulloigne*, "who was King of *Jerusalem* A. D. 1560. (in which Kingdom he was succeeded by his Brother *Baldwin*), and left two Brothers; from the eldest of whom, *Catherine*, and, from the Younger, the present Lords of *Lorraine*, were descended." Here the Queen interrupting him, said, "That it ought not to create discontent, that the *Guises*, so well deserving of the Realm, were preferred to the Publick Administration; nor to be wondered at, if Those, whom her Husband and Master dearly loved, she also treated with Affection: That a Regard to the Royal Name was pretended by the Seditious, who had lately at *Amboise* made a wicked Attempt upon the King and herself as well as the *Guises*." Upon *La Planche*'s rejoining, that the *Guises* covered themselves with the Royal Name, who knew that the Princes of the Blood, as discharged from the Laws, could not be drawn into a Crime, unless they were convicted of having conspired against the King; the Conversation ended for that Turn, and was adjourned 'till after Dinner. In the mean while *La Planche* was committed to safe Custody; who, upon *Catherine*'s returning to the same secret place, with the Dutcheß of *Montpensier* her intimate Confident, was sent for again, the Cardinal skulking, as before, behind the Hangings. Then the Queen, introducing again the Mention of the *Guises*, as Persons well deserving of the Realm, said, that there could be no Absurdity, if, after the First Prince of the Blood, the First of that Family should have the Precedence, and the Second should follow the Second in Order, and so on; nor was That a sufficient Reason for such a general Insurrection against them: There must be some other Cause, which *La Planche*, if He pleased, could discover, as being well acquainted with these Matters and privy to *La Renaudie*'s Counsels; which was the reason, that he had lately desired to accompany *Michael de Seurre* in his Passage to *England*: It was his business therefore, whatever the Matter was, not to conceal it from her, but to assist in the apprehending *Maligny*, who had run away, and *Soubfelles*, who had escaped out of Prison: Great should be his Reward, if he complied; and no less the Punishment of his Obstinacy. To which *La Planche* answered, "That, Thanks be to GOD, he lay open to nobody but to *Catherine* herself; and therefore he could not be hindered by Hopes or Fears, from speaking out the Truth in the Cause of the Commonwealth, and, at Her Desire, delivering such Advice, as he judged expedient. For if Tumults, raised for the sake of Religion, were formidable; no less ought every Wise Man to fear Those, that might arise upon a Civil Account; and for which at present he saw no other Remedy, than, if the *Guises* were reduced to Order, and the Real Princes maintained in their Dignity and Authority: But that for himself, he was altogether ignorant of those things, which she wanted to know, and should be abundantly cleared in her own opinion of having concerted Measures with *La Renaudie*, if she would recall to mind That troublesome Suit, which was carried on between *John du Tillet* his Uncle and *La Renaudie*, and the Sentence pronounced upon it; on the account of which,

" that



A. D. 1560. " that turbulent young Man had been forced to leave his Country :  
 " Accordingly he besought her, that for the rest she would excuse  
 " him ; for that he was not placed in such a Station of Life, that he  
 " could execute the business of a Judge or a Provost or lastly of a  
 " Pursuivant." Nevertheless *Catherine* added Threats ; with which *La*  
*Planche* being nothing terrified, was again committed to Prison, from  
 whence after four days he was discharged by *Catherine's* Command.

During the King's Abode in the Castle of *Rambouillet*, *Charles de Cossé*,  
 Marshall *de Brissac*, came to him from *Piedmont*, where he had long born  
 the Chief Command with great Reputation (*Imbert de la Platiere* Sieur  
*de Bourdillon*, after the restitution of almost the whole Province to the  
 Duke of *Savoy*, being sent thither in his Room) ; and was honoured  
 with the Government of *Picardy*, which had been injuriously refused  
 to the Prince of *Condé*, through the Recommendation of the *Guises* ;  
 who took Care to lay an Obligation upon a Man of Merit, by a  
 Grant, which had been denied to the Prince, and to draw him to Their  
 Party during the present Factions of the Kingdom.

From thence *De l'Hospital*, attended by *Charles de Marillac* Archbishop  
 of *Vienne*, *John d'Avançon*, and a great number of Masters of Requests,  
 on the 6th day of *July* repaired to *Paris* ; that, in the beginning of  
 his Magistracy, he might salute the Parliament, of which he had been  
 an ancient Member for many years. There, in a full House, he began  
 with a Speech, " That he was pleased with the Sight and Presence of  
 " Those, whom he had so long had for his Colleagues ; as it brought  
 " to his Remembrance the Time spent by him in That Body ; for the In-  
 " crease of whose Authority and Honour, he should contribute all that lay  
 " in his Power." After this acceptable Preface, which was received with  
 great Approbation, he proceeded to say, " That he had three things  
 " to propose to them from the King ; in relation to the King's Affairs  
 " and the Safety of the Realm in General ; to the State of *Paris*,  
 " the Capital City of the Kingdom ; and to the Dignity of the Par-  
 " liament itself : That, for the first, the King's heavy Cares stood in  
 " need of many supports, and ought especially at that Juncture to  
 " be relieved in part by the Parliament : All Men knew, that such  
 " vast Debts had been contracted by *Francis* and *Henry*, that the Royal  
 " Revenue, if applied solely to that Purpose, could not discharge  
 " them in ten Years : That he had indeed received a fair and opulent  
 " Inheritance from his Father ; but so incumbered, so perplexed with  
 " Civil Discords, that, all things considered, he had been a greater  
 " Sufferer than a Gainer by it. For that, in the excessive Charges  
 " of the War, the Necessities of the Realm and in Largesses, so much  
 " had been expended, that the present Debt amounted to more than  
 " forty millions of *Livres*, which was a Sum, that he should not care  
 " to see transmitted out of the Realm to Foreigners : That to this  
 " there ought to be added, the annual Pensions of the Nobles, the Sa-  
 " laries of Magistrates and Soldiers, unpaid for many Years : From  
 " whence it came to pass, that many Men, either ignorant of Affairs  
 " or unreasonable, preferring their private Prospects to the Publick  
 " Necessities,



" Necessities, made a Clamour, as if the King's Money was imbezzled *A. D.*  
 " by the Fraud of the Ministers, and called upon Them to moderate *1560.*  
 " the Expences: But that so impossible it was to satisfy either the Wishes or  
 " Complaints of these Men, that on the contrary, for the Ease of the  
 " Poor, it had been judged expedient, to abolish most of the Taxes  
 " entirely, and to lower the rest in a great measure: Nay, that the  
 " Tribute, which the Cities usually paid for the maintenance of fifty  
 " thousand Soldiers, had been extinguished. But that the King's  
 " Chief Difficulty did not so much relate to the Payment of the Debts,  
 " as the composing the Minds of his Subjects and reducing them to  
 " a dutiful Obedience; for that he saw a Corruption of Morals and  
 " Discipline amongst all orders of Men: For that, in the first place  
 " of all, it appeared, that the flagrant Vices of the Clergy gave oc-  
 " casion of grievous Offence; and from thence it sprung, that Many  
 " had wantonly framed to themselves New Religions, some with Judg-  
 " ment, others according to their Fancy: That the Nobility, for want  
 " of their Salaries, took occasion to harass the poor Commonalty with  
 " Impunity: That the Supream Court of Justice connived at the  
 " Faults of the Inferiour Judges, and was not without Faults itself:  
 " That, in short, many of the Judges, in hopes of Preferment, paid  
 " their Court to any One, rather than to the King; and that Ava-  
 " rice and sordid Gain were mixed with their Ambition: Lastly, that  
 " the Populace, being ill instructed, led profligate Lives in the Cities  
 " and in the Country; because the Curates and Parish-Priests put them  
 " more in mind of paying their Tithes and Oblations, than of re-  
 " garding the Salvation of their Souls: It ought therefore not to seem  
 " wonderful, since the Treasury was exhausted, the Strength of the  
 " Kingdom impaired, the People offended with the bad Example of  
 " the Priests, others tormented with Poverty or an Evil Conscience,  
 " the Integrity of the Judges suspected, the Manners of the Populace  
 " corrupted, and the Soldiery withal Licentious, if fatal Disturbances have  
 " arisen in *France*: The Inconveniencies were indeed manifest enough,  
 " but the Remedies not so evident. It was nevertheless to be hoped,  
 " that, the Treasury being supplied by Parçimony and a long Peace,  
 " That immense Debt would in time be dissolved. In the Cause of  
 " Religion there would be more Difficulty; for that no Redress could  
 " be expected, but from the Assistance of GOD and the Celebration  
 " of a Council: That the business had hitherto been attempted, but  
 " unsuccessfully, by Arms and Violence; and that former Kings had  
 " done, what is ordinarily practised by no unskilful Physicians, who  
 " know the Distemper very well, but are ignorant of the Cause: That  
 " now every body had been taught by Example and Experience, that  
 " Force was an unseasonable Remedy: For what Laws have not been  
 " provided? what Punishments have not been inflicted, even upon  
 " Counsellors of Parliament themselves? And, with respect to *Germany*,  
 " *England* and *Scotland*, what has been gained by Arms, but the Establish-  
 " ment of a New Religion upon the Ruins of the Old? That Dis-  
 " eases of the Body required One Regimen, and Those of the Mind



4 D. " Another; which latter sort has been found to be better cured by  
 1560. " Reason and soft Words, than by Asperity: That accordingly, 'till  
 " a Council could be holden, the King had ordered by an Edict,  
 " that the Prelates by Example and Residence should lead their Flocks  
 " the way, and provide them with the Food of Purer Doctrine: In  
 " which Affair, if it were thought proper to add, explain or even to  
 " curtail any thing, they would do well to bring their Resolutions to  
 " a speedy Issue: For that the King would graciously hear their Argu-  
 " ments, and, if any thing were fit to be changed, readily do his part:  
 " That there had been a Necessity in the mean time of obviating Se-  
 " ditions, which might endanger the Publick Quiet and the Royal  
 " Authority: For which reason, Orders had been sent to the Gover-  
 " nours of Provinces and their Lieutenants to proceed vigorously against  
 " the Guilty, and by the *Prevoists des Marechaux* to prevent unlawful  
 " Assemblies: Nor indeed ought it to seem an Innovation to Any,  
 " that the Privilege of Appeals is taken away: For in Seditions there  
 " is need of Dispatch and Example; and Crimes of this sort, through  
 " the Delays of Appeals, commonly vanish into nothing: That con-  
 " cerning the reduction of the number of Judges upon their Decease,  
 " there was no occasion of using many Words to Them; for that  
 " the Equity and Usefulness of that Edict was manifest enough of itself;  
 " since that honourable Order had sunk in its Credit hitherto through  
 " the number of its Members, and would shine with greater Lustre,  
 " the more contracted it should be: For by this method both the  
 " Honour would be enhanced, and the Treasury eased; which, though  
 " hardly able at present to pay small Salaries, would be sufficient for  
 " the payment of even double Salaries, when the number should be  
 " lessened. Concerning the City of *Paris*, the King required them  
 " to be very solicitous: Because the Example of the Metropolis  
 " would affect the Tranquillity of the whole Realm: The King knew  
 " that many things had already been prudently decreed to that purpose  
 " by the Parliament: But many things were often begun in *France*,  
 " which never came to a Conclusion: Care therefore should be taken,  
 " What Men entered that populous City, Why they came thither, and  
 " Where they lodged, for the prevention of Conventicles: That frequent  
 " Complaints had been brought to the King of the Parliaments of the  
 " Realm, that they were split into Factions, and particularly Those of  
 " *Tholouse* and *Bordeaux*; which Complaints however the King hoped  
 " to find false and frivolous: He rejoiced, that This had maintained its  
 " Purity and Dignity, as being more exposed to View, and more  
 " nearly enlightened with the Rays of the Royal Majesty: The King  
 " however had heard with Regret, that the Parliament entered into the  
 " Factions of the Princes and Great Lords, and favoured, some One  
 " Party, and some Another: Of whose Favours the Nobles scandalously  
 " boasted (pardon the Coarseness of the Comparison), no less than of  
 " Common Strumpets, which prostitute their Bodies for Money: That  
 " there were amongst them more Transactors of other People's Business,  
 " than Judges: That it was a shameful thing for Judges, to serve  
 " as



“ as vile Tools to the Will and Pleasure of Those, whose Lives and A.D.  
“ Fortunes they had in their power : That besides there were frequent 1560.  
“ Quarrels in that Court. But that Concord highly became Christians;  
“ amongst whom, the Parliament, which was instituted on purpose  
“ to compose the Differences of Private Men, ought to set Others an  
“ Example of maintaining Concord: That They were exposed as in a  
“ Theatre, and Their Good and Evil Conduct reached by Example to  
“ All Men. The King also had been informed, that sordid Methods  
“ of Gain began to be in Use, and Fees to be multiplied every day,  
“ and that Judgment was often deferred by an equal Division of the  
“ Suffrages: Which he did not mention, by way of accusing the  
“ Parliament, or that he arrogated any Authority of prescribing to  
“ Them, to whose Censure he was perfectly ready to submit himself:  
“ But because he conceived it to be their own Interest, that, they should  
“ know, What was thought of their illustrious Body, and in What Colours  
“ they were represented to the King. To these things he subjoined;  
“ that, though he did not think it right, that they should found their  
“ Judgments altogether upon Precedents, yet he could not approve  
“ the Opinion of Those, who ascribed too little to the Authority of  
“ antient Decrees, and reposed too much Confidence in their own  
“ Parts. He then admonished them All, that they would cut off the  
“ Superfluities of Processes, moderate Delays and Expences, and, with  
“ respect to small Causes, which required less Examination, that, giving  
“ the Advocates a Summary Hearing, they should sometimes deter-  
“ mine them without the Formality of a Decree; wherein he com-  
“ mended the President *Christopher de Harlay*, whom He, when he was a  
“ Counsellor, remembered to have usually cut short the least important  
“ Causes, by this Method. He concluded, with a Promise of his Assistance  
“ and Favour to the whole Court of Parliament and to every particular  
“ Member.” Here the Parliament introduced the mention of the  
Controversy, which had been agitated with great Warmth on each  
side, betwixt the Presidents *S. André* and *De Thou*, in the Case of *Lewis  
du Faur* above-mentioned; the Cognizance of which the King had  
first taken from the Parliament, and at last left again to their Decision.  
Upon this occasion, *De l'Hospital* afresh admonished the Counsellors, to  
maintain Union amongst themselves, and not to suffer, that an Order,  
formerly flourishing in mutual Concord, should fall into Decay by  
Parties and Divisions. Next they proceeded to Register some Edicts;  
and the Parliament, with primitive Severity, determined, that Bishops  
and Parish-Priests should discharge their Duty, and keep diligent Watch,  
Each in his Station. A Penalty was also laid upon the Refusers,  
who were commanded, mortgaging their Lands and pawning their  
whole Furniture, to leave the City and Court, and retire to their  
Cures. By this time the Prince of *Condé* had reached *Bordeaux*, and  
even *Nérac* in the Duchy of *Albret*; where he had informed the King  
of *Navarre*, what the *Guises* were plotting against him and his whole  
Family; exhorting him not to be wanting to himself and his Friends  
in so necessary a Conjunction. To the same place had come Many  
of



A. D. of the First Nobility, who hated the Power of the *Guises*, and conceived hopes of recovering That Liberty from the Union of the Princes of *Bourbon*, which they grieved to see oppressed by their Foreign Masters. But the King of *Navarre*, careless of every thing, ruined these generous Counsels by a fatal Dilatoriness. From thence *Condé* sent *James de la Sague*, a *Gascon* Gentleman, to his Wife *Eleanor de Roye* and *Anne de Montmorency* her Uncle, to acquaint them with his Arrival in *Guienne*, and to learn something of Their Affairs, and also to receive Money from his Wife for his Daily Expences. For about that time *Mademoiselle de Roye* had mortgaged *Germigny*, a considerable Estate in the Neighbourhood of *Roye*, to *Montmorency* for ten thousand Crowns. Before the Return of *La Sague*, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* received Letters from the King, wherein they were commanded to appear at the Convention summoned to meet at *Fontaine-bleau*: Which was done by the Advice of the *Guises*; who had learnt what was doing in *Guienne*, by *Francis Descars*, a Confident of *Navarre's*, whom, as the Report ran, they had corrupted. But the Brothers, thinking it safer to see the Result of the Convention from a distance, excused themselves by the Shortness of the Time and other Inconveniencies; sending back *La Sague* to Court, that he might communicate to them, by Letters, what should be transacted at that Meeting. *Montmorency* had advised *Navarre* from the beginning, to come to Court; and, by confirming the Courage of the Nobility, to obstruct the Measures of the *Guises*. But He, hating all trouble, preferred Retirement, and by his natural Slowness frustrated the Desires and Prayers of his Friends. *Montmorency* himself, being also summoned, went to Court, and with him the Count de *Villars* his Brother-in-law, the three Brothers de *Coligny* with their Dependants, and a large and unusual Retinue, consisting of more than eight hundred Horse; that he might make a show of his Power to his Rivals the *Guises*, tho' he was in Disgrace. A small number went out to meet him, but not in proportion to his Quality; namely his old Friends *Claude de Gouffier* Marquis de *Boisy*, the Rhingrave, *Sansac*, and some Knights of *St. Michael*. In the mean time Orders were sent to the Governors of Provinces, to raise the *Arrier-ban*, which should be ready at a Time and Place appointed. On the Day fixed for the Convention, which was the 21st of *August*, at one o'clock in the afternoon, the King, *Catherine* herself, the Queen Consort, and the Brothers, went into *Catherine's* Apartment: Next to them, in Order, sat the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Lorraine* and *Guise*, the Dukes of *Guise* and *Anjou*, the Constable de *Montmorency*, *De l'Hospital*, and the Marshalls de *Coligny*, *St. André*, and *Brissac*; *Andrew Guillard* Sieur de *Mortier*, *John de Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orléans*, *Charles de Morillac* Archbishop of *Vienne*, and *John de Montbrun* Bishop of *Valence*. After These, without the Line, sat the Collared Knights, upon lower Benches. Here the King, in a short Speech, opens the occasion of calling them together, and exhorts them, that without Enmity or Favour they would freely speak, what they judged conducive to the Publick Benefit; saying, that they should hear the rest from *De l'Hospital* and his Uncles the Duke



Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*. Almost to the same *A. D.* purpose spoke *Catherine*; desiring the Company, that by their prudent Counsels they would maintain the King her Son in the possession of the Scepter, and provide at the same time, if possible, for the Relief of the People, and the Reduction of the Disaffected to their Duty. Then *De l' Hospital* (after a long Comparison and Allegory taken from a Physician, and a Patient labouring under a Distemper, of which the Cause was unknown) discoursed in many Words, of the Nation's distressed Circumstances, the Nobility, the Magistrates, and the Corruption of Manners amongst Men of all Ranks: To which he added, that the Minds of the Subjects were exasperated against the King and his principal Ministers, but that the Cause remained a Secret, and therefore the Method of Cure must be more difficult: For that great numbers, from an Uneasiness under the Present State and a Fear of something to come, Some from a Religious Cause, and More out of Ambition and a Love of Confusion, had disturbed the Commonwealth. In This all men should labour, that, the Original of the Evil being discovered, proper Remedies might be applied to the sickly Constitution of the State: The King for his part desired, that, the People being eased by their wholesom Counsels, the Realm might remain in its former Quiet, and all Orders in Security, saving his own Authority and That of his Ministers. After the Chancellor had ended, the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, with seeming readiness, gave an Account, the One of the Military Affairs, and the Other of the Finances, respectively committed to them, and also of the Publick Administration, in which they were jointly concerned: It was added by the Cardinal, that the Charges of the Realm exceeded the Royal Revenues by ten millions of Livres; after which, nothing farther was done that day. The Council being adjourned to the third day after, they met again in the same Order. And when the King had commanded, that the Counsellors of the Sacred Consistory, who were present, should deliver their Opinions in Order, and the Bishop of *Valence* as the Lowest was preparing to speak; *Coligny* arose, and, after twice humbly bending the Knee, approaching the King, presented two Libels, which, whilst he was lately in *Normandy*, intent upon the Preparations for the *Scottish* War, he affirmed to have been put into his hands by a great Multitude of all Orders; upon whose earnest Sollicitations, in Confidence of his Loyalty to the King, and the Innocency of his past Life, he could not refuse them his Assistance: These were read aloud by *De l'Aubespine*, and contained in Substance; That the Petitioners had taken the opportunity of the present Convention, to offer to the King these Prayers, in the Name of Those, who called themselves Faithful Christians, dispersed throughout the whole Kingdom; beseeching, that he would at length look favourably upon Them, who to that very day had been severely persecuted for no other Cause, than because they desired to live after the Rules of a Purer Doctrine and the Genuine Truth: That they wished nothing more, than that their Doctrine might be examined by the Standard of the Divine Word,



A.D. and that so it might be manifest to All, how far removed they were  
 1560. from the pestilent and seditious Opinions of Sectaries, who aim at an  
 Impunity of Vices and an universal Licentiousness: They only begged  
 a forbearance of cruel Punishments, 'till a Lawful Cognizance could be  
 taken of the whole Cause; and requested, that Leave might be given  
 them of publicly and freely professing their Religion, by a Grant of  
 Churches for that Use; lest their Assemblies, if privately and secretly  
 held, might raise a sinister Suspicion of them in the Mind of the  
 King. Lastly, they protested before GOD and the King, that they  
 had neither hitherto attempted, nor did now, or hereafter should, at-  
 tempt any thing against the King, or the Obedience, which they owed  
 to him; but had always poured out their daily Prayers for his  
 Majesty's Safety and the Tranquility of the Realm, and were ready to  
 do the same for the future. The King, commending *Coligny's* Piety,  
 and his Services to his Sovereigns and the Kingdom, desired, that the  
 Rest of the Members might proceed in the Consultation commenced.  
 Then the Bishop of *Valence*, a Man of Eloquence and Experience, and  
 great Skill in the sacred Writings, began: "That there was a prodigious  
 " Confusion and Uneasiness amongst all sorts of Men; from whence  
 " had arisen Commotions, which could not be pacified, 'till the Minds  
 " of People were reconciled: That *Catherine* and the *Guises* had indeed  
 " encountered the Beginnings of those Troubles with singular Prudence  
 " and Diligence, by chastising the Seditious with exemplary and useful  
 " Severity; but still the Cause remained, which, the deeper Root it  
 " had taken in the Minds of Men, required the more Pains to be em-  
 " ployed in its Removal: For that Religion was made the Pretence;  
 " than which, whether counterfeited or depraved, there was not a  
 " stronger Motive in the world for firing the Passions; and that the  
 " Evil had spread the farther, by how much the more Negligence had  
 " been used in the Cure of it, by Those, whom it concerned: For  
 " that the Popes seemed to have made it their chief Business, to stir  
 " up Wars after Wars amongst Princes, and by the help of them to  
 " nourish Factions: And that the Princes, who were really moved  
 " with Religious Considerations, had appointed various Penalties and  
 " Punishments for the Suppression of the Evil; but, as it appeared,  
 " with unhappy Success: That the Interpreters of the Law had used  
 " no sort of Moderation in the Case; whilst Some proceeded with a  
 " Severity degenerating into Cruelty, and Others, corrupted with  
 " Avarice, maliciously persecuted innocent Persons: Nor were the  
 " Bishops intirely blameless; who, casting away the Care of the  
 " Flock had been solely employed for many Years in enlarging their  
 " Revenues, and living in a luxurious and licentious manner; inso-  
 " much, that at one time (a shameful and horrid thing to be related!)  
 " there were forty of them seen together, putrifying in Ease and Plea-  
 " sures, at *Paris*: And in Truth the Pastoral Care was every day com-  
 " mitted to Children and worthless Persons; whereby the Eyes of the  
 " Churches, that is the Bishops, were grown blind, and the Pillars of  
 " the Lords House were fallen by Degrees to the Ground: That the  
 " Parish



“ Parish-Priests too, ordained by Them, after the Example of the *A.D.*  
“ Prelates, behaved themselves greedily, unskilfully, and negligently 1560.  
“ in their Function: Which Things being so, it was not at all won-  
“ derful, that the Populace, and most part of the Gentry, being ill-  
“ seasoned in Religion from their Childhood, were inclinable to  
“ naughty Opinions, and from thence to Insurrections: That the  
“ chief Remedy of this Disorder was to be fetched from GOD:  
“ That pious Men ought to be called together from all parts of the  
“ Realm, to consider of the Vices of the Clergy, and the Means  
“ of rooting them out: That the King, especially, who ought to  
“ set an Example to his Subjects, should take care, that the most  
“ Holy Name of GOD was not profaned, that the sacred Scrip-  
“ tures were purely explained without Gloss or false Colouring, and  
“ that Sermons might be preached every Day, if possible, in the Royal  
“ Palace. Then, taking an Occasion to direct his Speech to *Catherine*  
“ and the Queen her Daughter-in-Law, he besought them, that, banishi-  
“ ing profane and immodest Songs, with which all the Chambers of  
“ the Palace rung, they would sing Psalms and sacred Hymns in the  
“ vulgar Tongue, at all proper Times and Places: This would be  
“ well-pleasing to GOD, to whom no Assembly can be acceptable,  
“ wherein He himself is not praised and celebrated. And many other  
“ Things he added upon this Head, wherein he shewed, how wide They  
“ were from true Piety, who forbid Women the Use of *David's*  
“ Psalms in the vulgar Tongue; and that, if the Translation of them,  
“ which is handed about, be Erroneous, the Mistakes should be marked,  
“ and not the whole Work rejected: For that, otherwise, a good  
“ Handle would be given to the Adversaries of calumniating; who  
“ from Hence would collect, that We do not wage War with Men,  
“ but with GOD; when we prohibit the publick and private Use of  
“ Hymns, calculated for the Praise of GOD, and the Comfort of pious  
“ People. Another Remedy, was a General Council, always used by  
“ the Fathers of the Church for composing such sorts of Differences.  
“ And that, for his own Part, he did not see, how the Pope's Con-  
“ science could be easy one single Minute; or how he could suffer  
“ every Day the Ruin of so many Souls, which GOD would, doubt-  
“ less, hereafter require at his Hands. But, if a General Council could  
“ not be obtained, then the King might do his own Duty, and, after  
“ the Example of *Charlemagne* and *Lewis the Pious*, summon a Na-  
“ tional Council; at which he would do well to order the chief Teach-  
“ ers amongst the Sectaries to be present, that with Them a Debate  
“ might be set on Foot, concerning the controverted Articles of Re-  
“ ligion: Thus it had been practised by *Theodosius* in the Synod of  
“ *Constantinople*, against the *Arrians* and *Macedonians*, although Their  
“ Error had been lawfully condemned already by the *Nicene* Council  
“ and others: But that great Offences had, in reality, been committed  
“ by each Party: In the first place by the Sectaries; who, taking Arms  
“ under Colour of Religion, disturbed the publick Quiet; contrary  
“ to the Command of the Apostle, that Men should pray for Kings,  
“ and



A. D. 1560. " and obey them, though they were froward and unreasonable :  
 " To which it had been owing, that, in those Ten celebrated Persecu-  
 " tions of the Church, wherein so many Lives of the Faithful were  
 " destroyed, not so much as one Man was found, who thought fit  
 " to defend his Cause, how just soever, by Arms ; or who did not  
 " rather by Piety and Patience sustain the Strokes of the Executioners,  
 " and at last overcome them : Accordingly seditious Cabals had al-  
 " ways been prohibited, and the King by his Edicts had made Pro-  
 " vision, perhaps more than sufficient, upon this Head : But that  
 " no less Offence had been committed by Those, who exercised an  
 " excessive Severity against such as are led by the sole Motive of Piety,  
 " and bravely encounter Death for the sake of it, despising the Loss of  
 " their Friends and Fortunes. For, that generally the Spectators are in-  
 " censed ; and it is confessed, that it has raised in the Minds of Many a  
 " Curiosity of knowing more of That Doctrine, which Men of no ill  
 " Character resolutely professed in the midst of Flames ; and that the  
 " Enquirers themselves have at last embraced it. Far different was the  
 " Method of the Primitive Fathers ; for neither the three hundred and  
 " eighteen Bishops in the first *Nicene* Council, nor the six hundred and  
 " thirty in That of *Chalcedon*, nor the hundred and fifty in the *Constanti-*  
 " *nopolitan*, made use of any other Arms than the Word of GOD,  
 " against the *Arrians*, *Macedonians*, and *Nestorians* : Nor did *Con-*  
 " *stantine*, *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* or *Marcian*, Princes of singular Piety,  
 " impose any heavier Punishment upon Sectaries than Banishment : It  
 " should seem therefore adviseable to abstain from Executions and Cor-  
 " poral Punishments. But, if the Magistrate be under an absolute Ne-  
 " cessity of inflicting them, there ought at least to be a Regard paid  
 " to the Place, Time, Persons, Intention and Reason of the Assem-  
 " bly". After him, the Archbishop of *Vienne* made a longer and sharper  
 " Speech to this Effect ; " That there were two Supports of the *French*, and  
 " indeed of every Government ; *viz.* the right Worship of GOD, and  
 " the Affection of the Subjects to the Prince ; each of which, for the  
 " safety of the Commonwealth, is necessary to be kept up by all con-  
 " venient Means : But that, through Licentiousness, and the corrupt  
 " Morals of all Orders, Things had been brought to such a Pass, that  
 " they could not any longer maintain their present Situation, without  
 " extream Danger : That, as to the Case of Religion, he approved  
 " the Remedy, which was fetched from an OEcumenical Synod. But  
 " that it was such a sort of One, as at this time of Day might rather  
 " be wished, than hoped for, by reason of Difficulties, already ob-  
 " served, and others, which usually attend an Affair of that Nature.  
 " That none were ignorant, what great Pains *Charles* the Fifth had  
 " taken in procuring a Council, and what Chicanery the Popes had used,  
 " to disappoint those laudable Hopes, which the pious Prince had en-  
 " tertained in his Thoughts : Besides, that the Distemper, for which  
 " a Remedy was sought, was so acute, that we could not wait, 'till a  
 " Physician was sent for from a Distance ; especially when there was a great  
 " Uncertainty of his coming. It was necessary therefore to recurr to  
 " a National



" a National Synod, which the King had both promised by publick *A. D.*  
 " Letters, and, by reason of the Necessities and Streights, into which *1560.*  
 " the Church has been thrown by the Negligence of its Pastors; could  
 " not longer defer: Nor was This a Practice unknown to the  
 " Church, or the Kingdom; since it appears, by the sacred Decrees,  
 " that it was the Custom to call Councils every five Years; and that  
 " from *Clouis*, to the Times of *Charlemagne*, and from thence as far  
 " as *Charles* the Seventh, Councils were always celebrated in *France*,  
 " sometimes with respect to the whole Kingdom, sometimes to a Part,  
 " and now and then to single Provinces. Since therefore the Evil was  
 " pressing, We should use no further Delay, nor take any notice of  
 " the Impediments that may be thrown in the Way by the Pope. In  
 " the mean time, 'till the Assembly or Colloquy could be regulated,  
 " it ought to be resolved, that the Prelates, Each in his proper Diocese,  
 " should attend the Cure of the Flock, without any Exception or par-  
 " ticular Indulgence in that behalf: But it was least of all to be endured,  
 " that *Italians*, who possess the third part of the Benefices throughout  
 " the Realm, and suck Us like Leeches, should receive the Profits in  
 " their Absence; whilst they shew a Contempt of *GOD*, and do an  
 " Injury to the King: For, through their Fault, it comes to pass, that  
 " the People, destitute of Pastors, are carried aside to new Opinions,  
 " for the most part Erroneous; and that pernicious Commotions, as  
 " lately happened, arise in the Kingdom. That, besides, Endeavours  
 " ought to be used (beginning a Reformation from hence), that nothing  
 " should be done in the Church for Money or Reward; that so That  
 " monstrous *Babylonish* Beast, that is, Covetousness, which has in-  
 " troduced so many Calamities and Corruptions into the House of  
 " *GOD*, may some time or other fall to the Ground; and what  
 " the Priests have received for nothing, they may deal out again for  
 " nothing, on the removal of shameful Bargains, and all scandalous  
 " Merchandize: For that Simony, of all things, or the least Suspicion  
 " of it, was utterly Foreign from true Piety: Accordingly, in the Coun-  
 " cil of *Ancyra*, it had been ordained, that, They who bestowed Alms,  
 " should not do it at the time of the Sacraments, that they might  
 " not seem to have paid any thing for the receiving of them. For this  
 " Reason Saint *Lewis* had decreed, that Bishops should reside every  
 " one in his Diocese, and that no Money should be carried to *Rome*:  
 " And lately, *Paul III.* incited or compelled by the daily Com-  
 " plaints of the Protestant Princes, whilst the Council was lengthened  
 " out for many Years, had chosen certain Cardinals, *viz. Gaspar*  
 " *Contareni, di Chieti*, (who afterwards filled the See and was called  
 " *Paul IV.*) *James Sadoletto*, and *Reginald Poole*, Men of eminent Piety  
 " and Learning; who with perfect Harmony decreed, that in the use  
 " of the Keys, that is, in the Ecclesiastical Function, nothing could  
 " or ought to be done for Money: But that even *Paul III.* did not  
 " afterwards continue in the same Mind; much less *Paul IV.* a Man  
 " intent upon Poms and Wars; though, whilst he was only a Car-  
 " dinal, he had thought it equitable and necessary. But if that Matter,  
 " hitherto



A. D. 1560. " hitherto neglected, were not now obtained; without doubt, the Predi-  
 " ction of *Bernard* would be accomplished; that Christ would descend  
 " from Heaven, and, re-assuming the Scourge, ignominiously expell the  
 " Priests, as he formerly did the Merchants, out of the Temple. That,  
 " moreover, the proper Arms of the Priesthood should be imployed, pub-  
 " lick Prayers, Fastings, and Tears: The Sword of GOD should be  
 " taken into hand, that is, his own Word; the Name of which is  
 " hardly acknowledged or retained at this Day in the Church: For  
 " they should not imagine, that their Caps, Crosiers, Mitres and  
 " Vestments (which external Habit was instituted, to denote the in-  
 " ternal Habit) consisting in the way of Life and in Doctrine, would  
 " screen them from the Contempt of the People; if, contented with  
 " the Ostentation of a Vizard and an empty Disguise, they were, in  
 " other Respects, negligent of their proper Office: For That terrible  
 " Sentence, concerning the laying the Axe to the Root, ought by this  
 " time to have sounded in the Ears of them All, that they might be  
 " admonished of their Duty. In the mean time, that human Re-  
 " medies might not be neglected, it seemed expedient, that Sedi-  
 " tions should be restrained by Force; and that This should be fixed  
 " as a standing Maxim in the Minds of all Men, that the Subjects  
 " have no Power to take Arms, without the Command or Leave of  
 " the Sovereign, who is the Moderatour of Arms. With regard to  
 " the other Support of Government, the Affection of the Subjects  
 " towards the Prince, no Remedy seemed more Effectual, in the pre-  
 " sent undutiful State of the People, for regaining it; than if, accord-  
 " ing to the received Custom of the *French*, an Assembly of the States  
 " were called: This was the Tribunal, in which alone the Complaints  
 " of the whole Kingdom might be heard, and commodiously satis-  
 " fied: The other Magistrates might be employed to hear, compose  
 " and end the Complaints, Quarrels and Disputes of Private Men:  
 " But, in a General Assembly of the States, the Subjects came as  
 " it were to a Conference with the Prince, and with decent Liberty  
 " represented their Grievances: Where, reciprocally, the Reasons al-  
 " ledged to the contrary by the King, oftentimes more equitable than  
 " the People's Complaints, were heard by the Representatives of the  
 " whole Kingdom; to the End, that all Persons might, for the future,  
 " with greater Contentment and Patience, bear the Yoke, not of the  
 " Prince, but of a Realm incumbered with many Burdens, without  
 " murmuring or Undutifulness to the Sovereign". To this Purpose  
 " many Things were added by the Archbishop of *Piemte*, in Terms of  
 " great Vehemence; whereby this strict Adherer to the Rule of Right,  
 " and Stranger to all Flattery, and therefore less acceptable Man to the  
 " Courtiers, doubtless wounded the *Guisers* to the Heart. The next Day  
 " *Coligny* delivered his Sentiments: After premising a few things of the  
 " Libels presented by him, which when he had desired the Persons, from  
 " whom he received them, to subscribe; they had answered, that, if there  
 " were Occasion, fifty thousand Men would subscribe them; he pur-  
 " sued the Discourse concerning the Benevolence of the Subjects towards  
 " the



the Sovereign, and said, "That nothing could happen more pernicious, *A. D.*  
 " than if a Prince were fearful of his People, and dreaded by Them : 1560.  
 " It seemed therefore extremely wrong, that a young King should be  
 " educated in that Fear, in the midst of Sentinels, and a formidable  
 " Body of Guards : For that, by this Sight, Affection was by Degrees  
 " extinguished in the Minds of Men, and succeeded by Hatred : That  
 " a King should rather be taught This Lesson by his nearest Friends ;  
 " that no Government could be very strong or durable, which was up-  
 " held by Fear and Hatred ; and that Obedience insensibly vanished,  
 " if Supports were fetched from any other Quarter than the antient  
 " Laws of the Realm. At length he declared his Opinion, that Errors  
 " should be removed out of GOD's House, by the most convenient  
 " Methods possible : That the Guards, placed about the King, should  
 " be taken off, and an Assembly of the States immediately summoned".  
 The Duke of *Guise*, who had entertained a long Suspicion of *Coligny's*  
 Temper, expressly corrected his Insolence ; saying, "That the King,  
 " by the Pains of his most prudent Mother, had been educated in such  
 " a manner, that his Youth, not seasoned with Fear or Hatred, but  
 " with the best Precepts of Wisdom, afforded vast Hopes of his future  
 " Conduct. But that Things had been brought to such a sad Pass, by  
 " the Machinations of wicked Persons, that there was a Necessity for  
 " securing the King's Life, from the Attempts of Rebels, by Guards.  
 " That the late Conspiracy was indisputably levelled against the Royal  
 " Majesty, not against his Ministers, as was ordinarily alledged by  
 " Malignants. That, in the Case of Religion, he stood by the Judg-  
 " ment of the more Learned : But This he protested, that no Coun-  
 " cils should ever have That Authority with him, as to make him de-  
 " part from the antient Worship of his Fore-Fathers in any Point, and  
 " especially in the Question of the most Holy Mystery. That, with  
 " regard to the Convocation of the States, he entirely submitted to the  
 " King's Pleasure". The last Speaker was the Cardinal of *Lorraine* ;  
 who, sharply inveighing against those Petitions, notwithstanding their  
 specious Modesty, declared, "That they ought to be considered as  
 " haughty Libels ; and that the Composers of them would be obedient  
 " only Conditionally, if the King assented to their wicked Opinions.  
 " For what else could be meant by a Meeting of fifty thousand Men to  
 " subscribe them ? But if Churches were granted to them, what would  
 " That be less, than approving their condemned Doctrine ? That besides  
 " it plainly appeared what was the Drift of their pernicious Counsels, from  
 " the infamous Books at least, dispersed by them in every Corner ;  
 " out of the immense Number of which, he had several in his Custody,  
 " which he carefully preserved as a signal Testimony of his own Ho-  
 " nour ; since he thought it glorious to be ill treated and maligned  
 " by a vile Company of Knaves : That nothing was more fallacious  
 " than depraved Religion : That the Name of the Gospel and the  
 " Christian Faith was assumed by them for the Purposes of Tumults  
 " and Insurrections ; and therefore they ought to be rigorously pu-  
 " nished. That his Opinion in short was, that the Severity of Punish-  
 " ments



A. D. 1560. "ments ought to be mitigated towards Them, who met together  
 " without Arms, from the sole Motive of Conscience; whom it seemed  
 " more proper to reduce to Duty by Admonition, than to compel by  
 " Force. To that purpose if he could be of any service, he was willing  
 " to lay down his Life for it. That Bishops and Parish-Priests should  
 " take continual Pains, that by their Presence hereafter they might re-  
 " pair the Loss of former Years: And that the Governours of Pro-  
 " vinces should be forced likewise to do their Duty. But then, when  
 " the Debate ran only upon Discipline and Corruption of Manners,  
 " it did not by any means seem necessary, to summon an Universal  
 " or a National Council: But, if there should be occasion for One,  
 " Orders should be directed to the Bishops and Parish-Ministers, that,  
 " noting such Errors as ought to be amended, they should advertise  
 " the King of them within the space of two months. That, for the  
 " Rest, he consented to the Opinion for calling an Assembly of the  
 " States." In the last Place, the Collared Knights went, as it were One  
 " and All, into the Sentiments of the Cardinal. Then the King and  
 " Catherine, returning Thanks to the whole Convention, promised to  
 " follow their Advice. At length a Decree was drawn up, on the 26th  
 " day of *August*, that an Assembly of the States should meet on the 9th  
 " of the ensuing *December*, in the City of *Meaux*; and, if an Universal  
 " Council could not be convened so soon, a National one should  
 " be summoned. And, because Hopes were given of one by the  
 " Pope, the Bishops on the 10th day of *January* should repair to a Place,  
 " which the King should appoint; that, if the Pope by excessive Dilatori-  
 " ness should cut off all Hopes of a General Council, they might deliberate  
 " in Common, concerning the Means of celebrating a National One:  
 " That in the mean time every one should retire to his respective Habi-  
 " tation, in order to return from thence better instructed, if there  
 " should be occasion. That Punishments, for the sake of Religion, should  
 " for the present be deferred: But that the Authority of the King and  
 " the Magistrates should be vindicated against Those, who had incited  
 " the Populace to Sedition, and the Kingdom to Arms. Thus, by  
 " degrees, with the tacit Consent of the Adversaries themselves, the Pro-  
 " testant Religion, formerly odious, began to grow up and gather Strength  
 " amongst Us.

The next thing they proceeded to do, was to distribute the Cavalry  
 " throughout the Provinces, in such a manner, that the Suspected Per-  
 " sons were generally dispersed and left single; and, for fear of their  
 " attempting any thing, were accompanied with greater numbers of the con-  
 " trary Stamp: The Duke of *Montpensier* was sent to his Government  
 " of the *Touraine*, and had assigned to him, besides his own Troop of  
 " Horse, Those of *Gommor* and *Vassey*, with One of *Scots*: The Prince  
 " *De la Roche-sur-Ton* to His Government of *Orleans*; with the Troops of  
 " the Duke of *Orleans*, Monsieur *De Trimouille*, and the Vidame de *Chartres*,  
 " joined to his Own. The Duke of *Nevers*, Governour of *Champagne*  
 " and the *Brie*, went to *Troyes*, with his Own Troop and Those of the  
 " Prince of *Condé*, *Francis de Esse*, *De la Roche-du-Maine* and *Beauvais*.

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The Marshall *de Montmorency*, with his Own and his Father's Troops, *A. D.* received Orders to remain in the Isle of *France*, of which he was Governor, and where he could create no Trouble, whilst the *Guises* governed all things in *Paris*. *S. André* departed towards *Moulins* in the *Bourbonnois*; to whom were assigned the Troops of *D'Anville*, *Bourdillon*, *La Fayette*, the Count *de Villars* and *Montluc*. To the Marshall *de Brissac*, Governor of *Piedmont*, were added, besides his Own Troop, Those of *Senarpont*, *Morvilliers*, *Humieres*, the Count *de Chaulnes* and *Hangeſt de Genly*. The Marshall *de Thermes* was sent to *Loches* in the *Touraine*, that he might have an Eye, as it was pretended, upon the Duke of *Montpensier*; and was accompanied, besides his Own, with the Troops of the Prince of *Navarre*, *Sanſac*, the Count *de la Roche-foucault* and his Brother *de Randan*, *Chabot* Count *de Charny*, *Daillon* Count *du Lude* and *Descars de la Vanguion*. To the *Sieur de Villebon* in the Lower *Normandy* were assigned, over and above his Own, the Troops of the Marquess *d'Elboeuf*, *Annebaut* and *La Mailleraye*. Lastly, the *Sieur de Vieilleville* was commanded to stop at *Rouen* with the Troops of the Admiral *De Coligny* and *D'Estree*.

That *La Sague*, of whom we have lately spoken, had been apprehended, not long after, by the Order of the *Guises*, with Letters upon him from divers Persons to the King of *Navarre*; which afforded an occasion of bringing the Prince of *Condé* to the Brink of Ruin. For when *La Sague* had come to *Fontaine-bleau*, meeting with one *Bame* otherwise called *Bonneval*, his Fellow-Soldier, who had served as Captain of a Company at *Casal* in the Marquisate of *Montferrat*, he said, that he heard from *La Roche*, the Ensign of the Royal Company of *Piedmontese* Foot, when he was at *Orleans*, that *Bame* had been ill treated by the *Guises*, and was well affected to the King of *Navarre*; and therefore he hoped to have his Company to *Guienne*. Upon *Bonneval's* seeming to assent, *La Sague* opens his Secrets with great Confidence, and tells all that he had heard from the Princes of *Bourbon*, or had conjectured from their Talk; adding, that they frequently complained of ill Treatment at the hands of the *Guises*, and were preparing to revenge it: And that all things were so well provided for the purpose, that the *Guises* could not, either by their Own or the Royal Power, escape the imminent Danger, even though they should be informed of the whole Design. All these Particulars *Bonneval* relates to the Marshall *de Brissac*, under whom he had served; and, being from thence ordered to go to the Duke of *Guise*, receives a Charge from Him, to keep up the secret Correspondence with *La Sague*, and to bring him into the Acquaintance of *Du Croc* the Queen's Cup bearer. Which being done, *Du Croc* pursues *La Sague*, as he was travelling homewards with Relays of Horses, and, overtaking him at *Estampes*, brings him Prisoner to the *Guises*; together with all the Letters, which he carried about him for the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*; especially some from the Lords of *Montmorency*; whom They had long wished for an occasion of traducing to the King, and now rejoiced in having found one. But they were deceived in their Expectations:



A.D. For the Letters contained nothing but Civilities, and such as gave the  
1560. Adversaries no handle for putting a worse Interpretation upon them.

The Letters of the Vidame de Chartres to the Prince of Condé filled them with a greater Panick; for they were so written, that, if they arrived safe, they might be understood by Friends; or, if they were intercepted, they might deceive Ignorant Persons, and admit of a fair Construction: In These the Vidame promised his Assistance to the Prince of Condé, if he attempted any thing for the King's Service. Which being perused by the Duke of Guise, the King's Orders were immediately given to Francis Rasin surnamed Poton, Seneschal of Agenois, and a Captain of the Royal Guards, that he should take the Prevost del' Hostel with him to Paris; and, after communicating the Matter to the President Christopher de Thou, to whom he carried Letters from the King, should apprehend the Vidame: Which was accordingly done; and on the 27th day of August he was committed to the Bastille. Then La Sague and Banne, when they had first been examined separately, and did not agree in their Answers, were at last confronted. When La Sague nevertheless persisted in denying the Accusation, being however looked upon as an Accomplice, he was at length condemned to the Torture: But the Man, being unaccustomed to such Trials, could not bear the sight of the Rack, but, terrified with the bare Threatning, disclosed all his Knowledge and Conjectures; detecting the Measures of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé: That they, for instance, were preparing to take a Journey to Court, with a numerous Band of Soldiers, in order to visit the King; and, under colour of passing that way, meant to seize Poitiers, Tours, Orleans, Cities attached to their Interest and strongly situated: That the Constable de Montmorency, should seize Paris the Capital City, by his Son the Governour, Picardy by Messieurs De Senarpons and Bouchavane, Bretagne by John de Brosset Duke d'Estampes, lastly Provence by Claude de Savoy Count de Tende his Brother-in-law, and the other Provinces and Cities of the Realm by his Dependants and Friends; with This View, that, by the Removal of the Guises from the Helm, they might assert the Publick Liberty, and settle the Government: Whom, if they did not give way, and likewise the Lords their Friends, in case of the like Refusal, the Confederates should compel by Force of Arms. He subjoined also some ambiguous Instructions, and such as seemed calculated to tempt particular Persons into an Insurrection, namely that Orleans had been pitched upon for a Magazine and Place of Arms for that purpose. These things La Sague confessed at that time. But Banneval, apprehensive of Vengeance, and seeing no place of Safety in France, in order to secure himself as it were without the Bounds of the Kingdom, by Craft and a notable piece of Perfidy, at the same time puts a Trick upon the Duke of Guise, and circumvents his Fellow-Soldier Guarigue. This Man was Governour of Versol Castle in the Marquisate of Saluzzo, situated between Carmagnola and Mount Cenis, and held by a small Garrison; and, in confidence of the strict Friendship which passed betwixt him and Banneval, had intrusted him with a blank Letter of Attorney, to receive his



his Salary for him : Which Powers *Bonneval* converted to a far different A.D. Use : For he filled up all the blank Space with a Letter written as it were 1560. with *Guarigue's* own hand to the Duke of *Guise* ; wherein it was signified, that he had designed to resign the Government, which he possessed, in favour of *Bonneval* his Tent-Mate, and therefore desired the Duke, to obtain a Patent for that purpose from the King. This Letter being received from *Bonneval*, the Duke, who wanted to remove an importunate Suitor from his Sight, delivers him a Patent for the Government ; with which, he immediately rides Post into *Piedmont* ; and, privately gathering some Forces, which he excused by the pretence of securing himself from his Enemies, goes to *Versol* ; taking his opportunity, when *Guarigue* was absent ; and, being received there by his Wife, a simple Woman, drives out the Garrison and seizes the Place : And, although his Fraud and wicked Boldness was afterwards detected, yet the Duke of *Guise* thought it proper to dissemble the matter ; and, loading *Guarigue* with Promises, ordered him for a time to be silent. Nor yet did *Bonneval* make sufficient Provision for his Security ; being soon after murdered at *Ravel* by some unknown Ruffians, hired either by the Prince of *Condé*, as it was generally given out, or, more probably, by *Guarigue*, in revenge for that personal Injury : And thus, whilst he avoids the Vengeance of his former Fact, he hastened his Ruin by a new Villany. But these things happened afterwards.

Four days after the Seizure of *La Sague*, Information came of the vain Attempt for the Surprizal of *Lions*, by Letters from *Achon* Abbot of *S. Savin*, who, being Sister's Son to the Marshall *de S. André*, commanded in the City during his Unkle's Absence. The Younger *Ferrieres Maligny*, of whom we have formerly discoursed, escaping from Court, had privately fled into *Provence* ; and, having raised Levies in the Neighbourhood, and sent a Party of his Men into the City, and communicated the Design to a good number within the Place, had so ordered all things, that he flattered himself with the certain Hopes of gaining *Lions*. But in the interval comes an Order from the King of *Navarre*, to discontinue the Enterprize : Which *Navarre* did by the Advice of *Montmorency* ; who earnestly besought him, that he would repair to Court, but abstain from the Seizure of Cities : For that it was a thing of pernicious Example ; and he could never justify his Proceedings to the People ; when He, who complained against an unjust and illegal Usurpation of the Government, should himself invade the Kingdom and disturb the Publick Tranquillity. From that time therefore *Maligny* acted more remissly, and, contenting himself with supporting his Friends with the hopes of better days, and holding his Troops in a readiness, remained in a quiet Posture ; when an unlooked-for Accident laid him as it were under a Necessity of making the Attempt. For whilst the Arms were carried every night out of the particular Houses of the Conspirators into a publick Room set apart for the purpose ; the thing being discovered by the Porters themselves, Proft the Mayor of the City, with three hundred Musqueteers,

by



A. D. by *Achon's* Order besets the Room; in which were about thirty chosen  
 1560. Men: At this Noise, in the middle of the Night, *Maligny*, who lodged  
 in the next House, was roused, and immediately ran to the Succour  
 of his Friends; who not only courageously sustained the Onset of the  
 Townsmen, but, wounding Many and repulsing the Rest, and  
 with sixty Men only seizing the Bridge laid over the *Saone*, kept  
 possession of the City between the *Rhosne* and the *Saone* for a long time;  
 in vain waiting, till the Conspirators, who were in the City, should  
 take Arms, and join him: But, when no body ventured abroad, and  
*Achon*, fearful of the Event, was unwilling to expose an opulent City  
 to the Chance of a Battle, he causes the Gates to be opened to *Maligny*,  
 who at the same time was looking about for an Outlet. Upon *Ma-*  
*ligny's* escaping with his Comrades, Several were apprehended and put  
 to the Rack, whereof Some confessed more than was demanded, whilst  
 Others retained their Constancy: And immediately Messieurs *De Gou-*  
*drin* and *De Maugiron*, being sent for by *Achon*, flew to the Relief of  
 the City. *Achon* himself, either for his good Conduct, or else through  
 the Recommendation of his Uncle, was preferred by the King to the  
 Bishoprick of *Arlés*, upon which he had long cast his Eye. But  
*S. André*, a Rapacious Man, and intent upon every opportunity of in-  
 vading the Property of Others, treats with *Catherine* and the *Guises*,  
 and gives them Assurances, that, if he were sent to *Lions*, he would  
 discover the Conspiracy formed by the Princes of *Bourbon*: For which  
 he soon gained their Consent; and, immediately repairing thither,  
 when by Threats and deceitful Words he had tried in vain to squeeze  
 an hundred thousand Crowns out of the Citizens, at last betaking himself  
 to Rapine, by the means of delegated Judges and suborned Witnesses,  
 he harassed many even Innocent Persons, and amongst the rest the  
 Brothers of *Chaumont*, whose large Estates he had already devoured in  
 his Thoughts; and likewise *La Borde*, a trusty Servant of the Prince of  
*Condé's*; out of whom, by the most exquisite Tortures, he could not  
 draw any thing, that might endanger his Master. Then he obtains a  
 Patent from the King, by which he was impowered to pursue the  
 Rebels throughout *Languedoc*, *Provence* and *Dauphiné*. The same Powers  
 were granted to *D' Aumale* the Duke of *Guise's* Brother, and the Mar-  
 shalls *de Brissac* and *de Thermes*. In the mean time the Report of new  
 Commotions spreading far and near, *Catherine*, in order to consult the  
 King's and her own Safety, went from *Fontaine-bleau* to *S. Germain*, a  
 Place, as she thought, of better Security. There the Brothers, the  
 Cardinal *de Chastillon*, and the Admiral, obtain leave of *Catherine*, for  
 certifying their Sister, the Lady Dowager of *Roye*, the Prince of *Condé's*  
 Mother-in-law, by Letters, of the Crimes objected to him. On the same  
 account, the King had sent *Anthony* Count *de Crussol* to the King of  
*Navarre*; with Orders, that he should bring his Brother the Prince of  
*Condé* with him to Court; under a Promise, that no harm should happen  
 to him; because the King thought him innocent of the Crimes laid  
 to his Charge; but that it concerned his own Interest and the Prince  
 of *Condé's* Reputation, that the Falshood of the Accusation, and the  
 real



real Truth of the Fact should be cleared up. The Brothers *de Coligny* A. D. had likewise promised *Catherine*, that they would write to the Lady of 1560. *Roye*, that, if she thought her Son-in-law innocent, and had a Mind to recommend him to the King, she should advise him to present himself before his Majesty by the first Opportunity : Which when they had done, *Mademoiselle de Roye*, returned Word, that she did not harbour the least doubt of the Prince's Innocency ; but that it seemed very hard, that the Prince should go naked to Court, where the *Guises*, his Capital Enemies, with their Friends, bore an absolute Sway : These Letters being shewn to *Catherine*, the *Colignyes*, taking their Leave, departed from Court. About the same time, *Catherine*, being at her Seat of *Monceaux*, received a Letter from *Mademoiselle de Roye* ; wherein she said, that the Prince of *Condé* would indeed come, if he were commanded ; as being always ready to obey the King : But that it ought not to seem grievous or strange to her, if, since he was to come to a Place, where the *Guises*, his Enemies, ruled every thing, he should appear attended with a larger Retinue than ordinary : With which Letter *Catherine* being offended, answered, that no Body ought to approach the King, with a greater Retinue than his own : But if the Prince of *Condé* would come with a numerous One, he should find the King attended with a much greater. In the mean time, *Robert de la Haye*, a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, was apprehended, at the King's Command, by the *Prevôt de le Hôtel*, as an Accomplice with the Prince of *Condé*, and conducted to *S. Germain*. A little before, *Francis de Barbançon*, *Sieur de Cami*, had been seized likewise in his Castle of *Varane* on the *Oyse*, near *Noyon* ; being suspected, on Account of a large Quantity of Arms, which he was said to keep secretly by him : Although, the necessary Weapons of Defence excepted, when his House had been thoroughly searched, there were hardly found more than sufficient for two Men. Nevertheless he was taken up, and committed to the Custody of *Francis Hangeſt de Genly*, who undertook to be his Surety. An Ediſt was also made, that None, either Prince or Other, of what Rank soever, should make Levies of Soldiers, Money, Arms, or Horses ; and that whoever was found guilty of this Practice, should be subject to the Pains of High-Treason. Then, after the Count *de Crussol*, was sent the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, Brother to the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*, and, for this Reason, the fitter Person to detain them ; in order to bring them to Court ; under the Royal Promise, that they should suffer no greater Hardship from the King. Supplications likewise, and publick Prayers were ordered, for the Safety of the King, and the Tranquillity of the Realm, and for the happy Celebration of the ensuing Council, of which Hopes were given. The Assembly of the States, which had been summoned to meet at *Meaux*, was translated from thence to *Orleans* ; and the Marshal *de Thermes*, with two hundred Horse-Cuirassiers, was detached to *Poitiers*, that he might be ready at all Events, if the King of *Navarre* attempted any thing in his Passage. In this Interval, *La Sague*, either corrupted with Assurances of Impunity, or that he had no Hopes of receiving any Benefit from Silence, admonishes the



A.D. 1560. *Guises*, on the ninth day of *October*, that they should dip the Paper-Cover, in which the Vidame's intercepted Letters were wrapped, in Water; for that then they should know the Instructions given to him for the Prince of *Condé*, by *Frenin d' Ardoy* a *Gascon*, *Anne de Montmorency's* Amanuensis, and the King of *Navarre's* Vassal, and the whole Scheme of the Design particularly set forth. Accordingly the Cover, which by Chance had been preserved by *L'Aubespine*, was produced; and, upon its being washed with Water, the violent Measures, concerted against the *Guises*, appeared: For it was found written in *D'Ardoy's* Hand, that *Montmorency* persisted in his Resolution, that the *Guises* should be removed out of the Way; which, he trusted, might be done without Opposition, by a Decree of the ensuing Assembly of the States, even against the Will of the King and *Catherine*; provided They did but come, and by their Presence confirm their Friends. It was added by *D'Ardoy*, that most People looked upon this Advice of *Montmorency's* as unsafe and hazardous; and thought that the Princes would act more bravely, if, when they came to Court, they should attack the *Guises* with Arms, by their Own Dependants: For that vast Numbers would infallibly flock thither upon the Noise of a Change, whilst They with the Lords, who favoured the Cause, should be present. Nor would it be unacceptable to *Montmorency* and his Friends, who in that State of Confusion would attempt their own Revenge, and had the bravest of the Soldiery at their Command. In the mean while, the Vidame of *Chartres* was treated with extraordinary Severity; insomuch that his Lady, *Joan d'Esiffac*, was not suffered to come near him, though she offered herself to be confined in the same Prison. Being examined, what he meant by the Letter, wherein he made such ample Promises of assisting the Prince of *Condé*, if the latter had any Design on Foot for the King's Service; he answered at large, that the Letter could not possibly involve him in the Suspicion of any Measures, which were not directed to the Service of his Majesty: That he was indeed a Kinsman and a Friend of the *Guises*, but that he paid a Deference to the Princes of the Blood, as he ought to do, beyond them: And therefore, if the Duke of *Guise* had any Contention or Quarrel with the King of *Navarre*, or the Prince of *Condé*, he was ready to lay down his Life in their Service against the Duke. Then, on the \* Twenty Eighth of *September*, the Day preceeding the Festival of *S. Michael*, on which the Anniversary of the Collared Order is celebrated; the Vidame, fearing, lest the Extravagancies of his Youth might be prejudicial to him at this time, when he was a Man, by the Advice of his Friends, presented a Petition to the College of Knights; wherein, alledging the Delay of Judicial Proceedings, his ill State of Health (which could not well bear so long Attendance) and the Prerogative of the Order, he desired, that his Cause might be heard by his Colleagues; in Case he had done any thing against the King's Majesty, for which he ought to be removed from that Order. The Petition having been publicly read by the Cardinal of

\* For *Idibus* *Oct.* the common Reading, there seems to be a Necessity of reading *IV. Kal. Oct.*—See Vol. I. p. 290. of this Translation.



*Lorraine*, the Chancellor of the Order; *Montmorency*, as Head of the A.D. College, first delivered his Opinion, and affirmed, that, Favour which he 1560. requested, ought to be granted to the Honour of an illustrious Family, related by Affinity to the Princes of the Blood and by Consanguinity to himself, and to the Privilege of the Order; obliquely reflecting upon the Form of the Process issued against the Vidame. This produced a warm Contention, not without Bitterness of Expressions; whilst the Cardinal, interpreting the Reflections cast upon the Form of the Process as levelled against himself, grew violently angry; till he was checked by his Brother of *Guise*, who herein affected the Character of Moderation. At last That Party prevailed, which declared for the Honour and Privileges of the Order. On the next Day, eighteen Knights were created, for the most part from amongst the Friends and Dependants of the *Guises*, as had been practised in the former Year; notwithstanding the Resentment expressed by *Montmorency*, against such a Profanation of an Illustrious Order, out of ambitious Views. For what further Honour would be paid to Princes and worthy Generals, if, what was formerly seldom granted, and to None but to Noble Families, or extraordinary Merits, were now promiscuously conferred at the Pleasure of an arbitrary Ministry? Amongst Those was *Cornelius Bentivoglio*, in other respects a Man of Reputation for his Conduct in the *Tuscan Wars*, but yet preferred to this Honour, with a secret Design of affronting the Princes of *Bourbon*; whose Brother, \* *Francis de Bourbon Duke d'Anguien*, he was said to have killed at *La Rocheguyon*, in Obedience to the Duke of *Guise* and the Marshal *de S. André*, after a Mock-Fight, by throwing down a Chest upon his Head: For this was now openly given out, by the Adverse-Party, to increase the Odium; though he had excused the Thing to the King of *Navarre*, as done out of Wantonness by a Company of thoughtless Persons.

In the mean time, the Protestants grew more numerous every Day throughout *France*, and frequent Assemblies were every where held; the Boldness of the Professors increasing with their Numbers. For, at *Valence* in *Dauphiné*, *Peter Brüllé*, born in the *Pais Messin*, had taught for a long Time, and was succeeded in that Office by *Giles Sanlas* of *Montpelier*; under whom That Doctrine throve in a wonderful Manner; so that in the Night-time Sermons were preached in the publick Schools. *Sanlas* was succeeded by *Lamoelot*, a Man of a good Family in *Anjou*, under whom again a new Accession was made: But, Petulance beginning to arise, and the Fear of the Laws being taken off, they departed from their first Modesty; and, being imboldened by their Adherents amongst the Youth, which studied the Civil Law in the famous University of that City, and was incited more by the Love of Novelty than by a pious Zeal, they forcibly seized the Church of the *Franciscans*, and publicly met in it to hear Sermons, under the Protection of *Mirabel*, and one *Quintel*, a noted Captain in the Wars of *Piedmont*, and inseparable Friend of *Mirabel's*, and other Gentlemen. The same Licen-

\* Vulg. *Johan*. But see *De Thou* himself, p. 113. Vol. I.



A. D. cioufnefs was used by the Inhabitants of *Montelimard*, through the secret  
 1560. Indulgence of *Bouriac* the Governour, to whom there joined themselves  
 of the Gentry, *Conips*, *Charles du Puy Sieur de Monbun*, *Albert Pape de*  
*S. Auban*, of whom mention has been made above in the War of *Siena*,  
*La Charité*, *Condorcet*, *Nicaise*, *Suzet*, and other Captains. Sermons were  
 openly delivered by a certain Monk, named *La Tempeste*, who, with-  
 out forsaking his former Habit, had abandoned the antient Religion;  
 and by *Francis S. Paul*, a Divine of great Note amongst the Protestants.  
 The same thing was practised at *Romans*, with the Assistance of Mes-  
 sieurs *de Changy*; and Meetings were held in the Great Church in the  
 upper Part of the City, every where with an armed Force, and not  
 without affronting the Catholicks. During these Proceedings, after the  
 Suppression of the Tumults at *Amboise*, an Instrument from the King was  
 sent to *Bouriac* the Seneschal of the *Valentinois*, containing a Pardon for  
 what had passed, provided that All Persons would return to the Re-  
 ligion of their Fore-Fathers; to which a Letter of *John de Montluc*, the  
 Bishop of the City, was also annexed. Upon a publick Reading of  
 this Amnesty, before a Meeting of the City-Council, *Bouriac*, when  
 with affected Language he had commended the King's Clemency, and  
 had exhorted All to pay Obedience, and to pray for the Safety of their  
 Sovereign; turning to the By-standers, demanded of them, whether  
 they would take the Benefit of it. Then *Mirabel*, after premising, that  
 the Brethren did not usually do any thing without first invoking the  
 Name of God, with *Bouriac's* Consent beckoned to one of their Dea-  
 cons, as they called him, *du Saillant* by Name; upon whose beginning  
 to pray, almost all the Company present, apprehensive of Danger, fell  
 upon their Knees, and joined with *du Saillant*; the Clergy only ex-  
 cepted, who, in the mean time, stood exposed to the Insults of the  
 People, not without Fear. Prayers ended, the Brethren answered; That  
 they should always pay the utmost Obedience to the King; that with  
 regard to the King's Indulgence contained in that Instrument, they had  
 not conspired against Him, nor attempted any thing against the Com-  
 monwealth; they had only sought Liberty of Conscience, and, for the  
 Maintenance of it, had appointed lawful Assemblies; that in other re-  
 spects they had always studied the publick Tranquillity, and prayed for  
 the King in their Congregations; that for their own Protection meerly,  
 and with no Design of disturbing the publick Repose, they had taken  
 Arms; and accordingly stood in no need of a Pardon. Thus the Duke  
 of *Guise* found himself disappointed; and the open Profession of the  
 New Religion was settled every where in *Dauphiné*, as it were by the  
 Magistrate's Authority: With which Proceedings the Duke, who was  
 Governour of the Province, being violently incensed, (when he saw,  
 to his Grief, that *Anthony de Clermont Talart* his Lieutenant-Governour,  
 a Man of a gentle and peaceable Disposition, acted in the Business with  
 less Vigour, than he desired); gave it in Charge to *Lawrence de Maugir-  
 on*, a Retainer to the Court, and one ready for any servile Office, that  
 he should provide for the Security of the Province, and the King's Au-  
 thority in it. He goes to work, by the means of one *Vmay*, a subtle  
 Fellow,



Fellow, who, having been genteely educated, and tinctured with a *A. D.* good Degree of Learning, and afterwards immersed in Debaucheries, 1560. and, from a Likeness of Manners, being more acceptable to *Maugiron*, went frequently backwards and forwards amongst the Protestants, and filled them with Hopes of better Days. *Maugiron* therefore, having learned from Him, what They were doing, raises a Band of undisciplined Troops at *Vienne*, and sends for a Company of dissolute, but stout Fellows from *Lions*, whom he causes to be conveyed down the *Rhône* to *Valence*. Which, however, was not performed so silently, but that the Protestants, knowing of *Maugiron's* Design, were upon their Guard; and accordingly assembling themselves at St. *Francis's* Church, under *Mirabel* and *Quintel*, stood in a Posture of Defence. *Maugiron*, by Concert, had been received with his Friends, by the Consuls of the City and the Clergy; and all Things were excellently well prepared, in Case his Intrigues could succeed: For *Vmay* had drawn together all the Cannon, Powder, and Ammunition to the Cathedral Church of *S. Apollinaire*: But, the Attempt still seeming hazardous, it was resolved to abstain from Violence; and, a Conference being demanded, *Maugiron* with some of his Friends goes to *Mirabel*; and, if they were only met for the sake of Religion, exhorts them to lay down their Arms; for that, since the Tumult of *Amboise*, all armed Meetings were deservedly suspected by the King. For the rest, he promises in the King's Name, that no Person should be a Sufferer for the publick Profession of Religion; for so the King had commanded: Then, in Order to gain the more Credit, and to convince them of his Kindness to them, he vents himself in opprobrious Language against the Pope; and prevails so far, that They, who had come armed into the City from the neighbouring Country, began to disperse, by the Exhortations and Persuasions of *Vmay*, whom they looked upon as a Favourer of their Doctrine: And now there remained None, but the Students in the Civil Law; upon whose returning to their respective Lodgings, *Maugiron* seizes the Gates of the City, and, dispersing his Men up and down the Streets, falls to pillaging the Place. Some were made Prisoners, and for a Sum of Money set at Liberty; and many hostile Outrages were committed, as if the City had been taken by Storm: And immediately (for so the Duke of *Guise* had ordered) seventeen Companies of Veteran Soldiers flew thither; and *Gaspar de Saul* *Sieur de Tavannes*, with his Own, and *Clermont's*, and the Prince of *Salerno's* Troops of Horse-Cuirassiers, entered the Province. Upon whose Arrival, *John Truchon*, First President of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, with *Rimard*, *De Pons*, *L' Aubespine*, *Du Vache*, *De Roostaing*, *De Bellievre*, Counsellors, and *N. Bourrel* surnamed *Ponsenas*, Fischal Advocate, came to *Valence*. As they travelled through *Romans*, by *Vmay's* Assistance, near sixty Men were apprehended and thrown into Prison. In the mean time, *Maugiron* had gone to *Montelimard*; where, when he had found the Townsmen in Arms, thinking to effect his Purpose sooner by Stratagem than Force, in many Words he professes, that he was come as a Friend, and exhorts them to lay down their Arms; for that the King would not hurt any Man



A. D. upon a religious Account. Thus being admitted, and becoming 1560, Master of the Town, he betook himself to plunder, as he had done at *Valence*, and pillaged the richest Houses. *Truchon*, a Man of Prudence and Moderation, who thought the People's Behaviour to be unprecedented, and that the Licentiousness of Assembling in Arms ought to be restrained, and was moreover, desirous of preventing *Maugiron* and his Followers from sacking the Cities, uses Expedition. Two Ministers were found guilty, as Authors of Sedition and Rebellion (for This was the Title prefixed to the Crime); and in pursuance, of *L'Aubespine's* Opinion, in order to prevent their haranguing the People, they were led to Execution with their Mouths gagged. *Marquet*, *Chastelain* of *Soyon*, *Blanchier*, and three others were also condemned to Death. These Things were done at *Valence*, before the second Instrument, obtained by the Procurement of *Montluc* the Bishop, came from the King; containing a Pardon for All Persons, except Those, who had entered their Names in the Conspiracy of *Amboise*. At *Romans* likewise, *Robert* and *Matthew de Rebours* suffered Death, and a Porter was whipped and condemned to the Gallies. The rest were dismissed; not without a secret Blot remaining upon the Character of *Porfenas*, who, being indigent, and sunk in Luxury, was reported to repair his private Deficiencies, by Rapine and sordid Gain. By the Protestants, interpreting every thing in their own Favour, it was remarked, that *L'Aubespine*, who had proposed the Gaggling of the Ministers, being shortly after seized with a wild Passion for a certain Woman, and from thence contracting a Frenzy, attended with the Lowly Evil, expired amidst the most exquisite Tortures; an Instrument being thrust into his Mouth by his Friends, to make him take Victuals, which He, impatient of the Pain, and therefore resolving to die, in his Madness refused. And as for *Porfenas*, who was overwhelmed with Debts, when he had squandered his Own and his Wife's Fortune in Gluttony, that He likewise, from a Consciousness of his wicked Life, fell into Madness; from whence despairing of his Eternal Salvation, and being bound by his Friends, he died miserably poor, in the midst of terrible Howlings, and the most racking Pains.

These Commotions in *Dauphiné*, though tolerably composed for a Time, were soon after revived by the *Sieur de Monbrun*, who thought that the People might safely meet in Arms, for the sake of Religion; to whom, as a Person of Distinction amongst them, Many of the Gentry joined themselves. He, finding the Parliament preparing to proceed against him upon that Account, writes a Letter to his old Friend *John D'Avançon*, who had been lately sent to *Grenoble* by the Duke of *Guise*, and deprecates the Severity of the Laws; for that he was armed only for the sake of Religion and his own Safety, and had never designed any thing against the King: However *Marin Bouver*, *Prevost des Marechaux*, was sent to apprehend him and his Followers. But He, when he had come to *Rullant*, a little Town not far from *Monbrun*, from whence this *Charles du Puy* took his Surname, upon the Seizure of one of his Domesticks, precipitated his Measures, and discovered him-  
self



self sooner than he had designed. *Monbrun* accordingly, calling together his Friends, sends to *Bouvier*, and re-claims his Servant; and, a Conference being desired with *Bouvier*, the Quarrel growing warm, they fell from Words to Blows; and an Occasion was taken, after some rough Treatment, to apprehend *Bouvier* himself. Which done, *Monbrun*, entering *Rullanes*, seizes *Bouvier's* Officers, who upon the Arresting of their Master, were astonished and dispersed; taking from them the Arret of Parliament, and carrying them Prisoners with him to the Town of *Monbrun*. The Officers were afterwards dismissed, and only *Bouvier* retained. This co-incided with the Time, that the Duke of *Guise*, disgusted with the indolent Conduct of *Clermont* (a Man otherwise addicted to *Montmorency*, and related to the Dutchess of *Valentinois*, whom the Duke, in favour of *Catherine*, had undertaken to distress), appointed *De Gondrin*, a Man of great Experience in Military Affairs, and his trusty Friend, to be his Lieutenant-General in *Dauphiné*; whereat the Gentry were at the beginning enraged, crying out, that it was contrary to the Rights and Privileges of the Province, that a Stranger should be the King's Lieutenant in that Government: Nevertheless, the King's Patent for that Purpose was sent, and, for That Time, registered: He therefore, as soon as he enters upon his Office, by the Motion of the Parliament, writes to *Monbrun*, and orders him, that, releasing *Bouvier*, he should appear before the Parliament to take his Trial; That, in Case of Disobedience, He should use Arms and open Force with him, (since those Attempts had a Tendency to Rebellion), and make him at length repent of his Temerity. As *Monbrun* was wavering, and, through Fear of the Royal Name and the Magistrate, preparing to disband his Forces, fresh Courage was inspired into him, by the Arrival of *Alexander Guillotin*, a Civilian, born at *Vauress*, in the County of *Venaissin*; who, in the Name of the Protestants, groaning (as he said) under the Papal Tyranny in that Neighbourhood, besought *Monbrun* to join Forces with him in the Common Cause: He added, that amongst the Inhabitants of the *Venaissin*, who gave their Minds to a Purer Religion, it had been debated, whether they could take Arms with a safe Conscience against the Pope their Sovereign: And that, after various Disputations, it had been determined to be lawful; since the Pope ought not to be reputed their Sovereign; as one who possessed the County of *Venaissin*, not rightfully, but by having forcibly taken it in former Times from *Raimund* of *Tholouse*; and who could not exercise any sort of Magistracy or Dominion, Spiritual Authority excepted, over Mankind: Because Christ had pronounced, that the King's of the Earth, indeed, exercised Lordship over their Subjects, but that His Followers should not domineer in that manner; the greatest of whom He would have to be reputed the least. By these Reasons, *Guillotin* declared, that the People of *Venaissin* had been induced, to depute him to *Monbrun*, and offer him the Government, because they thought it might be done with a safe Conscience. *Monbrun*, who had then near three hundred choice Soldiers about him, and was very unwilling to disband them, greedily embraced the Occasion presented to him of re-  
moving



A. D. moving the War from the King's Dominions into the Pope's, and accepted the Office; and, *Guillotim's* Powers, (which were very full) being first seen, it was at length agreed, that, at the same time, *Guillotim* should seize *Vezon*, a Place strongly situated, and *Monbrun* the Town of *Malossene*, not far from *Vezon*, in which the Ordnance, and other warlike Stores were reposed: The Fifth of *August* was appointed for the Day. But, when, from *Guillotim's* passing backwards and forwards, the Townsmen had entertained a Suspicion of some secret Design, they took the greater Care to provide for their Security, by doubling the Guards: Which Precaution disturbed the Attempts of the Associates. *Guillotim* himself, being at the same time attacked with a violent Distemper, sent his Excuses to the *Sieur de Monbrun*. But *Monbrun*, who thought him to be rather disheartened, than infested with a Fever, and hoped, that after the Gaining of *Malossene* he should easily reduce *Vezon*, on the Day prefixed seizes *Malossene* with eight hundred Men, and from thence leads his little Army directly to *Vezon*; whither *Guillotim*, weak as he was, came to him with two hundred armed Men. At *Avignon* was *James Maria Sala* Bishop of *Viviers*, the Vicar of Cardinal *Alexander Farnese*; who immediately sent thither *Caderousse* and *Aubignan*, with *Breton* *Sieur de Grillon*, and the *Sieur de Novexan*, and also a Band of undisciplined Troops (which marched leisurely behind them), in order to enquire what *Monbrun* would have, and to hinder his Attempts. Nothing was concluded in that Conference. For when the Bishop had intercepted some of *Monbrun's* Men, whilst his own Friends were at the Conference; *Monbrun*, that on his Part, arrests the Deputies for Violation of Faith, 'till his Friends should be sent back: Upon whose Dismission, *Guillotim* was nevertheless detained, because, in the time of the Conference, he had entered *Vezon*, and tempted the Fidelity of the Townsmen. Thus they came to Arms; the Success of which the Bishop fearing, after some Trials in light Skirmishes, implores the Assistance and Protection of *Gondrin*; beseeching him, that he would command *Monbrun* to lay down his Arms; and, to incite *Gondrin* the more, orders him twelve thousand Crowns. Shortly after, on the seventeenth day of *August*, Letters were also sent from the King to *Gondrin*; that he should raise Forces, in order to pursue *Monbrun*. Whilst therefore *Gondrin* was making Preparations for War, he again writes to *Monbrun*, and requires him, if he was a faithful Subject to the King, to cease Hostilities in the Papal Territories; promising him Pardon, and every thing favourable from the King, in Case of Obedience. To which *Monbrun* answers, that He was the King's faithful Subject, and had not taken Arms against Him or his Servants: On the contrary, that, to take away the Scandal of any such thing, he had lately retired out of the King's Dominions; but, at the Request of the Inhabitants of *Venaissin*, had indeed assembled some Troops for Their Defence; and that, since he had been commanded to depart out of *France*, he could not with a better Right, or more conformably to his Duty, remove to any other Place, than into His Lands, to whose Cruelty and Ambition it was owing, that Christian Princes united themselves, as it were in a Conspiracy, for the Extirpation of God's Children.



Children. In the mean time, the *Sieur de Gondrin* causes the Artillery A.D. to advance from *Grenoble*, and orders the Train-Bands and regular 1560. Troops of the Province to be mustered; and with his Own, the Prince of *Salerno's* and *Clermont's* Troops of Horse-Cuirassiers, marches towards *Boulenes*; seven Leagues from *Maloffene*. He was presently joined by the Vicar's Troops, under *S. Jaille* and *Rosset*, two infamous Robbers and Murderers, who for fear of Punishment had fled their Native Country, and taken Refuge in the Pope's Dominions. The whole Army made four thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. Then, little Essays of each others Strength were made by some light Skirmishes, which ended to the Disadvantage of the Pope's Troops. About this time the Cardinal *de Tournon*, returning from *Rome*, when he had landed at *Marseilles*, and, in Company with *Monsieur Poulin*, was proceeding up the *Rhofne* to *Lions*, gaining Information of these Troubles, and grieving for the Fortune of *Monbrun* (who had married his Brother's Daughter), by Letters and Expresses exhorts him, to lay aside turbulent Counsels, and follow Peace: Which if he would do, the Cardinal promises him the King's Pardon, the Safety of his House, Liberty of Conscience, and the Restitution of his Effects. Not long after, *La Forest* *Sieur de Blacons*, *S. Marie*, *Le Port*, *La Roche*, were sent by *Gondrin* to treat of a Peace; who, by Virtue of a Royal Commission, and in the Name of *Gondrin* and the States of the Province, were impowered to give Security for the Performance of the Articles. The Conditions proposed were, that *Monbrun* should lay down his Arms, retire quietly to his own House, and observe the Rites of the *Roman Church*; which if he did not approve, he should be obliged to depart out of *France*; in which Case he and his Friends might sell their Estates within the Space of a Year: It was left to his Option, which Condition he would embrace: The Gentry likewise passed their Word, that the Stipulations should be honestly and faithfully observed. *Monbrun* acquiesced in the latter Clause of the Articles; so much the more willingly, as he had received Intelligence of young *Ferrieres Maligny's* Designs, (of which we have already discoursed), and judged it convenient, that his own Troops, intended for that Service, should at present, for the Concealment of his Intentions, be disbanded. It had been agreed, that the Prisoners on both sides should be discharged; and that *Monbrun*, returning home with his Men, should then dismiss them: But when he found, that his Men were picked down singly, and stripped by the Papal Troops, contrary to the Articles; and that besides, in the Neighbourhood of *Monbrun*, the *Sieur de Gondrin*, who was obliged also to dismiss His Forces, had placed Garrisons in *Vaupiere*, *De Serre*, and an adjoining Monastery; he resumes his former Counsels, and, with about two hundred of his Soldiers, takes *Vaupiere* by Storm. The Garrison he spares; but the Priests, found in the Town, he treats with Severity, because They were the Cause, as he said, that many of his Men had been killed, in Violation of the Treaty. *Gondrin*, incensed at this Conduct, and thinking *Monbrun* to be stronger than he was, again joins Forces with *Anthony de la*



A. D. Baume Count *de Suse*, and the Vicar ; and, near the Town of *Moulans*, 1560. comes up with the *Sieur de Monbrun* : The Latter, unequal in Force, supplies his want of Numbers by Cunning ; and, having no more than four hundred Foot and fifty Horse, lays an Ambuscade in three commodious Places, trusting to his Situation, amidst deep Vallies and craggy Mountains, and Cuts made by a River and many rapid Streams. He had also disposed his Men in such a manner, that they might support one another, and be sure of a safe Retreat after the Fight ; and had ordered, that they should not begin the Onset, 'till All *Gondrin's* Men had penetrated into the narrow Passes. But, through the Ardour of his Soldiers, who, without expecting the Word of Command, sallied out, his Measures were precipitated, and only some of the foremost of the Enemy were taken Prisoners or killed. The Rest, *Gondrin*, who brought up the Rear, caused to halt ; and behind, in the Plain below, ranged them in order of Battle. With no less Vigour, the *Sieur de Monbrun*, though vexed to see the finest Opportunity of destroying the Enemy lost by the Impatience of his Followers, came also himself out of the Ambush, and drew up his Troops as it were in a fighting Posture. But *Gondrin*, an old Officer, either that he did not think it safe to fight with a Company of desperate Men, or had no Mind to come to a decisive Blow, (because of his Avarice, as it was pretended, and the vast Advantages, which he made by the daily Contributions of the Pope and his Legate, for the Support of the War), would not by any means commit his Fortune to the Chance of a Battle ; but contented himself with having driven *Monbrun's* Men to such a Pass, that, not being able to find a safe Retreat any where, they should moulder away, and consult their Safety by dispersing themselves : For the Project, of surprising *Lions*, had by this time miscarried ; and the Affairs of the Protestants were said to be every where declining in the Kingdom. *Monbrun* therefore, being abandoned by his Men, resolved to go out of *France* ; and chose one Person for his Confident and Companion in the Design, named *Matthew d'Antoine*, a Civilian ; whom he supposed both to be attached to the Doctrine, which He himself embraced, and to be his faithful Friend. Taking *Antoine* with him, and also his Wife (of whom this obnoxious Gentleman was immoderately fond) he puts himself upon the Road : But, when, in his way to *Merindol*, he had come to *Busquet*, this *Antoine* (his malignant Nature, which had hitherto lain concealed, getting the better of his Fidelity) took up a most detestable and perfidious Resolution ; and, imploring the Aid of the Townsmen against a Ringleader of Rebels and Hugonets, (so he called *Monbrun*) laid the first Hands upon him : But He, slipping the Gold-Chain from his Neck, which that Villain had seized, and throwing the Man himself upon the Ground, dropped from the Window of the Inn, and made his Escape through By-Roads ; changing his silken Coat, the better to deceive his Pursuers, for a Peasant's Linnen Frock. His Wife was stripped of all her Moveables ; and Mules, loaded with a Variety of Furniture, and all his Baggage were seized by *Antoine*, who pretended an Order from the *Sieur de Gondrin* ; to whom when he had repaired,



repaired, and related many things, either of his own Invention or by *A. D.* Hear-say only from *Monbrun*, concerning the Prince of *Condé's* Designs, 1560. he was kindly received; in hopes, that he might some time or other be produced as a Witness against the Prince himself. The same Person, having received a Detachment of Soldiers from *Gondrin*, in order to surprise *Monbrun* in *Savoy*, when he had happened to light upon him, either through a fatal Blindness, or the Remorse of Shame and Conscience, miscarried. Thus *Monbrun*, robbed of all his Effects, arrived with his Faithful Wife, his inseparable Companion in both Fortunes, at *Geneva*, and from thence retired into the Canton of *Bern*. *Guillotim* met with harder Fortune in his way to *Switzerland*; being apprehended near *Grenoble*, and charged by *Antoine* as the First Promoter of the War in the County of *Venaissin*: However, when he boldly denied the Fact, and the Proofs were not at hand, he escaped the Severity of a Sentence; being preserved by the Duke of *Guise's* Order, that he might be confronted with the Prince of *Condé*. At the same time the Brothers *de Changy* (of whom we have spoken) were likewise seized by their First Cousin *de S. Chaumont*, as Accomplices in the late Conspiracy; from whose Mouth, it was hoped, that the Prince might be convicted.

Nor was *Provence* without its Troubles; the beginning of which we shall trace from the preceeding Year. *Anthony* and *Paul de Richiend*, commonly called the Brothers *De Mourvans*, Inhabitants of *Castellane*, and descended from a good Family, when they had gained a considerable Reputation in the Wars of *Piedmont*, being tinctured with the Doctrine of the Protestants, kept themselves quiet at home; having sent for a Pastor from *Geneva*, who preached in the night-time at their Houses; whither many people, though in a very severe Winter, flocked from all Parts. At this the Townsmen being uneasy, by the Instigation of a Franciscan Fryar, who preached amongst them in *Lent*, took Arms, and, to the number of five hundred Men, invested *Anthony's* House. When *Paul*, going upon that account to *Aix*, had complained to the Parliament of the Insult; and the Townsmen had reciprocally accused the Brothers *De Mourvans* for holding unlawful Meetings in their Houses; nothing could be obtained: At length it was decreed, that the Brothers should be prosecuted as Sectaries. From thence *Paul* hastens to Court, and, having lodged a Complaint against the Parliament of *Aix* for Partiality, obtains an Order, that the Cognizance of the Cause should be taken from Them, and referred to the Parliament of *Grenoble*. The Evidences were however detained, in pursuance of the Cardinal's Command, by the Judges his Adversaries; so that the Prosecution of the Cause was necessarily intermitted. Notwithstanding this, *Messieurs de Mourvans* did not rest; but, when they could do nothing else, gathering on all hands Witnesses, Acts, Instruments and Proofs, they lodged a Complaint with the King against the Corruptions, Robberies and Depredations of the Parliament of *Aix*; which thing ought to have been done at the Common Charge of the Protestants. In the midst of the Business, *Anthony*, being desired by his Friends to be reconciled to the Townsmen, accepts the Proposal, and on a day appointed repairs to  
*Fuyeuse*:



A. D. *Fuyeuse*; where not finding the Umpires ready, he goes in the Evening 1560. to *Draguignan*. Being there immediately surrounded by a Company of Boys, set on, as it was thought, by the Clergy of the Place; when near three thousand Men, with confused Voices, demanding him to be put to death, had joined them; he at length surrendered himself into the hands of the Governour of the Town under the Royal Protection: But he could not even by this Method escape the Fury of the incensed Populace; who, blinded with Rage, took him out of the Governour's hands, and barbarously murdered him: Then, opening his Belly, they dragged his Bowels through the Streets, and at last flung them into a Common-Sewer under the Walls. His Heart and Liver, fixed upon a Spear, and carried about the Town for a long time in horrid Pomp, were given at last as Meat to the Dogs; upon whose rejecting such Food, the Persons who had offered them to be eaten, flying into a Passion, vented their Cruelty upon the Dogs as Lutherans. Of this matter when the other Brother *Paul* had complained to the Parliament of *Aix*, there were sent to *Draguignan*, out of That Body, *Henry Victor* and *Esprit Vitalis*; who, inquiring not so much into *Anthony's* Murder, as into his Manners and Religion, caused the Body of the Deceased, which had been salted by the Murderers, to be carried into the City. The Townsmen, having experienced the secret Favour of the Parliament, and taking confidence from thence, committed various Outrages upon *Mourvan's* Friends and Relations, as Persons of Suspected Religion. This fell in with the Time of *Henry's* Death; from which Moment *Paul* lived in continual Fear, being at vast Charges in maintaining Soldiers for the Defence of his Life; 'till upon the Arrival of *Chasteauneuf* (who was present at the Assembly holden by *La Renaudie* at *Nantes*) in order to raise Soldiers in *Provence*, at a Meeting of no less than sixty Gentlemen at *Merindol*, he himself was unanimously chosen General; which Commission he executed with wonderful Diligence, by making exact Musters of the Men, nominating Captains, and preparing Necessaries. Upon a careful Computation, their Party was found to consist of two thousand Men well armed. With the help of which, being overjoyed that he had an opportunity of revenging his Injuries, and recovering his Brother's Dead Body, which was ignominiously kept unburied in Prison; he concerted Measures for reducing the City of *Aix* into his Power; having received Assurances from some Confederates, who were within the City, that a Gate should be put into his hands. But when, upon the Discovery of the Design, the Hearts of those Men failed; and *Claude de Savoy Count de Tende*, Governour of the Province, at the Invocation of the Parliament, had hastily come into the City with the *Sieur Paulin*; and the People of *Arles* at the Noise of the thing had doubled their Guards; *Mourvan*, that he might not return without performing some Exploit or other, with about five hundred Men spreading himself over the Champion Country, demolished the Images in all the Churches of the adjoining Towns and Villages; and melted down the Gold and Silver Vessels; calling together the Consuls and Syndicks of



of the several Places, and taking an exact Inventory of every thing before *A. D.* them. The Acts, made by these Officers, *Paul* kept in his own Custody; 1560. and, notwithstanding the natural Greediness of Soldiers for Booty, the Modesty of his Men, or their Love and Reverence for their Leader, was so great, that not one single Soldier was found, who took the least thing by Force out of the Churches. At these Disorders, the Governour raises the Provincial Bands, and with his own Troop of Horse-Cuirassiers advances directly towards *Mourvans*; who was just then preparing to replace his Confederates by Force in the Town of *Cistercion*, from whence they had been excluded by the Inhabitants. He, hearing of the Governour's Approach with a numerous Body of no less than six thousand Men, and not thinking it safe either to attack *Cistercion* in the neighbourhood of such an Army, nor yet to disband his own Soldiers, retired in Order of Battle to the Abby of *S. André*, which was very strong by its Situation; and, having furnished it with Provisions from the adjacent County, resolved to sustain a Siege and wait *La Renaudie's* Orders in that Place. *Poulin*, being sent forwards by the Governour to view the Post, and meeting with a Repulse, wherein he had like to have been killed, declared, that he had observed the Defendants in a good Posture of Defence, and that the Siege would cost a great deal of Trouble: Whereupon the Governour, who was averse to shedding of Blood, and no great Enemy to the Cause of the Protestants, summons *Paul* to a Conference; who, immediately upon the Security of his Word, repaired to him; and being, asked the Cause of the Tumult raised in *Provence*, answered, that it was owing to the Injury done to himself by the Murder of his Brother; for which having in vain desired Satisfaction from the Parliament, he had been forced, for his own Safety, to keep Armed Men about him; and intended nothing more, than that his Brother's Death might be revenged by the Publick Authority of the Magistrate; that the Insolence of the People of *Castellane*, who every day laid Snares for his Life, might be restrained: and that, in the mean time, the Free Exercise of That Religion, which he thought the True one, might be allowed to Him and his Friends: That, for the rest, he should always continue obedient to the King, as he had hitherto been; and not do any Action, whereby he might be accused of denying That Allegiance to *Francis*, which he had paid to his Father *Henry*: Which was added, on purpose to clear himself from the Scandal of the Insurrection at *Amboise*; of which however he was conscious. An Agreement therefore was concluded, that *Paul* should disband his Soldiers, to whom the Governour promised an Indemnity; and that he should retain only so many of them, as were sufficient for the Guard of his Person: That He and his Friends should be permitted the Free Exercise of their Religion; with a farther Engagement, that satisfaction should be made him by the Parliament for the Death of his Brother. The King likewise and the Queen wrote Letters to him, commending his Conduct, and testifying their Assurance of his Fidelity; but at the same time private Orders were sent to the Parliament, that if He and *Chasteauneuf* could be



A. D. apprehended, they should be put to Death. Thus Hostilities ceased on  
 1560. both sides. Nevertheless *Poulin*, out of a long inveterate Hatred to the  
 ~~~~~ Inhabitants of *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, at the Instance of the People of *Castel-*  
lane, contrary to the Capitulation, and without the Knowledge, or at least
 the Approbation of the Governour, went shortly after in Pursuit of *Mourvans*,
 who had only retained a Guard of fifty Men; but he was disappointed:
 For *Mourvans*, apprized of his insidious Design, went out to meet him,
 and repulsed him in a triumphant manner. It was superstitiously in-
 terpreted by the Confederates, that, when two of their Friends, who
 had been killed with *Anthony*, and buried in the Bank of the Ri-
 ver, which runs below the Town, had afterwards (being forced out
 of the Earth by the Torrents) lain exposed for three Months upon dry
 Ground, their Bodies nevertheless were not putrified; whereas One of
 the Murderers, who had been killed soon after, and buried at a small Di-
 stance from the Other, had rotted in the Space of twenty four Hours.
 For this might have happened from the Difference of the Soil; a sandy
 Soil corrupting Bodies more slowly, than an humid and fat one.
Mourvans, when he had laid down his Arms, being hated by his Coun-
 trymen for his Demolition of the Images in all Places, and therefore
 unable to live safely at Home, retired to *Geneva*; where being sol-
 licited by the Duke of *Guise*, on Account of his military Reputation,
 he refused, notwithstanding the fairest Promises, to enter into his Service.

In the Principality of *Bretagne* likewise, and the adjacent Countries,
 the Number of the Protestants increased to a wonderful Degree; in-
 somuch that Sermons were publicly preached, especially at *Caen*, *S.*
Lo, and *Diepe*, in the *Pais de Caux*: In Emulation of whom, Those
 of *Rouen* (the rash Heat of the Youth prevailing over the Prudence of
 the Elder Sort) took the Boldness to preach publicly: Nor were there
 wanting some Members of the Parliament, who favoured their Doctrine,
 but yet continually admonished them to propagate it in Secret. One
 of these Ministers had been educated in that universally condemned
 Sect of the Anabaptists; and, gaining a Reputation by teaching three
 Languages after a new Method, had opened a School; taking an Oc-
 casion from thence of calumniating Others, who were more modest
 than himself: This Man, though he had been expelled from *Geneva*,
 and forbidden to meddle with any Office in the Church, began to
 preach in an open Field, and in the Day-time. When a vast Multitude
 had flocked together, as usual, at the Novelty of the thing; and, amongst
 them, Some, who did not at all approve his Doctrine, and would rather
 have had those Meetings privately held, and without Danger: He decla-
 red, that GOD had revealed many things to him; and This in the first
 Place, that Anti-christ was to be cast out of his Throne, by Force of
 Arms; that He was the General appointed by GOD, for the utter
 Extirpation of guilty Men; and that he was commanded to kill bad
 Princes and Magistrates: That, moreover, it had been granted to him
 by the singular Favour of GOD, that he should not die, 'till he had
 founded a New World, pure from all Spot and Sin: And, accordingly,
 he exhorted them to take Arms with Him, and under His Banners: For
 that

that they ought not to wonder, that the Attempt 'at *Amboise* had mis-
 carried; which had happened, because He was not invited into it. Whilst
 he publickly uttered these things, at every Word (as if he was agitated
 within by the Deity), he distorted his Mouth, shut his Eyes, opened
 his Jaws, rolled his stooping Head, then fell forwards upon his Face,
 and wallowed on the Ground, with his Breast heaving, and his Mouth
 foaming, like a Swine. Thus he raised Laughter in Many, and O-
 thers, not fewer in Number, he deluded; and, of the latter Sort, two
 Brothers, his Kinsmen; who, deceived through excessive Simplicity,
 received him into their House, when he was excluded by every Body
 else, and supported him, when he talked to the People. At length,
 when he plainly aimed at raising Sedition, (even reviling the Cardinal
 of *Bourbon*, as his Eminence, in the Road from *Gaillon* to *Paris*, passed
 by the Place, where he was preaching) he was seized by a *Prevost*, at
 the Command of *John de Toutteville* Sieur de *Villebon*, the Duke of *Buil-
 lon's* Lieutenant-General, and within four Days, being found guilty,
 was publickly burnt alive. The two Brothers, who had been persuaded
 by that Impostor, to believe that he would never die, and could not
 be cured of their mad Errour and Obstinacy, 'till they actually saw him
 consumed by the Fire, were hanged. This Execution gave exceeding
 Satisfaction to the City and Parliament, and no less to the Protestants;
 who, having laboured under the Scandal of bearing some Relation to
 his Sect and Crime, thought themselves relieved, by this Removal of a
 fanatical and equally impious Fellow out of the Way.

The End of the Twenty Fifth BOOK.





BOOK XXVI.

ARGUMENT.

The Archbishop of Vienne's Admonition to the Dutcheſs of Montpenſier, concerning the Counſels of the Guiſes againſt the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé. His Death, which followed ſhortly after. The King ſets forwards towards Orleans, to the Aſſembly of the States, which was Summoned. Andelot retires from Court to the Nether Bretagne. Navarre and Condé, though diſſuaded by moſt of their Friends, at length come to Court. The Prince is arreſted, and his Mother-in-law, Mademoiſelle de Roſe, at the ſame Time. Jerome Grolot Bailiff of Orleans is imprifoned. The King of Navarre kept a Priſoner at large, and a Conſultation entered into for killing him. Renée, Dutcheſs Dowager of Ferrara, comes out of Italy to Court. The Prince of Condé's Cauſe is agitated. The King's Diſtemper grows worſe; of which he ſhortly after dies; whether before the Decree paſſed upon Condé or not, is uncertain. The King of Navarre, by the joint Labours of Lonvy Dutcheſs of Montpenſier, and De l'Hoſpital, is reconciled to Catherine. Lampoons and Feſts upon the Guiſes. The Conſtable Anne de Montmorency, being ſummoned to Court, whiſt Francis II. was yet alive, loitering upon the Road, receives the News of the King's Death, and haſtens his Journey. Condé is diſcharged from Priſon, and retires into Picardy. The Obſequies of Francis II. celebrated in a mean manner, the Funeral being attended by the Biſhop of Senlis, Sanſac, and De Broſſes; not without a Reflection paſſed upon the Guiſes; to which Purpoſe the Memory of Tanaquil du Chaſtel, a famous Man in Bretagne in the Reign of King Charles VII, is revived. The King of Navarre being reconciled to Catherine, divides the Adminiſtration with her, in ſuch a manner, that the Regency remains with Her, and He is inveſted with the Titles and Authority of Preſident and Governour-General throughout the whole Kingdom. Francis de Vendosme dies about the ſame time, in his Houſe adjoining to the Baſtile. De l'Hoſpital begins his Magiſtracy with a moſt equitable Law; by which the Humours of the Women, who run into ſecond Marriages, are reſtrained. A memorable Arrêt made by the Parliament of Tholouſe againſt the Impoſtor Arnold du Tilh, who pretended himſelf to be

be Martin Guerre, and had imposed upon the Latter's Wife. The New Pope, to heap the greater Honour upon the Name of Medicis, which he had assumed, and to insinuate himself, by so signal a Favour, into that Family, entertains Thoughts of creating Cosmo King of Tuscany. The Seeds of the Belgick Troubles on account of Religion. Bartholomew Caranza, Archbishop of Toledo, is accused of Heresy, and, being Cited to Rome, is thrown into Prison. The Petition for an Oecumenical Council is eluded, and a National one obstructed. The Hatred, conceived against the Caraffaes, begins to appear openly, and the Cardinal and his Brother John Count di Montorio are imprisoned. The Count di Petigliano is used with no less Severity by the same Pope. Cosmo comes to Rome, and advises the wavering Pope, that, for fear of a National Council threatened by the French, he should pursue the Oecumenical One, demanded by the Emperor. The Tripolin Expedition undertaken by John de la Cerda Viceroy of Sicily, against Dragut, who, by dispossessing Morataha, had seized the Kingdom of Carvan, and also the neighbouring Island of Gelves, by treacherously taking Prisoner, and afterwards hanging Soliman the Dynast of it. A Description of the Island, the Manners of the Inhabitants, their Riches, and Observance towards their Prince. The Island falls under the Power of the Christians; and La Cerda, having obliged the Dynast to pay a Tribute to Philip, erects a Fort, and leaves Barahona, his Master of the Camp, Governour of it, with a strong Garrison; neglecting the Admonitions of John Andrew Doria, who advised him, that, leaving the Fort, he should advance into the Aegean Sea, and meet the Turkish Fleet coming under the Command of the Bashaw Piali, before it was joined by Dragut and the Corsairs. At length, upon the Arrival of the Enemy's Fleet, whilst the Council was debating in a Hurry, about embarking the Troops; Alvaro di Sandi, seeing Barahona unequal to the Task, voluntarily offers himself to defend the Fort against the Turks. La Cerda being defeated, with the Loss of nineteen Gallies and fifteen Transports, escapes very hardly with John Andrew Doria. Sandi, when he had done all that was possible in the Defence of the Fort, whilst venturing abroad, through the By-ways, he tries to force the Enemy's Intrenchments, and to escape on board the Gallies, which remained after the Defeat, being surrounded on all sides is taken Prisoner, and carried with his Men to Piali, who receives him with great Honour. They, who had staid behind, were afterwards carried away, by the Turks, into miserable Slavery. Sandi is set at Liberty, through the Interposition of Busbequius, Ferdinand's Ambassador at the Port; and also Sancho di Leyva, and Berenguel de Requesenes. Peter Machiavelli, Cosmo's Admiral, being surrounded by the Turkish Gallies at the Isle del * Giglio, is in great Danger. An Equestrian Order of St. Stephen is instituted by Cosmo, in Memory of the Victory obtained at Marciano. Then follow the Affairs of Livonia. These People being infested by the Moscovites, Magnus Duke of Holstein comes to their Aid, and uses them worse than the Enemy. In the midst

* Vulg. *Ægitiam*, for which read *Ægilium*, as it is actually written in the Body of the History.

of a Mutiny, the Moscovites come up, and defeat the Livonians near Ermes; and, pursuing their Success, take the Castle of Vellin, into which William of Furstemberg, after the Renunciation of his Dignity, had retired; and carry the old Man himself in a triumphant Manner, far from his own Country, to Moscow. The People of Revel, being destitute of all Succour, submit themselves, though unwillingly, to Erick the New King of Sweden. The Death and Character of his Father Gustavus, the first Founder of the Monarchy in his Family. The like of Andrew Doria, whose Memory, which had slept for some time, is revived. The Death and Praises of Messieurs du Bellay; likewise of Lælius Capilupi, James Bonfadio, Philip Melancthon, George Sabin, Peter Lotick, Nicolas Gerbel, and John Dryander.

A. D.
1560.



FROM S. Germain the King comes about this time to Paris, whither the Troops, called by the Guises from all Parts, out of Scotland and Piedmont, had already arrived. There, by the Direction of the Guises, the King, summoning most of the Counsellors of Parliament, lays the Scandal of the Conspiracy of Amboise upon the Princes of Bourbon, and openly avows his Consternation; declaring to them, that he led a Life of Fear, full of Apprehensions from the secret Design of his Enemies; and then, he opens the Cause of his military Preparations, and his Arrival. And now Anthony de Crussol, who was shortly followed by the Cardinal of Bourbon, had returned to Court; bringing Assurances, that the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé with him, would be there. That Matter had caused a sharp Debate amongst their Partizans; whilst Some said, that they ought not rashly to commit themselves to the Honour of the Guises, and Others advised them to comply; for, that they would thereby give a Proof of their Obedience, and stop the Mouth of their Adversaries, who charged them with wicked Designs: That Violence could not easily be offered to Princes of the Blood: The Royal Word had been interposed, relying upon which, they ought to fear nothing: And, it was better, that even at their own Hazard they should make a Trial of the Royal Clemency, than, by consulting their private Security, set the whole Nation an Evil Example of Disobedience. Descars, a double-Minded Man, pressed their Journey; and Aymery Bouchard had, for some time, admonished the King by Letters, that he should separate the Prince of Condé from his Brother of Navarre: For, that ever since the Prince had come to him, turbulent Measures had begun to be agitated in his House, Pastors had been sent for from Geneva, and every thing tended to Troubles and Seditions: For that Cause, He himself, that he might not seem to partake of wicked Counsels, had, with the King of Navarre's Leave, retired to S. Jean d'Angely in Saintonge, his native Place. The greatest Dissuaders of the Journey, were, the Lady de Roye, and Eleanor the Prince's Wife; who, contended, that, if the King of Navarre persisted in his Purpose, the Prince at least, who was chiefly aimed at, should remain at Home: For thus the King of Navarre's Life would be better secured; whom the

the *Guises*, for fear of the Prince's Vengeance, would never venture *A. D.* to attack.

1560.

From thence the King, with his Mother *Catherine*, and the *Guises*, attended by a Guard of a thousand Horse-Cuirassiers, puts himself upon the Road; leaving his Brother *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, and his Sister *Margaret* in the Castle of *Vincennes*. When he came to *Artenay*, the Archbishop of *Vienne*, who foresaw whither the Counsels of the *Guises* tended, sends Letters of Confidence, by a Person very well instructed, to *Louvy* Dutcheß of *Montpensier*, with whom he was intimately acquainted. The Contents of the Instructions were, to put her in Mind of Her Promise, which she had made; that as soon as she should have recovered her Husband's Estate, the Inheritance of his Uncle *Charles*, out of the King's Possession, she would do her Utmost to obstruct the Measures of the *Guises*; That the Time was now come, the Territories of *Beaujollois* and *Dombes* being recovered, that she should perform her Engagement. For, that Things were in such a State, that, even if she had not regained her Own, yet it was her Duty, if she desired the Safety of *France*, that, postponing all private Considerations, she should put an Early Stop to the Designs of Ambitious Men: For as soon as he had left her, he had gained certain Information, That the *Guises* had resolved to imprison the Prince of *Condé*, if he came to Court; and to guard the King of *Navarre* in such a manner, that he should want but little of being a Prisoner: After which, small Reliance could be placed in the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, whose Assistance They had already used to entrap his Brothers: That, These being removed, there remained but Two; namely, Her Husband, and his Brother the Prince de la *Roche-sur-Ton*; of themselves not very powerful; whom the *Guises* scornfully gave out, that they had satisfied, the One with the Pears which grow in Perfection in the *Touraine*, and the Other with the Fine Quinces of the *Orleanois*, like Boys with Sweetmeats: That, she ought to remember what she had heard from the Queen Dowager herself; that, when the Princes of the Blood should be extinguished, small Protection could be expected from *Catherine*, who would be overcome either with the Flatteries or the Violence of the *Guises*: The only Hopes therefore remained in the Nobility; of whom the *Potons* and the *Vignes*, and the like strenuous Assertors of Liberty, would not be deficient, if the Princes of *Bourbon* were not wanting to themselves: That *Montmorency* had carried himself indolently and slothfully in the Business, whilst, relying on his Innocency, he neglected Human Supports, and reposed all his Confidence in the Laws: But that He too ought to know, that *La Sague* had been examined concerning his Conduct, and, through the Force or Fear of Torments, had confessed, that, by the Constable's Direction, a Message had been sent to the Queen of *England* for the Common Cause: He ought therefore again to be admonished, that he would learn Wisdom from his own Danger: But, if He used Delays, the King of *Navarre* should be advised to take Care of his Son: And the Duke of *Buillon*, his Son-in-law, should also be intreated to open *Sedan* and *Jametz*, for the Reception and safe Residence of the Prince of

Condé's

A. D. *Condé's* Children; and, if possible, to secure some of the Duke of
 1560, *Guise's* Children, or any of that Family, who might be detained as
 Hostages for the Lives of the Princes of *Bourbon*: It seemed likewise
 adviseable, that somebody should be sent to their Friends and the
 Allies of *France* in *Germany*; that, by their Help, the Contrivances of the
Guises, who fomented Wars after Wars, and Troubles after Troubles,
 might be retarded. That the War had been no sooner extinguished in
Scotland, than, upon the calling home of the Troops, a New one had
 broken out in *France* through Their Ambition: Which if not soon
 crushed, He wished, with all Good Men, immediately to depart this
 Life. *Lorvy*, having received the Letter, and understood the verbal
 Instructions, immediately sent away the Messenger, under Pretence of
 procuring the Waters of the *Sparw* for her Health, to the Duke of
Buillon and into *Germany*; who in his Journey waited upon *Montmo-*
rency, and from thence pursued his intended Route: But with little
 Success in both Places; through the predominant Power of the Fates
 over all Counsels, and the Corruption of the chief Lords, whereby the
 Good Fortune of *France* was brought to its Period. Hereupon the
 Archbishop of *Vienne* fell into a deep Melancholy, and from thence into
 a fatal Distemper; of which he died shortly after, in the Abbey of St.
Peter, near *Melum*, three Days before the Decease of King *Francis*, when
 he had hardly reached the fiftieth Year of his Age. A Man of a sharp
 Judgment, and of a Temper by no means suited to a Court, or to
 Flatteries; zealous of a long time for procuring a Reformation in the
 Church, and formerly suspected on that Account, whilst he acted as an
 Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*. When, to avoid the Danger of
 that Suspicion, he had accompanied *John de Selve*, *Francis* the First's
 Embassador to *Soliman*; upon the Death of *de Selve*, he supplied his
 Place with great Reputation; and afterwards discharged an Embassy into
England, and another to *Charles* the Emperor, and elsewhere, with the
 like Industry: At the last, he had been chosen one of the Counsellors
 of the Secret Consistory, as it is called. His Elder Brother, Fiscal Ad-
 vocate in the Parliament, a Man with whom Few might compare for
 Piety, Integrity and Eloquence, a Stickler for Primitive Discipline,
 and a severe Censor of the Manners of his time, had died nine Years
 before. They were both born in *L'Auvergne*, of a middling but re-
 putable Family, their Ancestors having, for a long time, served the
 Princes of *Bourbon*, Counts of *L'Auvergne*. From *Artenay* the King at
 last went to *Orleans*; entering the City, on the eighteenth of *October*, in
 Arms; attended with a terrible, and not, as formerly, a joyful Retinue.
 Thither *Philibert de Marfilly* Sieur de *Cipiere*, a Creature of the *Guises*,
 had been sent before, to strengthen the City with a Garrison; and
 shortly after, on the tenth Day of *November*, came thither, in like
 manner, the Prince de la *Roche-sur-Ton*, who enjoyed the Name of Go-
 vernour, whilst the Command of the Soldiery remained with *De Cipierre*,
 His Lieutenant. Most People were terrified with the military Pomp,
 and They especially, who had come deputed to the Assembly from the
 Provinces. For Parties of Foot were planted every where in the Streets
 and

and Lanes, and all things made ready as it were for sustaining a Siege; *A. D.* whilst Many wondered, that a Young King, of extraordinary Mildness, 1560 without any Provocation or Cause of Enmity, should stand in need of such Guards for the Defence of his Life. It was then ordained, that every one should deliver a Profession of his Faith, according to the Form drawn up above eighteen years before by the Divines of the *Sorbonne*, and registered in Parliament; and that the Recusants should suffer Loss of Estate and Life. The Secret Counsels were thought to be then chiefly managed by the Marshall *de Saint André* and *de Brissac*, and more especially by the Cardinal *de Tournon*; who had lately come from *Rome*, and had been loaded by the *Guises* (that the remembrance of the former Injury might be defaced) with all the Honours that could be invented. A Report likewise prevailed, that the Cardinal of *Lorraine* had cast the Draught, of what he designed to get established in that Assembly, into a formal Speech; which he was to deliver before the States, from a boarded Gallery erected for the purpose in the Market-place of the City, where the Session was to be celebrated. In the mean while, Persons were dispatched into all parts of the Kingdom, and especially into *Guienne* (where the King of *Navarre* had a large Estate in Right of his Wife), to apprehend Suspected Persons, with a Power of demolishing the Houses and Castles of Those, who should dare to resist. The King's Letters were likewise sent about the same time to the Parliament; wherein the Citizens were admonished of imminent Danger, and advised to stand upon their Guard against Nightly Assaults and Eruptions that were designed against them: Soon after, the Report growing hotter, written Orders were given to *Francis de Montmorency*, who was Governour of the City and the Isle of *France*, charging him to restore the City to its usual Tranquillity. By his Command therefore select Parties were sent out to make a strict Search throughout the City: But the Few, Unarmed Persons, who were found, argued the Vanity of their Fear. But, when all things carried a violent Aspect, and it appeared, that the *Guises* by Threats or Force would extort from the States, what by Modesty and the antient Laws of *France* they had not obtained; *Andelot*, who knew himself to be suspected on the Foot of Religion, pretending that the Soldiers were refractory, and, through the Management of certain Persons, disobedient to his Orders; drops the Care of the Infantry, which he commanded, and seasonably quits the Court. The *Guises* wanted extreamly to have him secured in the Publick Prison; but for fear, lest their Designs commenced against the Prince of *Condé*, who was not yet arrived, should be disturbed, That Project was for the present laid aside. *Andelot*, in order to prevent the Danger, falling down the *Loire* to *Ancenis*, went into *Bretagne* to a fine Estate, which his Wife had brought him in that Country: For a Report had run about, that great numbers, appearing in a defenceless Posture, would be put to death upon any false Accusations, since all that had been done or said against the *Guises* was likely to be interpreted Treason. And now the King of *Navarre* had begun his Journey, with his Brother of *Condé*; dismissing

A.D. Theodore Beza, who had come by his Invitation to *Nerac*, and had 1560. been pressing the Execution of the Decree lately passed at *Fontaine-bleau*; but who now was forced, taking the advantage of the Night, to return with some Danger to his Friends. George Cardinal D'Armagnac went out as far as *Verteuil*, the Principal Seat of the Counts *de la Roche-foucault* in the *Angoumois*, to meet the King of *Navarre*, under pretence of doing him Honour; because the vain-glorious Man, by assuming the illustrious Name of a Family Extinct, would be thought related to the King of *Navarre*, and zealous of his Interest: Nevertheless most people spoke of him as employed by the *Guises*; that, by giving Assurances of Security, he might draw the King of *Navarre* to Court, though he should be hesitating, and likely, through the Advice of his Friends, either to stop by the Way or return home; which he accordingly effected. For he prevailed with *Navarre*, not only to repair to the King without Delay, but also to cast away all Diffidence; and, after Thanks to the Company for their kind Intention, to dismiss a Circle of Gentlemen, which he had about him. Thus alone, and almost unarmed, he came to *Orleans*; where when in contradiction to *Armagnac's* Promises he was afterwards ill received, and *Armagnac* laboured under a great Odium upon that account; the latter to ease himself of that Load, either by an affected or voluntary Departure from Court, testified his counterfeit or real Grief; publicly complaining of the *Guises*, who had made use of His Assistance, in order to deceive the King of *Navarre*. However, in a short time this fickle Man, who was turned about with every Breath of Courtly Favour, was pacified by the *Guises* with the Offer of an empty Honour: So that it increased the Suspicion of his leaving the Court in a pretended Discontent, when, being chosen into the sacred Consistory, he returned thither: The Rarity of the thing originally recommended that Honour; which, after it began promiscuously to be conferred upon a Multitude, fell into disrepute because of its Frequency. At the report of *Navarre's* Approach, *Melchior des Prez* Sieur de *Monpesat*, Governour of *Poitou*, and Lieutenant of the Duke of *Guise's* Troop, had been sent by the *Guises*, to order the Gates of *Poitiers* to be shut against the Princes of *Bourbon*. With which Affront the King of *Navarre* being with reason highly incensed, because the Commands of the King and *Catherine* were pretended, departing towards *Lusignan*, he resolved to expect a Message from them Both in that place. There, at a Consultation amongst his Friends, it seemed the Opinion of Most, that he should make use of the Event; and, since, through the Delays thrown in the way by his Enemies, he had still room for altering his Mind, he should pursue Fortune's Admonitions and turn back: Nor need he for that reason be apprehensive, lest this Change should expose him to Censure: For that he had not so much Cause to fear the King, as his Capital Enemies the *Guises*, who had made the King's Cause their Own, and had sent the Citizens of *Poitiers* such Instructions: They were invested on all sides with Detachments of Horse: Ought they then to wait, 'till they should be hurried away unheard and unsupported at the first Rumour?

If

If any Hostilities were begun by the *Guises*, they might be more safely *A.D.* opposed at a distance: Even Innocent Persons were generally unable *1560.* to stand the Shock of the first Prejudices; and, when they should be bound in Prison and undone by the unjust Tyranny of the *Guises*, what would it signify, that *Catherine* and the Rest were conscious of their Innocence? But the King of *Navarre* opposed this Advice, and declared by all means for hastening to Court: For that He had committed no unpardonable Crime; and his Differences and Animosities with the *Guises* might perhaps deserve Resentment, but certainly not Punishment; that the most they had to fear was, that they might be banished from Court and commanded home: For this would abundantly satisfy his Enemies; who would be glad, at any Rate, to be left in the quiet enjoyment of the Sole Administration: But if they returned homewards, a Civil War would be actually commenced; for which they were utterly unprepared, as having made no provision of Arms, Cavalry or Foot; at the same time that they were every where debarred from entering the Cities and Towns. They ought therefore to depend upon their own Innocency and the King's Word, rather than by vain Fears to undergo the Infamy of so heinous a Crime. The Prince of *Condé*, in Confidence of himself, was drawn into the same Sentiments with little trouble; and accordingly they returned to *Poitiers*, where, by the Order of *Catherine*, who said she had given quite contrary Directions to *Montpensier*, they were honourably entertained by *Paul de Thermes*. From thence they pursued their unfortunate Journey, accompanied by *De Thermes* as far as *Loches*, with Troops marching by their side at some distance, that they might not already seem Prisoners. At length on the 30th day of *October* they entered *Orleans*, after they had been met out of Town by the Duke of *Montpensier* and the Prince of *la Roche-sur-Yon* alone, with a small Retinue; for the Cardinal their Brother had advanced a Day's Journey towards *Blois*. None of the usual Honours, nor Salutations ordinarily paid to Friends after a tedious Journey and a long Absence, were bestowed upon them. But, when *Navarre*, by virtue of his Prerogative, was attempting to enter on Horseback into the King's Hôtel, for which His Majesty had chosen the House of *Jerom Grolot* the Bailiff of *Orleans*, he found the Great Gates barred; which the Porters, in a contemptuous manner, declared that they could not open; so that, being obliged to dismount, he entered with his Brother through the Wicket, and with him was admitted into the King's Presence: There they met with a very strange and cold Reception; the *Guises*, who were behind the King, not running, as formerly, to embrace them, but standing their Ground: After the first Salutations, the King led them into *Catherine's* Apartment, the *Guises* not advancing to follow them: *Catherine* received them with great Appearance of Humanity, and with a Flood of Tears, either sincere or counterfeited: And the King discoursed in a few Words of the Crimes laid to the Prince of *Condé's* Charge; on the account of which He had summoned him to Court, that he might in Person purge himself of them. When *Condé* on the other side with great Boldness had answered, that his

Ac-

A. D. Accusations had been maliciously invented by his Enemies the *Guises*, 1560. and that in Confidence of his Innocency he had come at the King's Command; he was at last, by the King's Order, conducted by *Philip de Mailly Brezé* and *Francis le Roy Sieur de Chauvigny*, Colonels of the Royal Guards, to an adjoining House; in an Angle of which, a Bastion of Brick-work, that served as a Platform for four smaller Pieces of Ordnance, had been erected; which looked down into three Streets. Immediately the Windows of this House were fortified with Iron Bars, and most of the Doors walled up: And when the King of *Navarre* demanded, that his Brother should be committed to His Custody, and offered himself to be responsible for him, it was not allowed. The Prince, as they were leading him, loudly and repeatedly challenged the King's sacred Word and the Promises of his Brother the Cardinal, who by his Credulity had betrayed Him and his whole Family into the hands of their Enemies. The Decree was signed by the King and the other Lords (at the Motion, as it was given out, of *Brissac*, who in such an hazardous Case declared against paying the least regard to the Person or Dignity of any Man), and also by *De l'Hospital*, though unwillingly; whilst the *Guises*, to remove the Odium of the thing from themselves, took care to be out of the way. The King of *Navarre*, though he enjoyed a greater Share of Liberty in appearance, was however secretly guarded; his own Retinue being taken from him, and a strong Band of Chosen Men placed about him, with Others, who were employed to observe his Words, Signs and Motions. Shortly after, by the King's Orders, *Aymery Bouchard* was seized by *Guy Chabot Seigneur de Farnac*, with all the Letters which he had in his Custody; and conducted from *S. Jean d'Angely*, with so much Care and Precaution, that his Meat and Drink were first tasted by others, lest by his sudden Death he should destroy the Proofs of so heinous a Crime. *Tanaquil le Veneur Sieur de Carrouges*, and *Le Baillet de Renouart*, were also sent with a very strict Charge, to apprehend *Magdalen Maillé de Roye*, *Comde's* Mother-in-law, at *Anicy* in the *Laomois*; an high-spirited Lady, who, out of an excessive fondness to her Son-in-law, being accustomed to inveigh with more than decent Freedom against the *Guises* in *Catherine's* presence, had drawn their Hatred upon herself. She was accordingly taken in like manner with all her Letters; and, as a Person charged with Treason, shut up in *S. Germain*. Soon after, *Grolot* himself was also seized in the City, being accused of too great Negligence and Remissness in the Punishment of Sectaries; although, upon a former Charge for the same Crime, he had been acquitted by the Sentence of Parliament. About the same time, *Renée* Dutchess Dowager of *Ferrara*, Mother-in-law of the Duke of *Guise*, who had retired out of *Italy* into *France* for the sake of Religion, came to wait upon the King at *Orleans*; and, after lamenting the present State of things, she sharply reproved her Son-in-law; and declared, that, if she had come before the Seizure of the Prince, she would have hindered it; admonishing him, that for the future he should abstain from injuring the Princes of the Royal Family; for that such Wounds would bleed for a long time; nor had Any one ever succeeded happily,

happily, who had first attacked the Royal Kindred : But All was too *A. D.* late. In the mean time the President *Christopher de Thou*, who had examined 1560. the Vidame of *Chartres*, was sent for by the King from the Parliament, together with *Bartholomew de la Faye* and *James Viole*, Counsellors, and also *Giles Bourdin* the King's Procurator, and *John du Tillet* Protonotary of the Court. With These, the Chancellor *De l'Hospital*, on the 13th day of *November*, goes to the Prince of *Condé*; who, to spin out the Time, and to decline Their Jurisdiction, contended, that the Cognizance of his Cause did not belong to Them, but to the Parliament of *Paris* assembled in all its several Classes, before the King and the Chief Lords of the Realm. Upon *Condé's* appealing accordingly to the King, the Appeal, being referred to the Privy Council, was by that Board declared null and invalid : And when, treading in the same Steps, he had often appealed from those Commissioned Judges, his Appeal was as often pronounced frivolous and void ; 'till, at the Instance of the King's Procurator *Bourdin*, it was decreed, that, if the Prince of *Condé* did not answer before the Judges delegated by the King, he should be deemed convicted and guilty of Treason ; and that in the mean time the Witnesses should be called over again and confronted. Thus, when, by the hasty Violence of the *Guises*, the Princess his Wife saw that all Delays were cut off ; she petitions the King and obtains, that Men of tried Learning and Prudence might be assigned to her Husband, for his Counsel ; and accordingly *Peter Robert* and *Francis de Marillac*, the most eminent Advocates in the Court, were named for that purpose by the King. But when the Prince, in order to retard the Process, demanded, that, before he answered, he might have leave to discourse with his Wife, and his Brothers the King of *Navarre* and the Cardinal, before such Company and Witnesses as the King should appoint, This was inhumanly denied ; and he was allowed only the Liberty of corresponding with them by Letters ; even his own Servants being taken from him, and no body suffered to come near him. Upon this there followed a great Change in People's Sentiments ; who generally thought it a hard Case, that a Right, usually indulged to any one of the Counsellors, of having their Cause tried before the whole Parliament, should be refused to a Prince of his exalted Rank. Thus Pity towards the Prince turned at last into an Hatred of his Adversaries ; who, although they knew well enough, how much their Reputation suffered, yet, being blinded by Ambition (a Passion, which knows no Mean between the Extreams), made light of it ; and were said to be solely intent, since they had the Prince of *Condé* sure in their Net, how they might draw the King of *Navarre* himself into a Share of the Guilt. With this Care they were not a little perplexed ; sometimes raised into an Assurance, and at other times apprehensive of the Event : For, on one side, the Love and Fidelity of the *French* Nobility, towards their Princes, presented itself to their Observation ; and on the other side, they reasoned in this manner with themselves ; that their Power would be very precarious, and, for want of a natural Support, ready, upon every little Turn, to fall to the Ground : And what would the

A. D. 1560. Prince of Condé's Death signify, if Navarre and Others, who were irritated with that Execution, should be left to prosecute their Revenge with their numerous Accomplices and Dependants, by Fire and Sword? It was resolved therefore, that the King of Navarre should be destroyed: Which being impossible to be openly effected, they entered (by the Advice, as it was reported, of the Cardinal de Lorraine and the Marshall de Saint André) into a most detestable Design; which was projected in This Manner: That the King, calling the King of Navarre into his Bed-chamber, as if he would inform him of some fresh Advices, should charge him with Privy to his Brother's Conspiracy and with Designs of his own, and moreover should add the Mention of New Apprehensions, of which there was plenty enough: That then, some Persons appointed for the Purpose, as he was denying the Facts and answering boldly, should assault him with drawn Swords and assassinate him. Of this Plot the King of Navarre, for whose Safety most Men were solicitous, being informed by some intimate Friends of the Guises, together with the whole Scheme of the Contrivance, was at first filled with Anxiety and Uncertainty; seeing himself destitute of all Support against a King, exasperated by the Subtlety of his Enemies, and to whose Honour he had committed himself: At last thinking it best to bear his Fortune, how hard soever, with Bravery, he takes Counsel from Necessity; and, being now more inclined to Anger than Fear, resolves to stand to his Defence, and to make Resistance, as far as his Sword and Courage would carry him; 'till, covered with Wounds, he should fall as it were in Battle. Then calling an old Friend, he beseeches him, if such a Casualty should happen, to carry his bloody Clothes to his young Son; by the Sight of which he would be reminded, many years afterwards, of his Father's Injury; and, if he were a genuine Son, sooner lose his Life, than his Revenge. Thus, having hardened himself against the Worst, he rushes into the Royal Appartment, and by way of Compliment embraces the King's hand. The King, being checked by Navarre's Presence, either that his Courage or (more probably) his Inclination failed him, dropped the Design of the Murder; and, falling into Repentance, avoided the Odium of so great a Barbarity. The Writers of these things (for I would not by any means affirm it for a certain Truth) do indeed add, that the Duke of Guise, as the King went out of the Chamber, vented his Indignation in These Words; *O Timorous and Stupid Man!* Nor was Catherine, in the mean time, under less Anxiety; but, as she feared the Power of the Guises, supported by the Favour of the Populace, though an Appearance of Harmony was preserved, yet, by a cunning and deceitful Dilatoriness, she restrained the Fury of these Enterprizers. Nor did Lenvy, her Favourite, when she saw a convenient Season, fail in her Duty; but, remembring Marillac's Admonitions, filled the Mind of her suspicious and ambitious Mistress, sometimes with Hopes, and sometimes with Fears; advising her to be cautious betimes of the Influence and Authority of the Guises, and not to wait, 'till, the Court being left empty by the Death of their Rivals the King of

of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, they should venture to attack it *A. D.* with more Boldness. For, that the Mother would retain no more than 1560. an empty Power, if, the Son being once reduced under Dependence, They had the sole Direction of Affairs: On the contrary, she ought to call in the *French* Nobility to the Aid of the Kingdom, for the maintenance of Liberty, and a firm Settlement, in Opposition to their pernicious Cabals: She should unite herself to the Constable *de Montmorency* and the Others, who were bound together by the Fellowship of Common Injuries; that, if any extraordinary Violence should be attempted by the *Guises*, they might take Arms: Nor should she scruple (what was usually the last Resort in Calamities) to call the *German* Princes to the Assistance of *France* in its Decline. *Catherine*, being enflamed by these Discourses, began to hold secret Conferences with her Friends; and to intreat and beseech *De l'Hospital*, upon whom she chiefly relied for the Support of her ambitious Schemes; that he would oppose the Attempts of the *Guises*, maintain the young King's Authority, and preserve the Dignity of the Queen-Mother. The same things were pressed by several cunning Accusers, noted for their Disaffection, and more endeared to *Catherine* by the Ties of Common Danger; who represented the open Affection born to her by the Protestants, to whom she had given Cause for suspecting her Conscience, and from whom *De l'Hospital's* Inclinations were thought not very averse. In the mean time, Witnesses being fetched from all Parts, and Proofs brought even from *Lions*, the Prince of *Condé's* Trial was hastened by the *Guises*, who suspected every the least Delay as prejudicial to their Counsels. When the Time was come, the Prince testifies to the Advocates assigned him by the King, that his present Affliction was brought upon him by GOD, not for having plotted any thing against the Royal Majesty, but that he might give a Proof of his Constancy under this Calamity: For, indeed, that He, who enjoyed a Free Spirit and a Pure Conscience, could not look upon himself as a Prisoner; but that They ought rather to be esteemed Prisoners, whose Minds, though their Bodies were at Liberty, were perpetually tortured with the Consciousness of Villanies. Then he gave some Minutes and Instructions to his Counsellors for his Defence, and sent his Wife a Letter; in which, out of his Natural Confidence, or else foreseeing the Event, he commanded her to be of good cheer; for that GOD, though he should be deserted by every Body else, would be the Guardian and Defender of his Innocency. In the midst of these Proceedings, on the sixteenth Day of *November*, when the King, (that he might not be present, as it was said, at the Execution of *Jerom Grolot*, was going out to a Hunting-Match), he was seized with sudden Pains, arising from his Old Distemper: Upon which, *Anne de Montmorency* (who, though early summoned by the King, was spinning out the Time) as soon as he arrived at *Paris*, upon the Receipt of this News, hastened his Journey. For otherwise he knew himself to be likewise aimed at, though *S. André* affirmed the contrary; and thought, that, when the Princes of *Bourbon* should be ruined, there would be an End of the *French* Nobility. Therefore, when he understood at last, that the

Abscess

A. D. Abscess, bred in the King's Brain, began to suppurate through the Ear, 1560. and by the Putrefaction of the Auricular Vessels threatened Death, he proceeded towards the Court by moderate Journeys. Whilst things were yet in a State of Uncertainty, the King of Navarre was distracted in his Thoughts; for every one avoided meeting, discouraging or accompanying him: Only the Brothers *de Coligny*, *Odet* the Cardinal, and *Gaspar* the Admiral, never forsook him in his Distress, but attended him both at home and abroad: However, Keepers were employed about him, who privately noted all his Actions and Sayings, and, according to Custom, magnified, and reported them to his Disadvantage; and many of the latter Sort, of a strange and extraordinary Nature, were believed to be said, only because they were True. And now the Day fixed for the Prince's Death was approaching; when behold! under so great a Weight of Cares, on the twenty sixth day of November, the King's Distemper grew worse: Yet, at first, favourable Accounts were given out, as if his Health was recovering, and that nothing ailed him, but a slight Catarrh, under which he had laboured from his Infancy. But when, upon the Corruption of his Ear, his Spirits began sensibly to fail, and the Physicians declared it impossible for him to hold out long; then, at length, the *Guises* were filled with a Fear and Consternation, suited to the Condition of Those, who saw themselves deprived of their last Support. Changing therefore their Accent, they began to attack *Catherine* with Flatteries; to lay the Dangerous Crisis before her; to convince her, that the fierce Resentments of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, for their late ill Usage, would immediately burst upon her Head; and to advise her, that, whilst the King was yet alive, whilst the Troops were at hand, she should cause the King of Navarre to be imprisoned, and to undergo the same Fate with his Brother: They even went so far, as to offer themselves and their Interest for the Establishment of her Sovereignty; shewing themselves as extravagant in their Submission, as they had lately been in their Insolence towards her. *Catherine* therefore, being alarmed with Apprehensions of the last Danger, has Recourse to the sober Advice of her old Confident *De l' Hospital*: He, being admitted into the Council, (where he found *Catherine* weeping amongst her Ladies, and the whole Company fixed with their Eyes to the Ground in Silence, and astonished with Fear), and having understood the Advice of the *Guises*, in a most pathetick Speech dissuaded her from a Purpose, of which she would repent; and, admonished her, that she would not, through an absurd Strain of Precaution, do a thing, which might provoke the French Nation to a Civil War. "For what would be the Consequence, if Navarre, not at all concerned in turbulent Measures, or in Condé's Guilt, should perish unheard and undefended? For what indeed was his Crime, but the sad Fortune of his Brother? She ought therefore to suspend the Execution; and not, in Obedience to Evil Counsellors, inflamed with their own Personal Animosities, go about to destroy her own Children: For what remained to be done, if Navarre were unjustly detained, but that he should be unjustly condemned?"

“ demned : for Revenge is deservedly to be apprehended from Him, *A.D.*
 “ whom we have injured ; and it is a standing Maxim amongst wise *1560.*
 “ Princes, that they are never heartily reconciled to Those Persons,
 “ whom they have rashly offended. Every one therefore, laying aside
 “ Enmity, should strive to excell in Benevolence towards the King
 “ and his Subjects : Things were come to such a Pass, that the only
 “ Hopes remained in the Mother, as one well acquainted with Business,
 “ remarkably fond of her Children, and whose House full of Kings
 “ gave *France* an Assurance of a Peaceful Government. She ought
 “ therefore to enter into a Consultation with her Friends, and not in-
 “ flame the Commotions, which might probably settle of themselves,
 “ by harsher Remedies, than the Case required.” By these Arguments
De l'Hospital raised the tottering Resolution of *Catherine* ; and *Mademoiselle*
Lorvy absolutely fixed it, by making her the most advantageous Offers
 on the Part of *Navarre*. The Queen-Mother, burning with an un-
 governable Passion for the attainment of the Sovereignty, without ex-
 pecting the Death of *Francis*, sends for the King of *Navarre* by *Francis*
Prince Dauphin d'Auvergne, *Lorvy's* Son, and has an Interview with
 him : The Result of which was, that, mutual Faith being plighted,
 she engaged to unite herself and her Interest with *Navarre*, and, for a
 Time, to shew an Aversion to the *Guises*.

At length, on the 5th day of *December*, King *Francis* paid his Debt
 to Nature, when he had lived seventeen years, ten months, and one
 day ; and had reigned one year, five months, and twenty days.
 Whether he ought to be numbered amongst Good or Bad Princes, the
 Shortness of his Reign and the Weakness of his Age has left undetermined ;
 and so much the more, as he was not governed by his own Disposition,
 but by That of the *Guises*. In his last moments, before his Voice
 had quite failed him, the Cardinal of *Lorraine* is said to have frequently
 insinuated to him, that he should pray to *GOD*, that neither his Own
 nor the Faults of his Ministry might be imputed to him : Which the
 By-standers interpreted as a Confession, out of his own Mouth, of
 His and his Brother's Male Administration. The Report of his being
 poisoned was taken from the general Presumption and Opinion of the
 Populace : For the Deaths of Princes and Great Men seldom happen
 without the Suspicion of Poison, especially in such troublesome Times
 as These ; when, as every one was inclined to favour or hate the King
 of *Navarre*, they put a different Construction upon this Casualty. But
 the King's Ill State of Health from his Infancy, and weakly Consti-
 tution, easily evinced the Contrary. *Charles*, making his Appearance,
 upon the Death of his Brother, in order to enter upon the Throne,
 was received with joyful Acclamations ; the *Guises* also mixing them-
 selves with the Crowd of Congratulators, as forgetting in a moment their
 former Station, and attending to their present Interest. Many things
 were published against them at this Juncture, rather maliciously than
 altogether truly : That they had laid a Scheme for extinguishing the
 House of *Bourbon*, and in particular for destroying the King of *Na-*
varre : With that View they had solicited the *Spaniards*, to make a

A. D. Descent into the Territory of *Bearne*, where the Marshall *de Thermes*, 1560. who was then in the *Limousin*, should receive them: That *Aspremont* Viscount *d'Ortez* had been also ordered to deliver *Bayonne* into the hands of the *Spaniards*, for a Place of Arms against the King of *Navarre*; and lastly, that Instructions had been sent to *Blaise de Montluc* (who was encouraged to expect the County of *Armagnac* upon the Deprivation of the King of *Navarre*), that he should join Forces with the *Spaniards*: That it had been resolved to seize the Brothers *de Coligny*, *Gaspard* the Admiral, and *Andelot* Colonel of the *French* Infantry; and likewise to deprive the Cardinal *de Chastillon* of all his rich Benefices, if he refused to subscribe the Profession of Faith formerly mentioned: Nor was *Anne de Montmorency* to be exempted from Danger, whose Son *d'Arville* they had already ordered to be seized, thereby paving the Way to his Ruin: Which things, although the Fidelity of the Marshall *de Thermes* and Others, who were concerned in this Business, and their known Love to their Country, will not suffer Us to believe; yet such Circumstances happened afterwards, as made it probable, that the Authors of those Reports rather prophesied, than talked altogether without Foundation. It was reported also, that a Decree had been made for the Prince of *Condé's* Death; to which the King, at Their Instigation, having separately summoned the Princes and Lords of the Court, with the Delegated Judges, had caused them all to subscribe; except *De l'Hospital*, and *Lewis de Bueil* Count *de Sancerre*; which Latter, protesting that he would rather die than be guilty of such a Violation of the Laws (inso-much that the King admired his Resolution), incurred the Resentment of the *Guises* upon that Account. But concerning the Truth of these Rumours, I can say nothing certain or positive; I rather think, that the Decree was drawn up, but not subscribed: And I remember to have heard my Father, a Man of Veracity and Sincerity, whom that precipitate Method of Trial had always displeased, say the same thing a long time after: Who added This also, that, when the Prince of *Condé's* Dependants expostulated with Him, he had advised them, that the Prince should appeal to the King and Parliament, that is, to the Court of the Nobles; and reject Him and the other Delegates for Suspicion of Partiality; that so, the Cognizance of the Affair being taken from the Delegates, the whole Cause might be referred to the Parliament: That, moreover, he had freely admonished the Cardinal, that, if he desired his Power to be lasting, he should use it with Moderation, and observe the Laws of the Realm in the Administration of the Government: For that otherwise, being unequal to the Load of publick Envy, he must necessarily, some time or other, sink under the Odium raised against him and his Family, by the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm.

From thence *Catherine* sends a Letter to *Anne de Montmorency*, by the Hands of *S. Gelais de Lansac*; who, lighting upon him at *Estampes*, intreats him in Her Name, that he would come immediately to the New King: For, that she wanted to use his Advice; and Things were in such a State, that Every Man, being preserved in his Honour and Dignity, might

might freely hereafter execute his proper Office. He, having sent for *A. D.* his Son *Montmorency*, who had staid behind at *Chantilly* because of his *1560.* Wife's Sickness, sets out forthwith towards *Orleans*; where, when he saw Guards placed at the Gates of the City, he asked the Commanding Officers, by Whom, and for What Purpose they were posted: And said, it was an unworthy thing, that a King, who ought to be secure in the Benevolence of his Subjects, should, in the Center of the Kingdom, guard all the Avenues of a City with a Military Force: He accordingly commanded them to be gone, threatening them, angrily, with an Halter in Case of Disobedience: And then promised them to endeavour, that the King, without Life-Guards, and with only one Harbinger before him, might safely travel, and exercise the Royal Power throughout the whole Kingdom: Which Words being said, and the Soldiers immediately dispersing thereupon, it appeared, that those Parties had not been placed there for the Defence of the King, but for the Protection of the *Guises*, and for the Purpose of making them terrible to all Men. The Prince of *Condé's* Wife had advanced to meet her Uncle, and had made grievous Complaints to him, of the injurious Imprisonment of her Husband. *Condé* himself, being left at Liberty by the Death of *Francis*, nevertheless refused to go out of the Prison, 'till he should know, upon Whose Information and Accusation he had been committed. The *Guises* answered, that, it had been done by the Command of the Deceased King, and added nothing further. After twelve Days spent in this manner, at length the Prince of *Condé*, with the same Keepers, (but who Now served him for a Body-Guard), departing into *Picardy* went first to *Han*, and then to *La Fère* upon the *Oyse*, Fortresses within his Brother's Jurisdiction, and There resolved to wait the Commands of the New King. *Francis's* Body was conveyed by *Sansac*, *De Brossey*, and *Lewis Guillard* Bishop of *Sens* (now blind), attended with a very small Retinue, to *S. Denys*, and There interred in a shameful manner without Ceremony; which drew a Reflection upon the *Guises*, whom He had preferred to the highest Honours, and adopted, as it were, into a Share of the Sovereignty. The Scandal was increased, by a Report currently spread, that, when *Francis* lay dying, they ordered thirty thousand Crowns to be carried out of the Royal Treasury, to their own House. This Inscription was accordingly, by some unknown Person, put upon the Silken Pall, with which the Coffin was covered, *Where is now Tanaquil du Chastel?* This *du Chastel*, a Gentleman of a Noble Family in *Bretagne*, had been First Page to King *Charles VII.*, and although, after many faithful Services to the King and Kingdom, he had been commanded to his own House, yet, as soon as the King was dead, he ran to Court in great Hastē; and, upon the King's Funeral, which was neglected by All Men, he expended thirty thousand Crowns of his own Money; leaving a memorable Example of Gratitude. The mention of *du Chastel* therefore was introduced, that, by way of Comparison, the Ingratitude of the *Guises* might be remarked: Which Writing, openly read by every Body, They dissembled with the greatest Patience; excusing themselves from

A.D. from that empty Testimony of Duty and Affection, and pretending
 1560 other more necessary Business, namely, their Obligation to attend up-
 on the young Queen Dowager; whereas they staid away in Reality,
 that they might be present at the Sessions of the States, and, by their
 personal Appearance, bridle the Freedom of that Assembly, and check
 the Reflections, which might possibly be made upon them, in their
 Absence. In the mean time, they omitted nothing, whereby, renew-
 ing the Animosities between *Catherine* and the King of *Navarre*, they
 might make themselves the Mediators, and thus retain their former
 Power. When they saw, therefore, that the Stream of the Assembly
 ran This Way, that the Regency should be committed to the King of
Navarre, although He had promised to resign it to *Catherine*; from thence
 filling the ambitious Woman with Jealousy, they joined themselves to
 her, and drew over the Duke de *Nemours*, the Cardinal de *Tournon*, and
 the Marshals de *S. André*, and de *Brissac* to their Party.

Fresh Factions being started at Court, the King of *Navarre*, in order
 to obviate them, and to secure the Tranquillity of the Kingdom, by
 the Advice of Mademoiselle *Lorvy*, offered the Regency to *Catherine*,
 accepting for himself the Title of President throughout the Realm.
 Then a Formulary, containing the Method of conducting Business at
 Court, was drawn up; and a Decree made by the King, on the
 twenty first Day of *December*, by the Direction of his Mother *Catherine*,
 the King of *Navarre*, and the other Princes of the Blood, and the rest
 of the Counsellors; "That the Governours of the Provinces and For-
 "tresses, and the other General Officers, who shall come to Court,
 "shall treat with *Navarre* as the President General of the Kingdom;
 "who shall afterwards refer the Matter to *Catherine*; according to whose
 "Pleasure, after the thing shall have been discussed in the Consistory,
 "what is thought proper shall be decided. That all Letters, which
 "shall come from the Governours of the Provinces and Fortresses, and
 "other Commanders, shall be carried to *Catherine*; which she shall first
 "inspect by herself, and then send them to *Navarre*; who shall after-
 "wards consult with her; that, Then, the necessary Business may be
 "determined in the Consistory: Likewise, that, for the future, the
 "Constable, Master of the Palace, Marshals of *France*, Admiral, and
 "the other Chief Officers, shall discharge their proper Functions, and
 "not inroach upon the Province of each other: That Affairs shall
 "be considered before the Princes and Counsellors in the Consistory;
 "at which *Catherine*, when her other Occupations will permit, shall be
 "present; and if she cannot be there, the Matter shall be referred to
 "her; then the Decree shall be underwritten by the Secretary, and after-
 "wards corroborated by the Chancellor with the Seal: That, before
 "the King sets his Hand to any Letters, they shall first be perused by
 "the Queen-Mother, at the Council-Board held in the Morning:
 "That the Master of the Post-Office shall lodge all the Pacquets of
 "Letters with the four Secretaries; who shall carry them unopened to
 "Catherine; that she may read them privately, and deliver them to be
 "read to the Counsellors of the Sacred Consistory; after which the
 "King

“ King shall send an Answer, with a Letter from *Catherine* annexed : *A. D.*
 “ That every Week, on *Tuesday* and *Friday*, there shall be held a 1560
 “ Council, for returning an Answer to Petitions, and for the expedi-
 “ tious Hearing of Private Causes : That, on *Thursday* the Council
 “ shall sit, for the Dispatch of Business relating to the Treasury and the
 “ State of the Publick ; at which, besides the four Secretaries, only
 “ the Intendants of the Finances, and the proper Amanuenses, shall
 “ be present.

Three Days after, News arrived of the *Vidame de Chartres's* Death. This Person, illustrious by Birth, equal in Rank to Princes, powerful in Interest, and valiant but debauched, having contracted a Distemper either from his irregular Way of living, or from a Concern for his reduced Fortune, (to which was added the Irksomeness of an unworthy Imprisonment), died in the *Tournelles*, whither upon Account of his Illness he had been removed ; after he had compleated thirty eight Years.

About the same time, happened the Murder of *De Bueil*, the Base Son of the Count *de Sancerre*, perpetrated at *Orleans* by *René de Laval* : From whence a fresh Crop of Animosities sprung up between the *Guises* and the *Montmorencys* ; whilst the Former supported the Count *de Sancerre*, and the Latter espoused *Laval*, as descended from the Constable *Matthew de Montmorency*. The Occasion of the Murder was This : When *Laval* aspired to the Marriage of *Renee de Rohan*, the Widow of *Francis de Rohan* *Sieur de Giè*, and Sister of *Lewis de Rohan* Prince of *Guimenè* ; *Monsieur de Bueil*, vexed to see himself disappointed of the same Match, in order to lay an Obstacle in the Way, pretended a Contract made by *Renee* to himself ; and, as his Reputation for fighting made him arrogant, talked with too much Freedom of that illustrious Lady. *Laval* was also incensed against the *Guises*, because They, by the Suggestion of *William de Balsac* *Sieur d'Entragues*, had extorted the County of *Joigny*, by Deed of Gift, from his Uncle *Lewis de S. Maure* Marquess of *Nesse*.

In this same Year, *Michael de l'Hospital* the New Chancellor, that he might begin his Magistracy with a Specimen of his Natural Gravity and diligent Solitude for the publick Good, promoted a Law, in the Month of *July*, whereby (the Constitution of *Leo* and *Anthemius*, which before had no Authority with Us, being renewed) it was provided, that a Woman, having born Children by a former Marriage, if she enters into a second Engagement, shall not give to her Father-in-law, or to the Father, Mother, or Children of her Father-in-law, or to any other suspected Persons, out of her Moveable Goods, or her antient or acquired Estate, a larger Share, than to One of her Sons ; and that she shall reserve the Dowry accruing to her by the first Marriage, for the Use of the Children by that Match, and not have the Power of granting any Part of it to her New Husband : Which was also to be in force, with regard to such Estates as come to Men by the Liberality of their Wives ; so that neither the Husbands may bestow them upon Second Wives, but be compelled to preserve them for their Children by the first Venter.

A. D. The Edict, drawn for this purpose, was registered in Parliament with great Applause, on the 5th day of *August*; when it had lately happened in Fact, at *Paris*, that a very rich Woman, blinded with the Love of a New Suitor, not perceiving, that the Man was more enamoured of her Estate than her Person, wantonly settled all her Wealth upon him by the Marriage-Articles, reserving to her Children, only a *Falcidian*, that is, a Small Portion, of which alone she could not defraud them. This, at first enacted against the Women, was afterwards extended to the Men by a Decree of Parliament.

A little before, a memorable Decree of Parliament passed at *Tholouse*, and was publicly pronounced on the 12th day of *September*, against the most notorious Impostor that ever carried on a wicked Intrigue in the Name of Another. This Man was *Arnold du Tilh*; who, having cultivated a strict Friendship, when he was a young Fellow in the Army, with *Martin Guerre*, born at *Artigat* in the Diocese of *Rieux*; and being otherwise in Face and Body so like to *Martin*, that he did not differ from him in any thing but the length of his Foot; after *Martin* had been absent for eight Years, ventured to attempt the Modesty of his Wife; whom at last he persuaded, that He was *Martin*: And when he mentioned many of those Secrets, which ordinarily pass betwixt Man and Wife (whether he had learnt them from *Martin* himself in the Camp, or by the help of forbidden Arts, as he was charged) according to Truth, and with great Steadiness of Countenance; he not only imposed upon the Wife, but upon *Martin's* Sisters and other Relations, and for three whole Years cohabited with *Bertrande de Rolz* (so *Martin's* Wife was called); in which time he also had two Children by her. But, when this Ravisher of Another's Chastity began to cast a greedy Eye upon the Estate, he was prosecuted by *Peter Guerre*, the Uncle of *Martin*, and from several Circumstances indicted as an Impostor. After the Tryal had been fully entered into, *Bertrande* beginning to suspect a Fraud, and the Judges being divided by the Niceness and Uncertainty of the Proofs; (through the Providence of God, who would not suffer so heinous a Sin to go any longer unpunished) *Martin* arrives from *Spain*, where he had been all the time, and, as if he had descended in a Machine, appears in Court; where, being acknowledged by *Bertrande* for her real Husband, he removed every Scruple out of the Minds of the Judges; and *Arnold*, after Pardon ignominiously implored of God, the King, Justice, *Martin* and *Bertrande*, was found guilty of Imposture and Forgery, and condemned to be hanged, as an Adulterer, Ravisher, Sacrilegious Person, Plagiary, and Thief; his Estate being adjudged to the surviving Daughter, which *Bertrande*, who had cohabited with him Innocently and Simply, had born to him. And thus Affairs stood with us.

But at *Rome*, the new Pope, having discovered his Inclinations, took little Care of the Common Welfare, but attended wholly to his private Interests and the Advancement of his Relations. And because, in Emulation of his Brother's Vaniry, he had usurped the Name and Arms of the *Medicean* Family, that he might testify in Fact, how much he

esteemed

esteemed *Cosmo* the Head of that House, in the first Place he adopted *A.D.* his second Son *John*, scarce fourteen years old, into the College of Cardinals. At the same Creation he chose *Charles Borromeo*, making him also First Minister, and giving to him the Archbishoprick of *Milan*, which, in favour of the Pope, was resigned by *Hippolito* Cardinal of *Ferrara*: *John-Anthony Serbellon*, Bishop of *Spoletto*, was likewise created a Cardinal; and, upon the like Resignation of Cardinal *John Morone*, consecrated Bishop of *Novara*; Both of them being the Pope's Nephews by his Sisters.

By this time, the Duke of *Savoy* had returned home out of *France* with his Wife *Margaret*; and, conformably to the Articles of Peace, had recovered the Possession of all his Territories, after some Time had been spent in demolishing certain Fortresses according to the Agreement.

Lastly, *Alfonso*, now Duke of *Ferrara*, having embarked at *Marseilles* with two Gallies, arrived about the same time from *France* at *Leghorn*; where being magnificently and affectionately received by his Father-in-law *Cosmo*, he proceeded to *Pisa*; and, pursuing his Journey through the Valley of *Carfagnana*, descended into the Dutchy of *Ferrara*: Soon after his Arrival, he dispatched his Uncle *Francis da Este* from thence to *Florence*, to conduct his Wife to him; who, attended by her Brother *Francis*, *Lewis de Toledo*, *Mark Centurione* and other Lords, and a splendid Retinue, came to *Ferrara*; where the Nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary Pomp and Expence. Not long after, at the earnest Solicitations of the Pope, *Cosmo* sent his Son, lately made a Cardinal, with a numerous Train, together with his Tutor *Alexander di Strozzi*, to *Rome*; where he was entertained with Marks of the highest Benevolence; and, as a Completion to the other Testimonies of the Pope's Affection, he was restored to the Archbishoprick of *Pisa*, which had been injuriously taken from him by *Paul IV.* and given to Cardinal *Scipio Rebiba*; to whom, because he made a violent Opposition, and exclaimed against the Violence of this Proceeding, the Bishoprick of *Troia* in *La Puglia* was assigned as a Compensation. But these Favours of the Pope towards *Cosmo* were Nothing, in comparison of Those, which he afterwards designed for him, though unsuccessfully. For when *Francis* his Elder Son was of an Age fit for Marriage, and the Pope considered, that an illustrious Match would tend extreamly to the Support of his New Sovereignty; by the Bishop of *Terracina*, his Legate at the Court of *Spain*, he treated with *Philip*; that he would vouchsafe to bestow his Sister (formerly married to the Prince of *Portugal*, and, after bearing him a Son named *Sebastian*, who enjoyed the Crown after his Grandfather, left a Widow) in Marriage upon *Francis*: And because he was apprehensive, that *Philip* would hardly consent to this Match, as being unequal (since it seemed little suitable to the Grandeur and Majesty of the *Austrian* Family, that an Emperor's Daughter, and the Sister of the most powerful King in the World, who had also already been married into a Royal Family, should be contracted to a New Prince, and who only bore the Title of a Duke); and when no body believed, that *Philip*, when he had settled his Affairs by a Peace

of

A. D. 1560. so advantageous as well as honourable, and, as the *Spaniards* boasted, had reduced the *French* Name so low, would disgrace himself by so mean an Affinity: Therefore the Pope, being eagerly bent upon the accomplishment of his Will, in order to give the greater Lustre to the House of *Medicis*, had taken care to have it signified to *Philip*, that, if he would consent to this Match, it was designed to create *Cosmo* King of *Tuscany*, and to confer upon him the Rights and Badges of Royalty. But as this Project was honourable for *Cosmo*, so it raised a Jealousy in the rest of the *Italian* Princes, and by Consequence a Disaffection towards *Philip* himself; which was increased by a Rumour, that went currently throughout all *Italy* about the same time, of a New League concerted for driving the *Spaniards* out of *Lombardy*, as formerly under *Clement VIII.* by the Encouragement of the Pope, who, being a Native of *Milan*, had a mind to enrich his own Relations with the Spoils of *Philip*. Which Report (whether artfully contrived by the Rival Princes, or having some real Truth in it) being believed by the Suspicious *Spaniards*, was the Cause, that the Hopes of this Marriage, rashly entertained by the Pope and *Cosmo*, through *Philip's* Disinclination, vanished at last into Air.

In the mean time, the Spirit of Heresy, which had spread throughout *France*, began to show itself in the *Netherlands*, not insensibly and secretly as heretofore, but openly, and in a Body; and the Lords and States of the Province, either from a fatal Indolence, or out of a Fondness, at the bottom, for retaining their Liberty, and also a secret Inclination to the thing, favoured the New Doctrines. For a little before, notwithstanding the pressing Instances of *Margaret* the Governess, and her Council, the States could not be induced to consent to raise the Tax for the Maintenance of the Foreign Troops; Nor indeed did they rest, 'till the Soldiers in Garrison, which remained in *Zealand*, being not so much as paid out of the Province, but from other Hands, were sent back into *Spain*: Neither did they consent to the Tax, upon Other Terms, than that it should be imposed by themselves, and distributed to the Soldiers quartered in the Frontier Towns, as the States should think most expedient, and not at the Pleasure of the Governess and her Council: By which Licentiousness, they were thought to have an Eye towards retaining the same Liberty in Religion, as they had already asserted in the Civil Administration: And, for the same Reason, the Bishops, lately created by *Paul IV.* to serve as Inspectors and Inquisitors, were rejected by them.

Nor was *Spain* itself exempt from that Calamity, *Bartholomew Carranza*, the Archbishop *Toledo*, being seized upon that Account, and thrown into Prison, and his ample Revenues confiscated; whom I saw a long time afterwards at *Rome*, where at length he died: A Man in other Respects egregiously qualified for that Station, by his Learning, Probity, and Holy Life. For the timely Prevention of this Malady, the Revival of the Oecumenical Council, which had been long intermitted, was urged by all Good Men. But the Pope was apprehensive of the same Evils as his Predecessors had been, namely, lest his Power should

should be restrained; and therefore, although he judged it to be a necessary, and indeed the only Remedy for the Extirpation of Heresies, yet he delayed the Matter from time to time; so that it manifestly appeared, that he would never make Use of one, 'till he was compelled to it by Force, or by his own immediate Danger. But when he had resolved, either by Right or Wrong, by Fraud or open Violence to gratify his private Desires; and hoped for great Matters from the Ruin of the *Caraffaes*, whom he had otherwise experienced to be very serviceable to him in the late Promotion to the Popedom; he formed his Scheme in such a manner, that, at first he feigned himself their Friend; and, under that Dissimulation, appointed *Fabrizio di Sanguine*, a Person intimately united to the *Caraffaes*, to be his Legate Extraordinary to *Philip*; and to him, and to the Bishop of *Terracina* he gave it in Charge, to treat with that King, and to re-demand the Compensation for *Paliano* promised by *Vargas* to the Count of *Montorio* in *Calabria*, and the Pension stipulated to be paid to the Cardinal his Brother: The same thing was also negotiated by *Averard di Medicis*, *Cosmo's* Ambassador. Nor was *Philip*, who desired to gratify the New Pope, averse to a Compliance; but had ordered the Count *de Tendilla*, to make Satisfaction to the *Caraffaes*, according to the Pope's Desire. And when the Castles, in the Territories of *Calabria* and *Perugia*, taken from the *Caraffaes* in the Vacancy of the See, and recovered by the Rightful Owners the Count *da Bagni*, the *Vitelli*, and *Ascanio della Corgna*, had been put under Sequestration by a Decree of the Sacred College; he had commanded *Monte-bello* to be restored to *Anthony Caraffa*, and, that the *Vitelli* should be prosecuted as Rebels; notwithstanding the utmost Opposition of *Cosmo*, who thought himself concerned in Reputation not to abandon his Friends in such a necessary Emergency. By these Acts, when the Pope thought, that he had done enough to stop the Mouth of Publick Fame, and to secure himself from the Charge of Ingratitude; he began to find out some other Pretence for picking a Quarrel with them. Nor could an Handle be wanting against Persons, who had long abused the Temper of a Decrepid Uncle and their own Parts, to the great Vexation of the Subjects of the Holy See; the Populace, by a Remembrance of their late Disasters, and the greater Part of the Nobility, being exasperated against them. At the Instigation therefore of *Mark Anthony Colonna*, and *Julian Cesarini*, who had been ill used by *Paul IV*, when no body in the least thought of it, on a Day appointed for holding a Consistory, the Cardinal *Charles Caraffa*, and the Cardinal of *Naples* his Kinsman, to the Surprize of all Men, were sent for; and, upon their entering the Vatican, were arrested by *Gabriel Serbellon*, and committed to the Castle of *S. Angelo*. At the same time, *John*, Count *di Montorio*, who had arrived the Day before in the City, was seized by the Commissary of the Treasury, and thrown into Prison. As they were conducting *Charles*, he is reported to have said, that it was but a just Return to the *Caraffaes*, who had advanced *Medichino* to the highest Grandeur. *Anthony*, Marquess of *Monte-bello*, being absent, was Cited; but, taking Warning from the Danger of his Brothers, he consulted

A. D. his Safety by Flight. In the mean time, Ill News arrived almost every 1560. Day of the *Tripolim* Expedition, (of which we shall discourse hereafter in its Place), and likewise of the Tumults in *France*; with which the Pope was not only no ways moved, but, indulging his Genius and private Affections, minded only what was before him; using notorious Treachery at the same time, in Favour of *Cosmo*, towards *Nicolas Orsino* Count *di Petigliano*; a Man otherwise, by reason of his Violence and ill Morals, worthy indeed of no better Fortune; as One, who had used his Father *John-Francis* with the same Impiety. This Man kept Possession of *Soana*, taken by him in the last Wars, as his antient Patrimony; which *Cosmo* reclaimed as a Portion of the *Sienese* Territory, and by the Articles of the League made subject to Restitution; and had frequently treated with the King about it by *Alfonso Tornabon*: He had received no other Answer, than that the King would not take it ill, if he recovered *Soana* by any Means whatsoever; but that *Cosmo* ought not to require, that the King should employ either Force or Demands for the Evacuation of it. *Cosmo*, having thus obtained as it were the King's Licence, begun freely to form Projects against the Count *di Petigliano*; and, having corrupted his Son *Alexander*, entered with Him into Measures for betraying the Castle. But the Plot being detected by the Father, and the Son apprehended, and *Angelo Fraschini* the Adviser of the Fraud being hanged; *Cosmo*, vexed at the Miscarriage of the Stragem, attempts the Business by Force; and commands *Chiappino Vitelli* to march with six thousand Foot against the Count, and to set *Alexander* at Liberty. A Train of Artillery was immediately drawn from *Monte-pulciano*, and planted before the Town; whilst the Ministers of the Emperor on one side, and the King's on the Other, who were at *Rome*, made Remonstrances against it; and, upon the Count's imploring their Assistance, as holding his Territories of the Empire, under the Protection of the *French*, urged the Pope, that he would interpose his Authority, and command the Siege to be raised; for that otherwise the Pacification would be violated and deserted. He accordingly dispatches thither *Gabriel Serbellon*; who, assuming the Character of an Umpire, and having in that Capacity received *Soana* from the Count *di Petigliano*, without hearing the Arguments of the other Party, delivers it forthwith into *Cosmo's* Hands, and thus compleated *Cosmo's* Designs with the Addition of a most scandalous Instance of Treachery. Nor did *Cosmo* in the mean while cease to sollicite the Pope, that he would bend his Mind to Foreign Affairs, and that, by diligently fortifying the Maritime Places, and strengthening the Isle of *Elba* with an extraordinary Garrison, he would check the Fury and Incursions of the *Turks*, incensed by their late unfortunate Expedition: He also earnestly desired him to attend to the Tumults raised in *France* and *Scotland*, and not to neglect the Salvation of so many Souls endangered by Religious Notions; nor give Occasion to Sovereign Princes of seeking a Remedy for those Evils from some other Quarter, than from the *Roman* See, and, of recurring rather to their own Power, and to a National Council, when they shall despair of Aid from an Universal One. For, a great Noise

Noise had been made in *Italy*, of *De l' Hospital's* Speech delivered in the *A. D.* Royal Consistory; wherein, after mentioning an Oecumenical Synod, 1560. he had exhorted the Bishops to hold themselves in Readiness, and had given Expectations of celebrating a National Council in *France*, without Delay, if an Oecumenical one could not be immediately obtained from the Pope. To which Admonitions, when the Pope, continually affecting Delays, returned an anxious Answer; that he might the more easily elude the frequent Expostulations of Our Embassadors, he declared, that he should shortly go to *Bologna*; and that on the Road he would confer with *Cosmo*, a most prudent Prince, and his dear Friend and Kinsman, concerning That and other Matters relating to the Security of *Italy* and the Common Interest. But when *Cosmo* saw the Hopes of that Journey to be vain, he resolved, at the Pope's Invitation, to go himself to *Rome*, in order to negotiate his Own and the Publick Affairs with him. A considerable time before, *Philip*, at the Instance, as it is thought, of the *Guises*, upon the Report of a National Council, had sent into *France* *Anthony de Toledo*, a Man of eminent Skill and Experience in Business, to consult with the King upon that Subject, and, by representing the Danger of a Schism, which would undoubtedly be the Consequence, to dissuade the King and the Lords of the Privy-Council from that Resolution. On a different side, the Emperor *Ferdinand* was desirous, that since the Council had originally been summoned more especially for the sake of the *Germans*, it should forthwith be set on Foot again in *Germany*; and, that the Decrees, formerly made therein, should be handled over again. On the contrary, it seemed reasonable to Many, that, since the *French* were now become concerned in the same dangerous Cause with the *Germans*, the Council should sit in some Place convenient and adapted to Each Nation, namely, at *Constance*, or, if the *Germans* would consent, at *Besançon*. On the other side, the Pope was solicitous, that, if the Council were not celebrated at *Trent*, it might be brought back into *Italy*; and designed *Vercelli*, a City bordering upon *France*, for the Place; although he had not as yet fully resolved upon holding one; as being more desirous, that *Geneva*, from whence (as he had heard) the Poison of Heresy had spread into *France* and the *Netherlands*, should be attacked with Arms, than that the Controversies of Religion should be peaceably composed in a Convention of Fathers: And to that purpose he had incited the Duke of *Savoy*, to make War upon the *Vaudois*; of which we shall speak hereafter in its Order. As he was fluctuating and interit upon Any thing rather than his Pastoral Office, *Cosmo* comes suddenly upon him, in the month of *October*, with his Son the Cardinal *John* and *Garcias*; and, being honourably entertained, and afterwards admitted to a private Conference, he prevailed by his Reasons, that an Universal Council should be summoned to meet in the beginning of the next Year: For that it was expedient for the Christian Commonwealth, of which the *Roman* Pontiff was the Common Guardian and Parent, that an Universal Remedy should be applied to a Distemper now become Epidemical: Nor ought he to fear, that a Council, lawfully con-

A. D. convened by Virtue of his Own Power, would pass any harsh or severe Sentence upon the Manners and Abuses of the *Roman* Court : For that He himself, the lawfully created Pope, could not help wishing in like manner, that the Corrupt Manners and Loose Discipline of the *Roman* Church might be amended. It remained therefore, that he should manage the Business with Sincerity and Plain-dealing, without Artifice or Chicane; and bring it about, that from all Parts of the Christian World Select Divines should be sent for and favourably heard; whereby the Peace of the Church, rent with the Diversity and Licentiousness of Opinions, might be repaired. *Philip*, by the Count *de Tendilla* his Agent at *Rome*, was also urgent, that with the Pope's Leave he might, out of the Ecclesiastical Revenues in *Spain*, raise a Subsidy for five years, sufficient for the equipping of nine Men of War, for strengthening the Coasts of *Italy*, and maintaining his Possessions in *Africa*. For the Grant of this Indulgence to *Philip*, *Cosmo* also used his Endeavours with the Pope: Which *Cosmo* having obtained (as also a Pardon in behalf of *Chiappino* and *Paul Vitelli*, for the Actions done by them at *Montone* in the time of the Interregnum, and for which they had been prosecuted by the Commissary of the Treasury; and likewise a Restitution of *Rodolph Baghoni's* Estate in *Perugia* to his Children, together with the Free Enjoyment of the Territories granted to *Di Monta*, the Son of *Baldwin*, by his Uncle *Julius III*; which the *Caraffas* had injuriously seized) he at length departed from *Rome*, and went to *Siena*. There having instituted a New Form of Government, repaired and fortified the Citadel, viewed the adjacent Country, and in a tolerable manner settled the Controversies raised about the Borders with the *Spaniards*, who held *Orbitello* and *Porto Ercole*, he returned at last to *Florence*. Shortly after, News arriving of *Francois's* Death, it was also commonly given out, that the Face of the Court was changed by the Demise of the King; and that his Mother *Catherine*, being freed from the Fear of the *Guises*, who for a long time had grieved her with their haughty Carriage, by her Union with the King of *Navarre*, whose Temper she knew how to manage, led a Life of greater Security, and shewed more Indulgence to the Protestants. Which astonished not only the Pope but the other Princes, and was the Cause, that the Business of the Council, which hitherto had only been agitated in Words, was then hastened in good earnest. By Agreement therefore, Embassadors were sent to *Catherine*; from the Pope, *Lawrence Lenzi* Bishop of *Fermo*; from *Philip*, *John Marmignez*; and, from *Cosmo*, *Angelo Guicciardini*; to condole with her for the Death of her Son, and to desire her to take Courage for the future; that she would adhere to the Religion, in which she had been born, bred and educated; and not suffer, that by the spreading of Licentiousness a Door should be opened to Schism, or that a Remedy for the impending Evils should be sought elsewhere than from the Holy See: For that in a short time, the Desires of all her Subjects would be abundantly satisfied, by the OEcumenical Council, which was summoned for that purpose: That she ought to take care, that a most flourishing Kingdom should not, under Her Administration, revolt

revolt from the Primitive Piety of their Fore-fathers; and that, in the *A. D.* mean time, nothing might be done to prejudice the Salutary Remedies, 1560. which might be expected from a Lawful Council. Then a Committee was chosen by the Pope, consisting of the Cardinals *Hercules Gonzaga*, *Ferom Seripandi* and *Stanislaus Hosio*, to preside in His Name over the Session instituted at *Trent*. *Zachariah Delfino* Bishop of *Zant* and *John Francis Commendone* were likewise sent into *Germany*, to invite the Protestant Princes to the Council. *Canobbio* was also dispatched into *Poland*, with Orders to go even to the Czar of *Muscovy*; and, notwithstanding his Attachment to the *Greek Church*, to exhort him to send his Embassadors and Divines to the Universal Convention of the *Latins*: But, by the Wars, that broke out between the King of *Poland* and the Czar, he was hindered from taking that Journey. But now let us pass to more distant Places.

In the former Year, immediately after the Reconciliation of the Kings, an Expedition against *Tripoli*, having been resolved upon, and by various Causes retarded, was in this Year effectually resumed. *John de la Cerda* Viceroy of *Sicily*, piqued with the Emulation of *John de Vega* the Lieutenant-General of the same Province, who had lately taken *Mabadia* in *Africa* from the *Turks*; and, being sadly disquieted, that he had performed no Service of the like nature for the Honour of *Spain*; had often treated with *John Parisot de la Valette* the Grand Master of *Malta*, that by some signal Exploit they should jointly propagate their Glory, by recovering *Tripoli* lately lost; and by the same Blow break the Force of the *Turks* in those parts, which threatened *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Malta* with certain Ruin. They accordingly, by Concert, demonstrated to *Philip*, that such a fair Opportunity ought by no means to be indolently slipped; for that it was a Matter not only highly advantageous, but easy to be compassed, and full of no Hazard or Uncertainty, because *Dragut's* Power was not as yet confirmed in that Quarter. By their Persuasions, *Philip* resolves upon the Enterprize, and makes *La Cerda* the Chief Commander of it; and moreover orders *John-Andrew Doria*, who under *Andrew* commanded the Naval Force, to join *La Cerda* with the whole Fleet; giving a Commission to *Guimaranes*, a Knight of the same Order, to draw off his *Italian Land-Forces* from the several Governours of his Provinces: But this laudable Undertaking met with many Obstructions for that time; chiefly from the Death of King *Henry*; in consequence of which unexpected Casualty, the Governours of the Provinces, fearing some Innovations, refused to part with a Soldier out of their respective Regiments, 'till it should be seen, what Turn the *French* Counsels would take, if possibly that Accident might give occasion to any Disturbances: And no other Answer could *Guimaranes* obtain from the Duke *di Sessa* Lieutenant-General of the *Milanese*, or from *Don Perascan de Ribera* Duke of *Alcala*, the Viceroy of *Naples*: As for the Latter, he alledged This additional Excuse; that he had received Information, that the Powerful Fleet of the *Turks*, which had already set sail from *Constantinople*, was designed against *Ancona*; of whose Designs before he knew something more certain, he

A. D. would not leave the Kingdom bare of Garrisons, or diminish the Troops 1560. that he had with him, by so much as a single Sentinel. To these there was added another Inconveniency; that the *Spanish* Gallies, ordered by *Philip* for that Service, separated from the rest of the Fleet, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances of *Guimaraes* to the contrary. Thus the whole Summer almost was consumed; 'till, the Jealousy conceived of Our Counsels ceasing, and the *Turkish* Fleet sailing back to the East, when the Coasts of *Italy* were delivered from all Apprehensions, *Alvaro de Sandi*, who a few days before had come from *Philip* to *La Cerda*, on purpose to bear a part in this War, was sent back into *Lombardy* to raise new Forces, which with much difficulty he obtained at length of the Duke di *Sessa*: So that, though the utmost Diligence was used in the Affair, all the Troops could not rendezvous at *Messina* sooner than the month of *October*. These consisted in the whole of fourteen thousand Foot; viz. Thirty Companies of *Spaniards*, commanded by *Sandi* a General of Eminent Note in the *Piedmontese* and *Tuscan* Wars; thirty five Companies of *Italians*, under *Andrew Gonzaga*; fourteen of *Germans*, under *Stephen Leopat*; to which were added, two Ensigns of *French*. The Naval Armament was composed of twenty eight Ships of Burthen, fourteen Smaller Vessels, and fifty four Gallies of all Rates; of which the Pope furnished four, commanded by *Flaminio d' Anguillara*; *Cosmo* Duke of *Tuscany* as many, under *Nicolas Gentile*; the Master of *Malta* five, which he had committed to the Care of the Chevalier *Tessieres*, Chief Admiral of the Order: And, both by Naval and Land Forces, the same Master considerably supported that Expedition, sending a select Band of four hundred Knights, and also six hundred Musqueteers. The Direction of the Artillery was intrusted with *Bernard de Aldana*; who, after his ill Conduct in *Hungary*, had been pardoned and restored to his Honours. *La Cerda*, having reviewed the Army, and provided Victuals for the Subsistence of thirty thousand Men for four months, and also embarked the Cannon and part of the Troops on board the Transports and sent them before the Rest; shortly after, at the End of *October*, loosed with the Gallies and the rest of the Forces from *Messina*; leaving behind him *Ferdinand de Silva* Marquess de la *Favara*, to govern *Sicily* in his Absence: From thence he put in at *Syracuse*; in the Port of which Place, after he had been tossed with a violent Tempest, he remained during the whole Month of *November*; and, tho' he often attempted it, could not get out from thence 'till the beginning of *December*; being obliged with Difficulty to row the Transports out of the Harbour: Which was an ill and an ominous Prelude to the unfortunate Voyage. In the mean time the Grand Master dispatches two Brigantines to *Africa* for Intelligence; which, though wisely intended, like the other Parts of this Enterprize, turned to their Disadvantage: For one of them fell into the hands of *Dragut*, who held *Tripoli*. He accordingly, having learnt Our Design from the Captives, applied himself to fortify the Town and augment the Garrison, to make Provision of Corn, and expedite the other necessary Matters for sustaining a Siege: Then he sent Advice to *Soliman*, and besought him

him immediately to send his Fleet, which was superior to the *Christian*, A. D. to his Relief. He, having nine years before, upon the taking of *Tripoli*, 1560. been appointed by *Soliman* the Chief Governour of the neighbouring Coast, by the removal of *Morataba* Lord of *Tefciara*; maintained a fierce Quarrel afterwards with the King of *Carvan*, whose Dominions lye three hundred Miles distant from *Tripoli*; for This Cause, as he pretended; that, when he wanted Succours, he found the King not only unfavourable, but injurious to his Interest. Which whether true, or feigned by *Dragut*, for an occasion of quarrelling; it is certain, that from that time this Veteran Pirate persecuted his neighbour the King with Hostilities; and, being supported by the Power of the *Turks*, deprived him of great part of his Territories. The King therefore, distrusting his Fortune, was looking out on all sides, if he could get any glimmering Hopes of Succour from the Christians. But *Dragut*, not content with having spread the Terror of his Name throughout the wide Continent, resolved also to reduce the adjoining Island of *Gelves* into his Power. In this Island there ruled a certain Dynast, named *Soliman*; to which Sort of Princes, whose petty Dominions do not deserve the Title of a King, the *Arabians* vulgarly give the Title of *Xeches*. Him when *Dragut* could not overcome by Force, sending for him to *Tripoli* under pretence of Friendship, he lays him in Chains; and, having thus gained the Possession of the Island, in some time after caused the poor Prince to be hanged. By this Action, the Man, already formidable to the whole Neighbourhood, had stirred up an universal Hatred against himself; and the *Libyan* Lords and People had nothing more at Heart, than that an Occasion might offer itself for revenging their Injuries, and recovering That Liberty, which, under a barbarous Pirate and the *Turkish* Yoke, they had lost. The King of *Carvan* therefore, and the King of *Tunis*'s Son (who was already with *La Cerda*) and the Grandson of that *Soliman* (who now called himself *Xeches of Gelves*) entered chearfully into an Alliance with Us, in order, with joint Forces, to rid *Africa* of a Common Pest. As to *Gelves*, called by the Antients *Meninx* or the Island of the *Lotophagi*, it comprehends about sixty Miles in its Compass, stretching out towards *Africa*, from which it is divided by a short Cut, joined by a Bridge; surrounded on all sides with Flats, over which the Sea ebbs and flows once in a Winter and twice in a Summer, so that most commonly it is deserted by the Sea for the Space of four Miles: This Circumstance formerly deceived *Garcias de Toledo* Duke of *Alva* (the Father of the celebrated General); who had landed in the Island, when the Flats were covered; but afterwards, when the *Turks* fell upon him, being left upon Dry-Ground by the ebbing of the Sea, and driven to a necessity of fighting against his Will, when there was no room for retreating, received a great Blow, and lost his Life in the Engagement. In other respects, the Place affords a safe Access and Station, when there is no Danger from an Enemy, nor any urgent Necessity for a sudden Removal; and the Country is mostly Level, except in the Center, which rises gradually with a gentle Ridge of Hills. The Soil is dry and

A. D. and sandy, and abounds only with Palm Trees, of which there are
 1560. whole Groves planted, Olives, Cedars, and Pomegranates of a sharper
 Taste than Ours. There are also Vines, from which the Islanders gather
 Grapes, not for Wine, but dried for Eating; which they Export to
 the adjoining Coast, and as far as *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. There are Figs
 also, Pears, Apples, and Plumbs; but it produces no Corn but Rice,
 Millet, Lentils, Beans, Pease, and such sort of Pulse. It was former-
 ly subject to the King of *Tunis*; but afterwards, in the Decline of his
 Empire, three Dynasts enjoyed the Government, which, through the
 usual Unfaithfulness of Joint-Rulers, were at last reduced to One;
 which One also, underwent frequent Revolutions; whilst, blinded with
 the mad Lust of Reigning, neither the Brother spared the Brother, nor
 the Son the Father, nor the Father the Son. At this Day the Num-
 ber of the Inhabitants is computed at thirty Thousand; the Country,
 which was formerly more populous, having been considerably thinned
 by frequent Rebellions. They generally dwell in Huts; for, except the
 Castle, which is the Seat of the Dynast, and about four Villages full of
 Houses and People, you see nothing but Cottages here and there up and
 down the Island. The Market of *Gelves* is well frequented by Mer-
 chants, who frequently pass over thither from Our Continent, the
African Coast, *Greece* and *Egypt*; so that, from the Toll of the Fairs,
 there arises yearly the Sum of one hundred thousand Crowns to the
 Dynast, as the Writers of these Affairs have recorded. Camels and
 Asses are bred amongst them in great Numbers, but Horses more rare-
 ly. They have Goats, quite different from Ours, with large ringed
 Ears, and of a white Colour; also many Hares, and Chamelions as
 big as Lizards. The Cattle, which they Use, is Imported. The
 Men are whiter than the *Africans*, but still of a Complexion somewhat
 dusky; in their Temper, suspicious, curious, greedy of Money beyond
 Imagination, prostitute to every Lust, as well Male as Female: Ne-
 vertheless, Adultery is capitally punished amongst them: And the
 Men, who may take six or at most seven Wives, if they find any of
 them in the Fact, convicting them of the Crime before their Parents,
 either kill them, or disgracefully leave them as despicable Creatures.
 The Dynast marries as Many as he pleases; and, whenever he takes
 a Wife, is rewarded by the Islanders with a Sum of Money. He has
 under him a Lieutenant-General, and a Chief Justice, who, carrying a
 Staff for a Badge of Magistracy, is had in great Honour and Re-
 verence. The People seldom go to Law, being intent upon improving
 every one his own Substance to the best Advantage. They spin the
 best of Wool, of which those very fine Cloaths which they wear, are
 made. They also carry Turbants on their Heads, of a light blue Colour,
 wrapped about with a white Bandage. The Men wear Cloaks, called by
 them *Boracans*, made of the same Wool, and fringed with Silk, and
 garnished with a Sabre hanging down from their Shoulders, but are
 quite naked inwardly; though the Principal Men amongst them have
 Tunicks reaching below their Knees, and Buskins upon their Legs like
 the *Morians*. The Women too wear Cloaks, which also cover their
 Heads,

Heads, and falling over their Eyes, end in a Point ; and are underneath covered with a Tunick. The poorer sort live upon Rice-Meal, bruised in Oyl, Honey, Butter, Dates with Vinegar, and sometimes Flesh. The wealthier use Wheat-Meal mixed with Water for their Food. They All use Water for their Drink, and, by reason of the immoderate Heats, lie upon the Ground. But I now return from these Digressions, into the High-Road. *La Cerda* therefore, having found, as he thought, a convenient Opportunity, after he had long struggled with Distempers, (by which he lost Many of his Men), with Quarrels and Mutinies of the Soldiery, (which for the most Part consisted of *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* Exiles) ; at length sailed out of the Harbour of *Syracuse* ; having sent the Transports before, with Orders, to steer away to the *Golfo di Caps* ; and from thence, having there drawn the Fleet together, to sail towards *Tripoli*, distant above an hundred Miles : But, the Wind blowing contrary, when the Gallies had just weathered *Cape Cassaro*, and saw the Transports driven back to the Place from whence they had loosed, at a Consultation it was for some time doubted, whether They also should return into Port, in order to join the Fleet of Transports, or put in at *Malta*, which was at hand ; and at length, bearing away to *Malta*, they gained the Harbour of *Marzamugetto*. The Winds continuing to bluster, a good deal of Time was unprofitably spent ; 'till upon Their ceasing, near the End of *December*, the Gallies, detached by *La Cerda* to fetch the Others, which had been unable to hold their Course, returned to *Syracuse* ; where they found Part of the Transports just come out of the Port, and part they themselves rowed out, and with most of them arrived at *Malta*. There the Soldiers were landed, in order to recover a little from the Qualms of the Sea, and the Stench of the Vessels, and also from Distempers contracted by the unwholesome Air. At a Review of the Army, when it appeared to be diminished by three thousand Men, Officers were sent to the Continent, to raise Recruits in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and in *Sicily*. Out of these the Companies were supplied ; and to Those, which *Hippolito Malaspini* led, five hundred Foot were added ; five hundred more were assigned to *Charles Ruffo*, and three hundred to *Marcellus Doria*. Thus the whole Month of *January*, and the greatest part of *February*, in the next Year, were spent. At length *La Cerda* sets sail again, having ordered the Transports, if they entered first into the *Secco di Palo*, to wait for the Gallies in that Station : Four Days after, the Gallies came before the Isle of *Gelves*, near a Place called *Rochetta*, where Ships usually take in fresh Water : But, the Viceroy, fearing, lest the Watering might be interrupted by the Excursions of the *Turks* and *Moors*, landed with all his Forces. Nor was this Precaution needless : For, the Enemies, surrounding them, began an Attack, and engaged in a bloody Fight, in which *Alvaro de Sandi*, whilst he was employed amongst the thickest Ranks, surveying the Battle, and relieving the weak Posts, was wounded by a Musquet Shot with some Others. Upon this Coast there is a Creek, commonly called *Cantara*, which is extended above a Mile inwards. In this, two Gallies at a Distance being spied from the Mouth of it, a Squadron was immediately

A.D. detached to take them: But the Sailors, seeing two Ships of Burthen standing not far off at Anchor, neglected the Pursuit of the *Turkish Gallies*; and, forgetting the Command of their Generals, out of Fondness for Booty, eagerly turned aside to catch the others: Which they performed indeed, and found them laden with very valuable Commodities; but could not meet with any one Person on board, from whom they might know the State of the Place, and the Designs of the Enemy. For, the Coasts were every where lined with a strict Guard of *Turks* and Natives, that no body might possibly be taken Prisoner, or desert to Us. Afterwards, when the Fleet had turned aside to the Gulf, it was known from the *Mahometan Arabs*, (who dwell in the adjoining Continent, and are mortal Enemies to the *Turks*); that a most noble opportunity had been lost by Our People, when, leaving the Pursuit of the Gallies, they fell to pillaging the Merchant Ships. For *Dragut* had lately entered the Island against the Nephew of That *Soliman* before mentioned, at the Request of the Inhabitants, who, not enduring his Government, had revolted from him; and had just gained a Victory over the New Dynast; so that if Our Men had burnt those Gallies, *Dragut* would have had no way to escape. For along the Bridge, by which the Island is joined to the Continent, the Posts were all guarded by strong Parties of *Arabs*; and when *Dragut*, who had drawn off the Flower of the Troops from *Tripoli*, should have been excluded for want of Vessels, there could have been no question, but that the Christians, finding *Tripoli* empty, must have gained it without a Stroke, and put an happy Period to the War. Four Gallies furnished by *Cosmo* (in which the Duke of *Bibona*, without any proper Charge, but only through a youthful Ardour of bearing a part in the Enterprize, had embarked) had been obliged by a Storm to stay behind at *Malta*; and now, after watering at *Lampedosa*, one and thirty Miles distant from *Gozo*, arrived from thence at *Gelves*: Where the Crew fearing, lest they might again want Water, landed once more to supply themselves; and two hundred *Spaniards* were accordingly disembarked; who, having taken in Water, whilst they were carelessly returning to their Comrades, were surrounded by a Body of *Moors*, and received considerable Damage; part being drowned, and part escaping to the Ships with much difficulty by swimming. *Adrian Garcias*, *Alonso de Gusman*, *Peter Venegas* and others were killed; *Francis de Antonio* and *Peter de Bermudez* were made Prisoners: This happened on the 17th day of February. Then *La Cerda*, by those *Mahometans*, sends a Letter to the King of *Caroon*, advertising him of his own Arrival, and requesting, that the King would forthwith repair to him, that they might concert Measures for the Common Welfare, and join Forces against a Publick Enemy. Not long after arrived four Transports, with some Companies of *Germans* under *Joseph Tremarchi*. Whilst the Fleet anchored in the Gulf, two thousand of Our Men perished by various Maladies; to the Distempers, contracted in *Sicily* and *Malta*, being added a corrupted Air and unwholesome Water. For the Soil of the Island is sandy, in which the People dig Wells, from whence there arise Springs of Water, sweet enough to the Taste, but unhealthy: Whereby

Whereby Many perished every day by Troops, and their Carcasses *A.D.* (miserable Spectacle!) were thrown into the Sea; lest, being interred, 1560. they might increase the Infection of the Air. Then at a Consultation held amongst the Officers upon the 1st day of *March*, to consider what was to be done; Some declared, notwithstanding the good Grounds there had been for undertaking the Expedition, that it ought to be abandoned at once; and, that upon New Casualties, New Counsels ought to be taken; for that otherwise they should fight against Heaven: Others, ashamed to have staid a long time, and then to return empty, advised to stay at least some time longer, till the New Troops, which the Viceroy had sent orders for levying, should arrive, and then to pursue the Enterprize. All agreed to a middle Opinion; that the Project should not be entirely deserted, but that, leaving the Gulf, they should return to the Isle of *Gelves*, which, as well as the Gulf, was eighty Miles distant from *Tripoli*: There the Soldiers might take Breath again after their Distempers and Hardships; and, when the New Levies should arrive, they might then with a favourable Wind sail to *Tripoli*; yet so, that the Voyage should be accommodated to the Season, and, if the Winds blew towards *Tripoli*, they should follow Fortune. Orders accordingly were given to the Lord of the Country, who had readily offered his Assistance to *La Cerda*, to fortify That part of the Continent, which is joined by a Bridge to *Gelves*, and to see, that none of the *Turks* entered the Island; giving him hopes of receiving him into Pay. The Fleet being put into Order, on the same day (for the Wind opposed their proceeding towards *Tripoli*) they came before *Gelves*; where having landed the Soldiers, they pitched their Camp, on the 7th day of *March*, within the distance of ten Miles from the Town; in a Place secure from Ambuscades, and commodiously situated for Supplies of wholesome Water. The Solitude, which appeared at their Entrance, was a Sign of Hostile Intentions: In which opinion the Viceroy was confirmed, when in the Evening two *Moors* came from the Dynast into the Camp, deputed in appearance to congratulate his safe Arrival, but in reality as Spies: These professed, that their Master would willingly put himself under *Philip's* Protection; but begged, since no occasion had been given for a War, that the Viceroy would transport his Army out of the Island: At the same they desired, that he would come to *Rochetta*, where the Dynast would meet him, and confer with him upon the main Business; for that otherwise, the Islanders being incensed at his Coming, it would hardly be possible to restrain them. To this the Viceroy answered, by excusing his Arrival; for that, when, in his way to *Tripoli*, he had been driven into the Island by a Storm, he came with peaceable, not hostile Intentions; but resolved, when he should have finished the *Tripolm* Expedition, and not before, to return thither; that, by expelling the *Turks*, he might restore the Dynast to his ancient Possession: In the mean time he was glad, since Fortune had so ordered it, that he was come to *Gelves*, sooner than he had designed, because he found them so peaceably disposed: He did not see, since he had landed his Troops, why he should re-imbark them, before the Parties had concluded a final Treaty, and he himself had
pro-

A. D. provided his Fleet with Necessaries: That accordingly he should
 1560 march to *Pozzi*, three miles distant from the Town; whither, He re-
 ciprocaly desired, that the Dynast would repair, to consult together
 for their mutual Interests. The Messengers being thus dismissed, in the
 same Night, two Christian Captives, who had deceived their Masters,
 came to the Viceroy; and related, that the *Turks*, knowing of the
 Christian Fleet's Approach, had yielded up the Possession and Sove-
 reignty of the Island to the Dynast: That *Dragut*, for his part, had retired to
Tripoli; that *Plucciali* a *Calabrian*, a famous Pirate, of whom we shall
 have occasion hereafter to make larger mention, had gone to *Constanti-*
nople, on board the aforesaid Galley, with Presents for *Soliman* and the
Bashaws; to acquaint him with the Arrival of Our Fleet, and to desire
 Succours; and that now, the *Turkish* and *Moorish* Troops, which re-
 mained in the Town, had resolved to attack the Viceroy with joint
 Force. Upon this Information, the Army advanced, the next day,
 in regular Order and with great Caution; *Sandi* being sent forwards,
 to mark out a Camp at *Pozzi*. In the Van-guard stood the Knights
 of *Jerusalem*, with two thousand *French* and *Germans*: In the middle
 followed the *Italians*, three thousand in number: The *Spaniards*, to
 the number also of three thousand, closed the Rear; which was all
 that remained out of the fifteen thousand Men. The Viceroy, marching
 in this manner, was met by *Mezuar* the Dynast's Lieutenant-General,
 who came to excuse his Master, for not having advanced to salute him:
 That he had been wanting to his Duty, in compliance with the Hu-
 mour of his Subjects, who held him back. At the distance of two
 Miles from the Place, chosen by Our Men for an Incampment, the
 Dynast had halted, behind an intermediate Hill, which covered him:
 However the Noise of the Drums was heard; and particularly the
 Treble Beat, which with them is a Signal for engaging; and then a
 Conference was demanded by the Dynast. But the Viceroy, fore-
 boding a Fraud, immediately sends back *Mezuar*; and orders him to
 tell the Dynast, that on the next day, when he should have refreshed the
 Soldiers, he would come to him; and immediately he ranges the Army
 in Batallia; placing the *Spaniards*, under *Lewis Oforio*, in the Front;
 the *Italians* in the second Body near the Sea, led by *Kyriceo Spinola*; and
 the Knights of *Jerusalem* in the Middle with the *French* and *Germans*;
 flanked by the Musqueteers. Our Troops had hardly begun to move
 in Order of Battle, before the *Moors* appeared advancing from the
 Hill. There, with horrid Clamours, according to the Custom of
 that Nation, the *Moors* at first made a furious Onset; but, about the
 Close of the Day, when they had lost near an hundred and fifty Men,
 they retired. On Our Side there perished only thirty; amongst whom
 were *Bartholomew Gonçalez*, *Alonzo Padilla*, Captains; *Frias* Com-
 mander of the *S. Jago* Galley, and one *French* Gentleman, whose Name
 is not specified. *Gregory Ruiz* received a grievous Wound, of which
 he died shortly after. In this Engagement, the Persons, whose Valour
 was most principally distinguished, were Captain *Ambrose* of *Milan*,
John-Anthony Bisballa Knight of *Malta*, and *Joseph Tremarchi*: In the
 mean time they cleansed the Wells; which the *Moors*, to deprive Our
 Men

Men of the Conveniencies of Watering, had filled with Stones and *A. D.* Gravel. The Soldiers being returned into the Camp; for want of the *1560.* Tents, which had been left behind in the Ships, Our People made others, for the present Necessity, of the Branches of Palm and Olive Trees: From thence *Sancho di Leyva* was detached by *John-Andrew Doria*, with the Gallies of his Squadron, to block up the Mouth of the Creek; to whom was joined *Cogliazos*, and *Hercules di Medicis*, Land-Officers: He, having paid the *Mahometans* the promised Wages, took a fresh Obligation from them to guard the Entrance. When the Dynast saw his Stratagems to be ineffectual, and was otherwise inferior in Force; he every Day sent a Man, who, in the Sight of Our People, fixing a white Flag into the Ground, (which is a Token of Submission, and of desiring Peace), left a Letter there; wherein the Dynast repeatedly professed himself ready to swear Allegiance to *Philip*, and to pay a Tribute. But the Viceroy, who did not desire to close with Articles offered by the Conquered Party, but to subject him to Laws imposed by the Conqueror, spun out the Time, 'till he had landed the Provisions, Artillery, and Ammunition: Which done, in the middle of *March* he made a Motion. The disheartened Dynast could not bear the hostile Approach of the Viceroy, but sent One, to promise, that he would forthwith deliver up the Town; and give Hostages, 'till the Articles should be drawn up. An Agreement therefore was made with him; since the Council thought, that it was better to receive him under a voluntary Capitulation, than to hold him to a forced and involuntary Subjection; and, that they should reap more Advantage from the Island, if preserved from the Ravages of War, than if it were laid waste. The Business was concluded by the Intervention of a certain young Man, a Favourite of the Dynast, named *Amansor*, the Son of a *Biscayan* Alcaid who had turned Renegado, and of *Balthasar Gago* a *Portuguese*, who understood the Language; not without loud Clamours on the part of the *Spaniards*; who, blinded with the eager Hopes of an immense Booty, which they had already devoured in their Thoughts, flung their Helmets and Arms here and there in a Passion: Amongst them there was One found, called *Ordonez*, who was so enraged and grieved to see the precious Morsel snatched out of his Mouth, that he cut his own Throat. *Barabona*, the Camp-Master, was then ordered, with *Ferom de la Cerda* and *Stephen Monreale*, to go to the Town, and take Possession of it in *Philip's* Name. The Town being yielded, it was presently resolved to fortify it; that with this Chain the fickle Temper of the *Moors* might be curbed, and Revolts (a National and Familiar Vice amongst them) be restrained. Then, that the Island might not hereafter be a Receptacle to Pirates, who, from thence by a short Passage, constantly infested the Coasts of *Sicily*, *Malta*, and Those of *Italy* opposite to *Africa*; a Plan of Fortifications was delineated by *Anthony Conte* an excellent Engineer. On the eighteenth Day of *March* the Work was begun; the several Quarters being divided amongst different Nations: And, it being determined to strengthen the Place with four Bastions, Emulation so kindled their Zeal, that the Works were soon dispatched, and, in a short time, carried to such an Height,

A. D. as to be able to maintain a Siege. The Care of building the Eastern Bastion, was committed to *Andrew Gonzaga*: The opposite One to the Westward, the Knights of *Jerusalem* undertook. The Viceroy chose the Southern One: And a middle one, between the Viceroy and the Knights, fell to the Lot of *John-Andrew Doria*: For, all that Quarter, which reaches from the West to the North, was secured by a Slip of Land, and the Sea; and the Remainder, from the North to the East, was fenced with a continual Wall, though winding, and in some Places crooked. Especial Care was taken, that the Place should abound with sweet Water; for which Purpose, the Soldiers in Garrison were ordered to carry fifty Barrels of Water every Day into the Castle, where two Cisterns, conveniently fitted for the Reception of it, were prepared. This being lazily performed by them, whilst, intent upon Gain, they spent their Time in carrying Oil and Wool on board the Ships, was the chief Cause of losing the Town. About this time, arrived a Reinforcement of Soldiers, which the Viceroy had commanded to be lifted at *Malta*: Upon which, a strong Garrison of chosen Men was placed in the Castle, under the Command of *Barahona*, whose Lieutenant was *Anthony de Oliveira*; and the Day, for the Dynast's taking the Oath, was fixed to the fifth of *May*: On which Day, when it came, He, attended by a large Croud of his Subjects, repaired to the Place appointed, which was a Mile distant from the Camp; and, as a Pledge of firm Friendship, presented *Dragut's* Green Standard: Then having, in a set Form, done Fealty to *Philip*, and signed the Articles, he thrice flourished a Standard, upon which were the Arms of that Prince: It was provided by an additional Article, that he should pay a yearly Tribute of six thousand Crowns, one Camel, four Ostriches, four *Nation* Falcons, and four Roes bearing Musk. Nor long after, the King of *Carvan*, being recovered from a tedious Indisposition, to evidence his Fidelity to the Viceroy, came into the Camp with a very small Retinue, consisting only of eight Horse, having left his Troops behind upon the Continent: To Him, and also to the King of *Tunis's* Son, who had accompanied the Viceroy in the Voyage, honourable Quarters were assigned near to the Viceroy. Whilst *La Cerda*, intent upon his Work, was Night and Day bringing it to Perfection, an Express arrived from the Grand Master of the Order, with certain Information, that a Fleet of forty Gallies would shortly sail from *Constantinople* to the Relief of *Tripoli*; which the ordinary Fleet would soon follow, for the Recovery of That City, if it should be lost in the mean time: Which News being brought to *Doria*, as he lay sick o' Bed, wonderfully afflicted him: For, thus he reckoned with himself; that the Imperial Fleet of forty Gallies would be joined in the Voyage by twenty Corsairs; to which, if Those twenty two were added, which *Dragut* had with him, That Armament, being Superiour to the Christian, would undoubtedly fall upon them. He therefore earnestly exhorted *La Cerda*, that, letting the Fortrefs alone, he should embark the Soldiers; and, with a Fleet guarded by such celebrated Warriours, should boldly advance to meet the *Turkish* Fleet, and engage with it in the *Ægean* Sea, before it should be reinforced: In
Consequence

Consequence of which, the Fear of the *Turkish* Auxiliaries being removed, *A. D.* they might more safely resume the Expedition against *Tripoli*: These *1560.* Admonitions having no Influence upon the Viceroy, who would not think of abandoning the Fortifications begun; how dangerous soever it seemed to *Doria* and the other Officers to separate the Fleet at that Juncture, he detaches Viscount *Cigala* with twelve Gallies to fetch Provisions and Money. The Report of the *Turkish* Fleet's Approach being noised abroad, there came at the same time *Ferdinand Zapata* from the Viceroy of *Naples* with two Brigantines, to recall the *Spanish* Veterans for the Service of the Kingdom. The Master of the Order also countermands His Men, who, on the eighth Day of *April*, were sent back to him: For these Reasons *Doria* was so much the more instant, often sending Messages by *Tomacello*, that the Viceroy would prepare to sail away; passing his Word, and even offering Hostages, for the sure Conveyance of Money into the Castle: But the Viceroy heard nothing that was salutary: For to such a Degree did the Desire of perfecting the Works, and the Hopes once conceived of adding the Possession of *Gelves* to the Crown of *Spain*, possess his Mind, that he rejected all Arguments offered in Contradiction to that Project. Whilst *Doria* in vain continued pressing, *Cigala* being now returned out of *Sicily*; on the ninth Day of *May*, a Brigantine came from the Master of the Order, with the Chevalier *de Copones* on board. He brought a Letter for *Doria*, with certain Advice, that, on the seventh Day of *May*, six Hours before the Writing of the Letter, a strong Fleet of eighty five *Turkish* Gallies had appeared before the Coasts of *Gozo*, steering towards *Africa*. With which News *Doria* being startled, sends *Guimaraes* (who happened to be sitting by his Bed), to the Viceroy, with the Letter which *Copones* had brought; and, mixing Advice with earnest Prayers, beseeches him, that, laying aside every other Thought, he would immediately go on board the Fleet, and not expect, till the *Turks*, if they were not gone away before Day-light, (their Escape being prevented by the contrary Winds), should take them all Prisoners. The Express being dismissed and a Council summoned to the General's Tent, at which were present *Sancho di Leyva*, and *Berenguel de Requesenes*, Commodore of the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* Gallies, *Scipio Doria*, who commanded his Father *Anthony's* Gallies, and Viscount *Cigala*, a Person of great Use and Reputation in Naval Affairs; after a sharp Contention, it was resolved, that the Viceroy should not depart, till he had embarked and brought off the Troops. For the Dissenters affirmed, that the Fleet, sent by the Sultan to *Dragut*, could not, by any means, either by the next or the following Days, arrive at *Gelves*: For it was more probable, that the Commanders would first repair to Him, to whom they were sent, and concert Measures with him: That their Course Southward, mentioned by the Master's Letter, sufficiently declared, that they were to take *Africa* in their way to *Gelves*. *Doria* on the contrary maintained, that the Enemy's first Design indeed must have been to go to *Tripoli*, and to meet *Dragut*: Yet, that the *Turks* could not blunder so grossly, that, when they had found a Fleet, inferiour to their own, under the Disadvantage of

a con-

A. D. 1560. a contrary Wind, they should neglect a Prize so easy to be taken, and idly desert so fair an Opportunity: Again, that the Magnet, or Sailor's Needle it self could not certainly direct the exact Point, to which a Fleet should bear; since a very small and scarce sensible Motion wonderfully varies the Course in a long Voyage. At length, against *Doria's* Opinion, it was resolved, that some Gallies should sail out before Sunrise, and, if no *Turkish* Fleet appeared, then the Soldiers should be embarked at Leisure. After this, the Viceroy comes about Midnight to the Quarters, and there repeats his former Resolution, that he would not depart without carrying the Troops with him: For, that he had promised it to them; and did not know, with what Face he should come into their Sight, if he broke his Word. To whom *Doria*, "And if, in pursuance of this Obstinacy, You shall deliver the Fleet into the Enemy's hands, with what Front will You appear before *Philip*, and the *Italians* and *Spaniards*? For You know the Importance of a Fleet to be so great, that nothing ought to come in Competition with it; for by saving the Fleet, You save the Troops, which You shall leave behind, and every thing else. As to the Promise, which You made, it was too hasty; and the Disgrace of breaking it ought not so much to move You, as the prodigious Danger of keeping it". But *Doria's* Words had no Force upon *La Cerda*; who, having ordered some Hoys to go out immediately, commanded *Doria*, that two Hours before Day-light he should put to Sea with the whole Fleet, leaving only two Gallies for any sudden Emergency; and that, waiting the Sun-rise, if he did not see the *Turkish* Fleet, he should then return to take the Soldiers on Board: And for that Reason, he ordered all the Boats to be left behind for His Use. *Doria*, who approved his own Counsel, but found it necessary to follow Another's, sets Sail at the Hour appointed, and the whole Fleet soon follows him: But when a favourable Gale had blown for some time, about Day-break the Wind immediately turned quite about, with so much Violence, that *Doria*, with all the Labour of Oars, not only found it impossible to stand against its Fury, but was obliged to tack about; and, before it was clear Light, saw the *Turkish* Fleet with full Sails bearing down upon him. The chief Command of the *Turkish* Troops was placed in the Hands of *Bashaw Piali*, to whom *Suel Aga* was assigned as Lieutenant-General, and the whole Fleet was under the Direction of *Cara Mustapha*. *Doria* then cried out, "We are ruined, just as I foresaw. Rashness has prevailed over Counsel. Another's Fault has undone Us". Then, surprized, astonished and at a Loss, when there remained no Hopes of escaping, they lashed part of the Gallies upon the Rocks, and part they ran ashore. Most of the Crews were drowned, in endeavouring to swim to Land, and Few escaped that Way: Great Numbers were taken: *Sulpio Doria*, steering Eastward, escaped the Pursuers, after he had in vain given a Signal to the *Peregrine* Galley to follow him. Such as out-ran the Danger, arrived partly at *Malta*, and were partly dispersed along the Coasts of *Sicily* and the Kingdom of *Naples*. Five, entering the Canal which leads to the Fort, were rescued from Destruction: And

John-

John-Andrew Doria, after he had lightened his Galley, trying to enter *A. D.* the same, found the Water so shallow, and the Vessel still so much too ^{1560.} heavy, that he could not prevent its being dashed against the Rocks. In a moment therefore, snatching the Flag, and leaping into a Hoy, he escaped safe to Land near the Fort, leaving the Flag-Ship behind him, which fell afterwards into the hands of the *Turks*. In this Engagement or rather Tumult were lost nineteen Gallies, and fourteen Transports full of sick Men: Near five thousand Persons were carried away into Slavery; and amongst the rest, the Bishop of *Majorca*, *Sancho di Leyva* with his two Sons, after he had long defended himself, *Berenguel de Requesenes*, *Bernard de Aldana* Camp-Master, *Gaston de la Cerda* the Viceroy's Son, as yet a Boy, *John* and *Frederick de Cardona*, and *Raphael Caldes* a Knight of *Jerusalem*. Amongst the Prisoners were also numbered, because they did not appear after the Rout, *Galeazzo di Farnese*, *Balthazar Mezzavilla*, *Alfonso del Palla* and *Anthony Conte*, principal Officers; *Sciarra Smeraldo*, *Francis Henriquez*, *Lopez de Figueroa*, Captains, and others: *Flaminio d' Anguillara*, the Pope's Admiral, was also taken, being disabled, by the breaking of the Sail-yard, from holding on his Course, and died afterwards of a Musquet-shot received in the Fight. *Doria*, being partly grieved for the Loss of the Fleet, and partly enraged at the little Credit given to his Admonitions, *La Cerda* came up to him, and said, "You, *John Doria*, who, by GOD's Providence, art the only Person Innocent of this Day's Calamity, and who alone of all the Officers gave Wise Counsel, What do you advise me to do?" To whom replied *Doria*, "The Land-Forces are under Your Command and Disposal: For My part, which concerns the Navy, I am resolved to go this minute on board a Brigantine, and to sail to *Messina* and there collect the Remains of the shattered Fleet." With which Opinion, though it seemed at first too bold a Resolution, the Viceroy closed, and would have carried *Sandi* with him. But He, being of a Spirit not to be daunted by Danger, when he saw every body astonished with Fear, observing that *Barahoa*, though a stout and indefatigable Man, was unequal to so weighty Charge, as that the Management of such a Multitude of Soldiers, composed of so many different Nations, should be committed to him; and considering withal the many Inconveniencies, which were to be endured, in opposition not to Men only, but to Hunger, Thirst and almost to Nature itself; voluntarily offered his own Service; and, when he might have withdrawn himself and the other Officers from Danger, and had nothing to do with the Defence of the Castle, yet he preferred the Common Welfare and the Advantage of his Prince to his own Safety, and chearfully exposed himself to manifest Ruin. The Viceroy, having admired and commended the Virtue of the Man, gave him the Chief Command, assigning to him five thousand Soldiers, *French*, *Italians*, *Germans* and *Spaniards*, together with some Light-Horse; and promising, that as soon as he should have arrived in *Sicily*, and gathered the Remains of the broken Fleet, he would do his utmost, by sending Succours, to raise the Siege and rescue him from

A. D. Danget. The same Promise was afterwards confirmed by the Master
 1560. of the Order, both by Letters and Messages. These things being
 done, *La Corda* and *John-Andrew*, and with them the Count *de*
Vicari, *Peter Urriez*, *Joseph of Arragon*, *Lewis Osorio* and *Scipio Tolsa*,
 who had survived the Defeat, imbarcking on board seven Brigantines,
 set sail with the utmost Silence; and, having first reached *Malta* in Safety,
 pursued their Voyage to *Syracuse* and *Messina*. The King of *Corvan* and the King of *Tunis's* Son, for fear of the *Turks*, soon
 fled into the Continent with five thousand *Moors*. These shortly after,
 supposing the Viceroy to be still at *Gelves*, in their own Name and
 the Name of the Dynast of the Isle, sent word to the Besieged, that
 they were within four days Journey of the Place, but that, if the Vice-
 roy thought fit, they would soon come thither with two thousand
 Horse and a plentiful Supply of Provisions. In the mean time *Sandi*
 employs all his Care and Diligence to strengthen the Fort, breaking
 in pieces the Gallies, which were in the Port, and using their Planks
 in the Fortifications, upon which he planted forty Pieces of Cannon
 of all sizes. Afterwards, upon *Dragut's* joining the Fleet with eleven
 Gallies, and the Cavalry being collected from *Tripoli* and the adjacent
 Parts of *Africa*, the *Turks* enter the Harbour; and, after landing the
 Troops, invest the Castle. This occasioned the Besieged to deliberate,
 what was necessary to be done: And Many were of opinion, that
 they should sally out on a sudden upon the *Turks*, as they were landing
 in Disorder; that This was the only method of working out their Safety,
 all other means of escaping certain Ruin being cut off; and that they
 ought not to wait, till, being worn out with Fatigues, Thirst and
 Wounds, they should at last, through a Deficiency of Victuals, fall into
 the hands of the cruellest Enemies, either to be butchered like Cattle,
 or carried away into everlasting Slavery worse than Death itself: Which
 Resolution, though bold, was in both Cases to be approved: For if
 Fortune favoured their Wishes, the Danger, which threatened *Philip's*
 Dominions and by consequence the whole Christian Commonwealth,
 would be dispersed by their Valour and Success; and if she frowned
 upon them, they should suffer little or no Harm from thence: For
 that nothing would be lost, but the enjoyment of Day-light for two
 Months; and That Damage would be abundantly compensated, by
 the Exchange of an ignominious Fate and dismal Servitude for an
 honourable Death, which no brave Man ever declined. But this Ad-
 vice did not by any means please *Sandi*; who stuck to This Resolution,
 that he would hold the *Turks* in Play by a tedious Siege, and hinder
 them from pursuing any farther Schemes by wasting the Summer;
 whilst the Christians might have time to repair their Misfortunes and
 provide and fortify whatever was necessary: And indeed he judged the
 Advice to be manifestly dangerous upon other accounts; since they
 must have advanced towards the Enemy through open Fields, without
 the least hope of deceiving them: Nor could it be doubted, but that
 the *Turks*, from a distance observing the Approach of Our Troops,
 would have time enough to disengage themselves, by sending forwards
 a strong

a strong Party of Musqueteers, to check the Fury of Our Men, 'till A.D. they could put their Troops into Order: And to oppose the *Turks*, 1560. ranged in Batallia, with so few Forces, What was it else, but to offer themselves to be murdered: for there remained no more than three thousand Fighting Men, the remaining two thousand being reduced to the State of Invalids: But, if after trying their Fortune, they should be willing to decline the Fight; there could be no safe Retreat to the Fort, which was three miles distant; and, when the *Turks* should have routed the Christian Forces, they would soon make themselves Masters of the Fort. *Sandi* therefore comforted his Men, and encouraged them with the hopes of Succour; which, being promised by the Viceroy, ought not to be despaired of: That there still remained thirty of *Philip's* Gallies, and a great number of Transports, which might serve to convoy Auxiliaries, and to carry Them off: Wherefore, laying aside all other Thoughts, they ought to bend their whole Force to the Defence of the Castle: That he was ready to undergo the same Fortune with themselves, and did not desire, that His Condition should be better than That of a Private Sentinel: That he would eat at one common Table with the Soldiers, contented with Bisket, Salt-meat and Water: Which being sufficient to support Life, it remained, that they should find a Supply of Constancy and Valour for the sustaining of the Danger. At first the *Moors*, even after the Defeat of the *Turks*, brought Provisions, as usually, into the Camp, and promised to continue in their Duty for the future: But they changed with Fortune; and no Succours appeared from the King of *Carvan* or the Dynast of the Island. In this Interval, *Monsalvo*, Brother of Captain *Monsalvo* of *Zamora*, came from *Bashaw Pial*, on the 21st day of *May*, with Letters; which *Sandi*, reproaching the Man to his Face with Meanness of Spirit, refused to accept; bidding *Monsalvo* be gone immediately, and threatening an ignominious Death to any one, either Captive or Freeman, who should hereafter come to him with such Messages. In these Letters, it is certain, Articles of Capitulation were proposed. But, whilst *Sandi* in this generous manner rejected all Conditions whatsoever, many of the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, either apprehensive of the Event, or wearied out with the Hardships of the Siege, every day deserted to the Enemy; and, according to their Deserts, were bound in the sight of Our Soldiers, and consigned to the Oar: With which Spectacle however, Others were nothing terrified, but eluded the most diligent Endeavours of the Officers for restraining them; patching up Boats and half-broken Vessels, and making New ones out of the Planks; in which rashly imbarking, without a Pilot, they committed themselves to Fortune and to the Mercy of the Sea. About that time a Conspiracy, formed by two *Spaniards*, was detected: One of these had been a Captive at *Tripoli*, and had articed with *Dragut* for a Sum of Money to set Fire to the Corn and the Powder; who was hanged; and his Comrade, because he had not discovered the Design, was condemned to the Oar. At the End of *May*, the *Turks* advanced within half a mile of the Fort, bringing two pieces of Ordnance with them, and maintained
a sharp

A. D. a sharp Conflict with *John Olorio de Ulloa's* Company, and others with him, 1560. who to the number of three hundred guarded the Well: In which Fight *Olorio* himself, with sixty more, was wounded, and thirty killed; and the Well was seized by the Enemy, who also suffered a considerable Loss. The Night following, four Half-Gallies put to Sea; and, advancing against the Enemy's Sterns, before These could tack about to pursue them, rode through the *Turkish* Fleet, and arrived safe at *Messina*: The fifth, which could not raise her Mast in Time, was taken by the Enemy. In a Sally, performed by a Party of a thousand Men, in pursuance of *Sandi's* Orders on the 7th day of *June*, very many of the *Turks* were killed and wounded, but with greater Loss on Our Side. The same thing, from an Impatience of that troublesome Siege, was often unhappily attempted by the Garrison, whilst the Enemy resolved to compass their Point not by Force but by waiting; for, having advanced their Intrenchments, and raised a large Battery, from whence they could look down into the Fortress, they only laboured, how without a Blow they might reduce the Christians to an unconditional Surrender. At length, when the Besieged had long struggled with Labours, Watchings, Diseases and excessive Heats, and had come off Conquerors, they were afflicted with a new Calamity of Thirst; which, being increased by their feeding upon Cheese and Salt Meat, at last overcame them: For they had been forced for a long time to measure out the Water to the Soldiers by small Quantities and mixed with Salt Water. For the Remedy of which Scarcity, Some Persons denied themselves the necessary Nourishment; thinking to abate the Drought by Emptiness, if they could not do it by drinking of Water; which method reduced them to the lowest Weakness and by degrees to a Consumption. When therefore, the Water at last failing, there was no possibility of holding out longer; *Sandi*, calling together the Chief Officers and Soldiers, who from such a multitude were reduced to a thousand Fighting Men (the Rest being either destroyed by various Casualties or rendered unfit for Service); when he had deplored their hard Fate, he exhorted them, that, calling to mind their ancient Valour, they should prepare themselves to glorify their Death by the Slaughter of the Enemy; and, having thus inflamed them, on the 28th day of *July*, in the Silence of the Night, he leads them out: But, after passing the two first Intrenchments, when he had come to the Third, where the Bashaw's Tent was, the *Turks* being roused, and his own Men deserting him, he retired, by a Path shown him by one of his Companions, under the Castle to the sea-ward, and having embarked on the Gallies, which after the late Wreck had been drawn close to the Castle, when he saw his Escape prevented by a multitude of Boats gathered about him, he was at length taken Prisoner, and brought before *Pial*; who, admiring the Virtue of the Man, entertained him honourably and ordered him to sit down by him, even proposing the most advantageous Terms, if he would enter into *Soliman's* Service. *Sandi* being taken, the Soldiers, who retired into the Castle, at the end of *July*, at last surrendered, and were all carried into miserable Slavery. The Cause of so great a Disaster,

Disaster, wherein eighteen thousand Men perished by Diseases, Wounds *A.D.* or Servitude, and twenty eight Gallies, and fourteen Transports were 1560. lost, is assigned by the *Italians* to the Vanity of *La Cerda*; who, fired with an Emulation of *De Vega*, and therefore immoderately fond of contributing something by his own Arms to the Glory of the *Spanish* Name, would not give Ear to the sound Advice of *Doria*. But *Sandi* attributed it to *Peter de Velasco* the Chief Proveditor of the Navy; through whose Negligence, the proper Necessaries for the Voyage were not provided in Season; and thus the Fleet put to Sea later than it ought to have done. And This *Sandi* himself (whether to save *La Cerda's* Honour, or not, is uncertain) testified in the Hearing of *Anthony-Francis Cirmi*, who was present in the Action, and has written a long Narrative of it. This signal Victory being gained, the *Turks* sailed away from the Island, and on the 16th day of *August* came before *Gozo*; from whence, veering about, they returned towards *Constantinople*, carrying *Sandi* with them; who, when he had rejected the like Offers made to him by *Soliman*, was shut up in Prison, together with *Sancho de Leyva* and *Berenguel de Requesenes*. Nothing was omitted at that time, in order to procure their Liberty; even the Most Christian King interposing his Authority, by sending *Francis Salviati* Knight of *Malta* to *Soliman*, with an earnest Request in their Favour, though in vain. For the *Turks*, being discontented with the Pacification lately concluded between the two Kings, as unfavourable to Their Interest, shewed themselves at first less complaisant even to Us; and so much the more, because they had flattered themselves, that They should have been amongst the First, who were to reap the Benefit of such a Peace; which when they knew to be otherwise, they were very much concerned. And indeed *Soliman* had written to the King, that the Peace indeed was agreeable enough to him, but that He ought to remember, that neither Old Friends easily become Enemies, nor Old Enemies, Friends. Upon the Miscarriage of *Salviati's* Negotiation, *Sandi*, who had lived in great Expectation of its Success, and had lavished large Sums in Presents for gaining the Favour of the *Bashaws*, fell into a deep Despair of ever obtaining his Liberty. But that very Displeasure of the *Turks* against Us, which the *Spaniards* looked upon as their chief Obstacle in the business, made way for their Freedom. For *Augerius Giflenius Busbequius*, the Emperor *Ferdinand's* Ambassador at the Port, when by *Hali* *Bashaw*, and *Ibrahim* the Principal Interpreter (whom he had lately obliged) he had learnt, that if he reclaimed the *Spaniards* in *Ferdinand's* Name, *Soliman* would not deny a Favour to Him; he himself acquaints the Emperor with the thing, and through the Interventions of the same Persons, by whose Intimation he had made the Request, obtains the Releasement of the almost despairing *Spaniards*; who were accordingly set at Liberty on the 10th day of *August*, the Festival of *St. Lawrence*. *Busbequius* afterwards, the Truce being settled, taking Leave of the Port, travelled with these Gentlemen to *Sofia*; from whence, because of the implacable Animosities between *Leyva* and *Sandi*, he took *Sandi* with him into

A. D. Hungary. *Leyva* and *Requesenes* pursued their Journey by different Routs, as it were towards *Venice*. But *Requesenes*, now old, before he reached *Ragusa*, died of a Distemper occasioned by the Hardships and Irksomness of a Prison. But these things happened two Years afterwards.

To the Blow, received in the Expedition against *Tripoli* or rather *Gelves*, there was added a private Misfortune of *Cosmo's*, who at the same time suffered a Loss of two Gallies. For *Peter Macchiavelli*, his Admiral, when, with two Ships saved out of the Defeat and a third lately equipped, he had again put to Sea; being unexpectedly surrounded at the Island *del Giglio* by thirteen *Algerine* Gallies, scarcely escaped, with that New Ship, to *Civita-vecchia*; the Others, which were not so good Sailors, flying towards *Corfica*, when there was no hopes of Succour, ran against the Rocks and were broken to pieces; though the Soldiers, which were on board, escaped. The Slaves at the Oar were set at liberty by the *Turks*, and made a shift to pick up the Planks of the Wreck. Nevertheless the Great Guns were first sunk; which afterwards were recovered by *Francis Rucellai*, a Knight of *Malta*, who, since his former Adherence to Our Party, had been reconciled to *Cosmo*, upon the Conclusion of the Peace, and fought in his Pay. To repair these Misfortunes, *Cosmo* applied all his diligence to refit the Fleet, sending for *Baccio Martelli*, a Person well skilled in Naval Affairs, and who had formerly given Proofs of eminent Valour under *Leo Strozzi*: To whom he also committed the chief Care of these things, 'till his Son *Garcias*, whom he designed for the First Admiral of his Fleet, should come to Age. And, that he might secure the Sea-Coast from Incursions for the future; and have a Fleet, well furnished, not only with Necessaries, but with able Mariners, ready to be used, upon Occasion, against the *Mahometans*; in Imitation of the Knights of *Jerusalem*: He also instituted a College of Knights, assigning them a Church and a Mansion at *Pisa*; who, in Memory of the Victory obtained on the thirteenth Day of *August*, six Years before, at *Marciano*, were called by the Name of *St. Stephen* the Pope, to whom That Day is dedicated. Large Revenues were set a-part for that Purpose. To himself and his Successors, Dukes of *Tuscany*, *Cosmo* reserved the Sovereignty of the Order; compiling Laws and Statutes, for the Religious Observation of the Knights, which were afterwards published.

Whilst these things were doing all over the World; in the beginning of this Year, the *Muscovites*, marching out of *Derpt*, again invaded *Livonia*; and took *Mariembourg*, by the Surrender of *Gaspar Syberg* the Governour, *Adtsel* and other Fortresses. Upon this Occasion, *Magnus* Duke of *Holstein*, the Son of *Christian III*, King of *Denmark*, and Brother of *Frederick II*, being invited by the *Livonians*, came before *Osel*, an Island opposite to *Livonia*. This *Magnus* had resigned a third Part of *Holstein* to his Brother *Frederick*, and, for a Compensation, had received the Diocesses of *Osel* and *Courland*, which the King had purchased a little before of *John Munckhausen* the Bishop, for some thousands of *Joachimicks*; to which, in a short time after, the Right, usurped in the Province

vince of *Revel* by the *Muscovites*, and granted by *Maurice Wragel* Bishop A. D. of *Revel*, accrued. It had made *Magnus's* Arrival in *Livonia* desirable, 1560. that the Inhabitants thought themselves better secured by Him against the *Russians*, than by the Master of the *Livonian* Order: The Nobles therefore, and the other States flocked about him in a congratulatory Manner. But when he behaved himself haughtily and passionately, a great Turn of Affairs followed in the Province; the Affections of the Commonalty and Others, whom at first he had found so zealous for his Service, being presently alienated. And now Things tended to a Civil War; if the Archbishop and his Colleague *Christopher de Mecklenbourg*, by setting a Conference on Foot at *Parnaw*, had not interposed their good Offices: But, whilst the Assembly was sitting, the *Muscovites* laying hold of the Opportunity, made a fresh Impression upon *Havilandt*, of which *Revel* is the Capital; and, having traversed and ravaged the neighbouring Country, entered into *Lithland*; where meeting with the *Livonian* Army, which *Philip Schal*, Master of the Order, and the other Companions commanded, they defeated it near *Ernes*, and carried away the Captive Officers back with them to *Moskow*. About the Close of *July*, they attacked also *Vellin* Castle, which *William of Furstenberg* had set a-part for the safe Retreat of his old Age, burning the Town below it; and at length, the Garrison within mutinying for want of their Pay, they took it by Surrender. But the Perfidy of the Soldiers, who, affecting a Sedition, had broke open the Chests, and pillaged the Treasures of *Furstenberg* and the neighbouring Gentry, was revenged by the Enemy, who stripped them, and put the greater Part of them to the Sword. The aged Prince, whose hoary Head rendered him venerable, was carried Captive into *Muscovy*. The *Russians*, puffed up with this Success, divided their Army into three Bodies; with one of which they besieged the Castle of *Wittenstein*, though without Effect; and, with Another, they ravaged about *Wenden* and *Wolmar*; whilst the third made Inroads through the Country, lying between *Revel* and *Parnaw*, and then subject to *Magnus* of *Holstein*. The Inhabitants of *Revel*, as far as whose Gates Excursions were every Day made, when they had no Hopes of Succour from the Empire, and could not rely upon their own Force, as a sufficient Bulwark against so potent an Enemy, being streightened on every side, sent a Deputation to borrow a Sum of Money of *Erick* the new of King of *Sweden*. But *Erick*, who could not well spare Money enough for their Purpose, and who besides was unwilling to let slip so fair an Opportunity of enlarging his Borders, excusing himself by the want of Money, nevertheless offered, upon This Condition, to undertake the Protection and Defence of *Revel*, if the City would submit it self to His Government. Although This appeared at first to be hard and unreasonable, yet the People of *Revel*, being at last overcome by Necessity, after they had taken Counsel with the neighbouring Nobility and the Citizens, immediately renouncing the Oath, which in the former Year they had taken to the Master of *Livonia*, promised Obedience for the future to the King of *Sweden*: Which afforded an Occasion for a Change in the State of *Livonia*; the King of *Poland*, upon

A.D. on whose Protection the Master of the Order, and the Archbishop of, 1560. *Riga* had before thrown themselves, as we have said above, resenting the Distraction of *Livonia* into such various Parts, and disclaiming the Patronage of it for the future. But these things belong to the following Year.

A little before, *Gustavus*, who, from a Prisoner, (after that infamous Massacre, committed with detestable Treachery, at *Stockholm*, by *Christiern* the second King of *Denmark*), being released and assisted by the Favour of the *Lubeckers*, because of his Relation by Affinity to the last King, was advanced to the Throne by the States of *Sweden* and *Norway*; after he had ruled those Kingdoms with the highest Reputation of Prudence for full thirty eight Years, died on the twenty ninth Day of *September*, when he had arrived at the seventieth Year of his Age: There remained, however, a small Stain upon his Character from Avarice and Rapaciousness, which, amongst all those great and Princely Virtues, was laid to his Charge. But with prudent Estimatours of Things, he ought to be excused; if, being the first Founder of the Sovereignty in his Family, and consequently wanting ways and means to support his Power, he was sometimes too harsh in imposing and levying of Taxes. He left, by *Catherine* the Daughter of *Magnus* Duke of *Saxony*, *Erick* lately mentioned, who succeeded in the Kingdom; and by *Margaret* the Daughter of *Erick-Abraham* of *Loholm*, *John*, who reigned after his Brother *Erick*; and *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania*, who now administers those Northern Realms in the Name of King *Sigismund*.

Before *Gustavus*, there died likewise *Philip* Duke of the Nether *Pomerania*, the Son of *George*, and Grandson of *Bogislaus the Great*, leaving five Children: And, in the Upper *Saxony*, *Albert* Count of *Mansfeldt*, an eminent Favourer of *Luther*, and one who, for the sake of Religion, had been long tossed with a Variety of Fortune, being called out of the Miseries of this troublesome World, found That Quiet in Death, which he could not experience in a very long Life; when he had ruled his Country sixty Years, and had lived seventy. He died on the fifth Day of *March*.

Some time after, on the twenty fifth Day of *November*, *Andrew Doria*, a valiant and most famous Man in his own Country, put off Mortality at his House, built by himself with Royal Magnificence in the Suburbs of *Genoa*, when he had reached the ninety third Year of his Age; with so much the less Noise, as, his Mind and Body being infebled, and rendering him incapable of Civil or Military Charges, he had begun to be despised by his Countrymen; and, long before he died, had ceased as it were to live. His excellent Virtues, and various but at the last unshaken Fortune, and his laudable Actions during the whole Course of his Life, do indeed deserve, that we should in this place revive his Memory, which was almost buried for some time before his Funeral. He was a Person of eminent Piety towards God; which, by diffusive Charity towards the Poor, and the building of Churches, he testified, as much as a Military Man could do. His next Affection

Affection regarded his Country, which, in Emulation of *Ottaviano A. D. Fregose*, he restored to Liberty, and maintained in the same. For such 1560. Circumstances happened afterwards, as might almost have persuaded him to alter his former Resolution: Yet, though his Life was thrice attempted, by a Plot of the contrary Faction, he could not even by his own Danger be induced, to consent to the Proposal made by the *Spaniards*, for rebuilding the Citadel, and placing a Garrison over the City, that is, for putting a Yoke upon the Necks of Free Men. He also observed the strictest Temperance, both with regard to Victuals and Pleasures: For, although he was averse to Fasting, he eat only twice in a Day, and drank no oftener; and that so sparingly and moderately, that he always mixed three Parts of Water with one of Wine. As to the Pleasures of Women, to which a Man of his robust Constitution was strongly addicted, he so used them, that, for the sake of providing or enjoying them, he never intermitted any weightier Business. But his Munificence was the most extraordinary; which may appear from the Principality of *Melfi*, given by him to his Wife's Son by a former Husband, not without the secret Displeasure of *Charles V.*, from whose Liberality he had received it; who thought his own Generosity reflected on by that unusual, and, for a private Man, extravagant Magnificence: The same is proved likewise from the Edifices raised by him at a prodigious Expence, and especially That Seat without the Town, where he had once and again given a splendid Entertainment to the Emperor and his Son *Philip*, and to *Maximilian* King of *Bohemia*, with his Wife *Mary* the Emperor's Daughter. To these add his Stock of Men of War; and lastly a Galley of four Banks, and another with five Banks of Oars of a new Invention, adorned with Gold and Silver to Admiration. He likewise rebuilt the Church of *St. Matthew*, and in it a magnificent Room for the Rehearsal of Anthems: Under That he built a private Chappel, with a Sepulchre for himself, which he adorned with Marble Pillars and fine Pictures; instituting a Number of Priests to say Mass in it every Day, and settling a yearly Fund for their Maintenance. As to Honours, and the Increase of his Fortune, except what he might expect consistently with the Laws and the Liberty of his Country, he had an utter Aversion to them; and shewed a perfect Greatness of Mind in that particular, by slightly valuing even deserved Honours, and despising undeserved Shame and Ignominy; and, by considering it as a vile thing to depend upon the Opinion of the Vulgar, and as something worse than any Disgrace to be diffident of one's own Conscience: For the rest, very sparing of his own Praises, and one who unwillingly suffered himself to be praised by another. As in his Gate, so in his Discourse, he used a Natural, not Affected Gravity, observing one perpetual Pace and Tenour; and so zealous of Justice, Equity, and indeed of Truth, that he never told a Lye so much as in Jest: Always more fond of Reputation and Dignity than of Life: For Others, almost every Day, for himself he never fatigued the Ears of Princes: Sometimes a little Cholerick and prone to Anger, but so, that he was soon pacified. Such noble Virtues were generally accompanied with a prosperous Fortune

A. D. worthy of themselves. For he was six times, under different Princes, 1560. Commander in Chief of Naval Expeditions, and also of the Land Forces employed in them, and under Their Banners gained considerable Victories; and, by the sole Support of Valour and Prudence, he arrived to such a Pitch of Grandeur, that Few others, furnished with all the Accomplishments of Nature, or supported by the Favour, Wealth and Faction of their Fellow Citizens, could ever attain the like. He never wore his Sword as he travelled; and, in Battle, through the singular Indulgence of Victory always waiting upon him, hardly ever had Occasion to draw it. There is one thing, for which he is blamed, and perhaps not unjustly; that, a long time after the Conspiracy of *Fieschi*, and when, with the greatest Constancy and Moderation of Mind, he had often dissipated the Remains of it; towards *Ottobuono Fieschi*, *Lewis's* Brother, taken Prisoner by the Marquess *di Marignan* at *Porto Ercole*, and delivered into His Hands, he used his Victory with too little Clemency, as we have related in its Place. After he had asserted the Liberty of his Country, he was dignified, by the Favour of the State, in Consideration of his Merits, with the Chief Magistracy; by which he was empowered to demand of the other Magistrates an Account of their Conduct; which Office he always discharged in such a manner, as never to injure any Man, but gently and moderately, for the Preservation of Discipline. As he had no Children, he at length, though very late, fixed upon *John-Andrew* the Son of *Giannetin* to be his Successor in Authority, and bequeathed to him the District of the City *di Torst*, incumbered with a heavy Mortgage; and by *Anthony da Pisa*, a trusty Page (for his Kinsman was absent, when he expired) ordered This Message to be carried to him: That he should cast all his Hopes and Wishes upon God, cultivate *Philip's* Protection by a faithful Obedience, and, in the next Place, propose to himself the Safety and Liberty of his Country, as what he ought to maintain with his utmost Power, and his own Blood. In his last Will, which immediately after his Decease was produced and read aloud by *John de Figueroa* and *Adam Centurione*, amongst other things he provided, that he should be carried to the Ground by Night, without any Funeral Pomp; in which Point his Domesticks complied with him. But in six Days after, upon the Return of *John-Andrew* into the City, the *Genoese* paid their Tribute of Gratitude to the Merit of this worthy Citizen, by celebrating his Obsequies with extraordinary Ceremony in the Principal Church of the City.

Some time also before this, *John Cardinal du Bellay* submitted to Fate; a Person descended from a Family, not only illustrious for its Antiquity and Splendour in its own Country, but highly distinguished by its Services to *France*; the Brother of *William* *Sieur de Langey*, Governour of *Piedmont*, a most famous Man in Peace and War; and of *Martin*, who died on the ninth Day of *March*, in the former Year, at *Glatigny au Maine*; which latter Gentleman, having, in like manner, spent his whole Life in Military and other important Commissions and Charges, at last left to Posterity a History of the Actions, either performed

performed by himself, or at which he had been present, written with *A. D.* Prudence as well as Purity: Nor was the Cardinal himself undistinguished by his Services in Peace or War. For, his tender Years having *1560.* been so well formed to Learning, that he could write Latin elegantly, and make fine Verses, full of generous Spirit, such as are seen at this Day in the Hands of the Learned; he was presently (not so much by the Favour of Fortune, as his own Merit) called by *Francis* to the Management of the highest Affairs, and discharged several Embassies with exemplary Prudence and Fidelity: Through the Recommendation of the same Prince he was created a Cardinal: And afterwards, in the most troublesome Times, in the forty fourth Year of this Century, upon the Approach of the Emperor's Army, when the City of *Paris*, of which he was Bishop, was full of Hurry and Confusion; he undertook the Defence of it with wonderful Presence of Mind, and, by enlarging the Rampart, and with incomparable Diligence erecting some strong Bastions, which remain to this Day, fortified it. But after the Decease of *Francis*, to whom, for his Fidelity, joined with a singular Greatness of Spirit and vast Liberality (which he sufficiently declared, as in other Parts of his Life, so more especially by the many Princely Structures built by him), he was deservedly the dearest of All Men next to the Cardinal *de Tournon*, and one of his most intimate Counsellors; being removed from his high Station and the Royal Favour, by the Means of his Rivals, who had stepped into the Place of Honour, and chiefly the Cardinal of *Lorraine* the Envier of his Virtue; and being impatient of the least Affront, though never so secret; he retired to *Rome*, where by the Prerogative of his Age he obtained the Bishoprick of *Offia*, and the Headship of the Sacred College; and, when by his Virtue he had deserved greater things of the King and the Holy *Roman* Church, in this Year, at his own House, which he had built with exquisite Magnificence near the Hot Baths of *Dioclesian*, he resigned to God a Soul, to which the Church, whose Reformation he had truly and heartily favoured in the whole Course of his Life, and the *French* Name were deeply indebted. Before whom, his Kinsman *Joachim du Bellay*, a Person of inferior Station, but whose noble Parts, which he chiefly exercised in Poetry, rendered him no disgrace to that illustrious Family, on the 1st day of the same Year, and in the thirty seventh year of his Age, had died at *Paris* of a sudden relaxation of the Nerves. The *Tristia*, or, *Complaints*, which he wrote, when he was in the Family of his Cousin the Cardinal at *Rome*, and likewise his *Rustick Sports*, and other Miscellanies, dedicated to *Margaret*, who was married to *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, are chiefly commended. In the *Latin* Verses, which he also composed at *Rome*, he was less happy. To *Joachim* we shall add as a Companion, one, who died three days after him in his own Country, when he had compleated sixty two years, namely, *Lelius Capilupi* a *Mantuan*, his intimate Friend: Who turned the Poems of his Countryman *Virgil* into Burlesque, with such Success, that he quite eclipsed the Reputation of *Ausonius*, *Proba Falconia* and Others, who had exercised their Wits upon the same Subject; being employed in an Argument

4 D. Argument quite foreign from *Virgil's* Sense; as may be seen in one or two elegant Cantoes amongst others, concerning the Original, Life and Institutes of the Monks, the Ceremonies of Our Church and the French Disease; none of which things could ever have entered into *Virgil's* Mind. *James Bonfadio* comes next to be commemorated: He was born at *Salon* upon the Lake *de Garde*, and gained a Reputation by his Compositions in Prose and Verse, in his Own and in the *Latin* Tongue. But such fine Qualities were disgraced by different Manners; so that, for a thing not fit to be mentioned, he was beheaded at *Genoa*, (the History of which City for many years he had written) in the Flower of his Age, and in full Strength of Mind, which he preserved to the last breath; writing a most elegant Epistle upon the occasion, wherein he testified, that, after the Example of *Socrates*, he went to Death with a calm and intrepid Spirit. Nor must we defraud of her due Character *Lovisa Sigea* born at *Toledo*, and skilled to a Miracle, for one of her Sex, in the *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages; upon which account she was called to the Queen of *Portugal's* Court, where she gained considerable Riches by the Royal Bounty, and had a Sister, named *Angela*, endowed with the like Accomplishments: She is praised with a sort of Emulation, by *John Vasquez*, *L. Andrew Reesende*, *Alvaro Gomez*, and *Francis Luisino*. When she had afterwards fixed her Habitation at *Burgos*, she was cut off by an untimely Death, leaving a Son behind her, and was buried by her Husband *Francis de la Cueva* on the 13th day of *October*.

That I may pass from hence to Others, *Philip Melancthon*, having exceeded his grand Climacterick by just sixty three days, died at *Wittenberg* in this Year on the 19th day of *April*, of a Semiteritian Ague generally fatal to Old Men. This Person, born at *Bretten* a Town of the Lower *Palatinate*, but originally of *Heidelberg*, had a Father, named *George*, famous for his Skill in the Exercise of Arms after the fashion of Our Country, and upon that account a Favourite of the Emperor *Maximilian*; in other respects, a Good and a Pious Man. As *Philip* was studiously inclined, he frequented a School famous at that time at *Pforzheim* in the *Black Forest*, under *John Hunger* and *George Simler*; where he fell into the Acquaintance of *John Reuchlin* one of the most learned Men of the Age; who changed *Philip's* Family-Name, which in the *German* Tongue signified *Black Land*, into the *Greek* one of *Melancthon*; as his own Name, derived by Diminution from *Smoke*, had been formerly changed in *Italy*, by *Hermolaus Barbatus*, into *Capnion*. Afterwards, during the Troubles occasioned in *Germany* for the sake of Religion, *Melancthon* was a constant Follower of *Martin Luther*, but brought a Temper widely different from his Masters into the Cause: For as he laboured with all his Might, that the Doctrine, which he delivered, might be perspicuous, and that Ambiguities might be explained; he had also an Aversion to Wrangling and Quarrels, and so great a Love of Tranquillity and Peace, that he thought it entirely wrong to contend about Any but Necessary Points; for that Some things might be connived at, and Many things ought to be endured.

endured. By which moderate and equitable Disposition, although the *A.D.* Minds of all People were at that Juncture highly exasperated, he *1560.* gained the Friendship and Benevolence of the Greatest Men of the opposite Party. It is certain, that King *Francis*, thirty years before this time, being informed by *William du Bellay* *Sieur de Langey*, of *Melancthon's* peculiar Zeal for composing the Troubles introduced into the Church; immediately sent him a Letter from *Guise* by *Barnabas de Voré* *Sieur de la Fosse*; desiring him to come by the first opportunity into *France*, in order to treat with some select Divines concerning an Union of Doctrines; that so That beautiful Harmony in the Ecclesiastical Administration might be re-established: And two years afterwards, *James Sadoleto* Bishop of *Carpentras*, repairing to *Rome* and being chosen into the College of Cardinals beyond his Hopes and Expectation, writ to him a very affectionate Letter; wherein he signified a most ardent Desire, that, how much soever they were divided by distance of Places and difference of Opinions, they might for the future be united in Love and in a Communication of Studies. But He, who experienced such a ready Benevolence from Foreigners and Men of different Persuasions, underwent a quite contrary Fate amongst his own Countrymen, and the Professors of the same Doctrine. For there suddenly started up in *Germany* a Faction of Those Men, who, to shew the extraordinary Warmth of their Zeal in the Cause of Religion, rejected every middle way towards a Reconciliation and Harmony; and, loading the Rest, who were Lovers of Peace, with the odious Names of *Adiaphorists* and *Interinists*, condemned them as Deserters and lukewarm in the Business of Religion. The Ring-leaders of This Clan were *Flacius a Sclavonian*, and *Nicolas Gallus*, with whom this peaceable Man had a continued Dispute all his Life. Accordingly, That Abhorrence of Wrangling and Contention, which I have mentioned above, was blam'd after his Death by his Friends; as also his excessive Fondness of Philosophy and the Mathematicks, and especially That Part, which from the Position and Concourse of the Stars passes a Judgment upon the Life and Fortunes of Men. But all these things are carefully and elegantly recorded by *Joachim Camerarius*, a constant and intimate Friend of *Melancthon's*; whose accurate Relation, as it has given me a Pleasure in the Reading, I think worthy the Perusal of all Those, who favour the Peace of the Church. *Melancthon* left several Daughters; of whom, *Anne* was bestowed in Marriage upon *George Sabin* of *Brandenbourg*, a Poet of no small Reputation amongst the *Germans*; who, in his Life-time, was highly esteemed by the Cardinals *Peter Bembo* and *Gaspar Contareni*, and by *Baptist Egnazio*, and *Lewis Beccatelli*, *Italians*; and who in this same Year, following his Father-in-law, died on the first Day of *December*, in the fifty third Year of his Age, at *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*; where he had fixed his Habitation: Before whom, *Peter Lotichius Secundus*, much his Junior (for he had only reached his thirty second Year), born at *Solitar* near *Mount Drusus* in the County of *Hanaw*, the finest Poet, in my Judgment, next to *Eoban of Hesse*, of all the *Germans*, had departed this Life at

A. D. *Heldberg* on the 1st day of *November*. His Poems were collected and
 1560. published, three years after the Author's Death, by *Joachim Camerarius*;
 whereby Posterity may see, what might have been expected from him,
 if God had granted him a longer Life. All these had been preceeded
 by *Nicolas Gerbel* of *Pforzheim*, who died in the *January* before in a
 decrepid old age: An excellent Man, both with regard to Learning
 and Sweetness of Manners; who had formerly professed the Science
 of the Law at *Vienna* in *Austria*, in conjunction and perfect harmony
 with *John Cuspinian* one of the most learned Men of the Age, and had
 afterwards retired to *Strasbourg*, where he died. As *Gerbel* almost began
 the Year, so *John Dryander*, born at *Wetter* in the County of *Catzenell-
 bogen*, concluded it; an eminent Professor of Medicine and the Mathe-
 maticks, which he has also illustrated by some very learned Writings;
 besides which, he either invented many things in Astronomy, by con-
 triving a new Set of Instruments; or improved the Inventions of
 Others; and at length, at *Marpourgh*, where he had long taught, on
 the 20th day of *January* he passed to another Life.

The End of the Twenty Sixth BOOK.



II FE 69



A P P E N D I X,

CONTAINING

The Castrated Passages, still extant in the First Edition of the HISTORY printed by *Patisson*, and either omitted or altered in the subsequent Editions.

VOL. I. Page 16. Line 22. *After the Word Religion, add, which*
There (*that is, amongst the Spaniards*) is for the most part adulterated with superstitious Notions.

Ib. P. 25. L. 7. *After the Word France, By a like Turn of Fate,*
France afterwards run the utmost Hazard under Francis's Grandchildren: So destructive has she always experienced the Government and Administration of Women, as she is a Stranger to their Legal Succession.

Ib. P. 26. L. 48. *The remarkable palliating Words for a Time are not in the first Edition.*

Ib. P. 28. L. 32. *After the Word Henry, add, It is reported, that*
Clement, burning with an implacable Hatred at that time against the French, and hardly, even after the Consummation of the Marriage, believing himself, made This Speech; that he had taken a compleat Revenge of the *French*; since he foresaw, that from That Firebrand (so he called his Cousin-german's Daughter) a great Conflagration would some time or other arise in France. Certain it is, that Anne de Montmorency was the principal Agent in bringing about this Match; than which, in the consequence, neither He himself during his whole Life, nor his Children after him, ever experienced a more capital Plague.

Ib. P. 30. L. 38. *After the Words bottom of it. add, It afterwards*
appeared that the Affinity contracted with Clement was the Cause of this horrid Villany, though without the Privy of the Husband: But upon His Advancement, by the Death of the Other, to the State of Heir apparent to the Crown, the Care of searching narrowly into the Affair was dropped, and the Truth suppressed.

Ib. P. 59. L. 11. *After the Word decline, read,* that He, not only by his own Personal Merit, but chiefly by his Children, might — incite them [the People] to a War &c.

Ib. P. 87. L. 26. *After the Word Pope, read,* With this crafty Intention the Pope &c.

Ib. P. 135. L. 24. *After the Word Time, add,* But this was neglected by Henry, and came to the People's Knowledge so very late, that they could not profit by the Advice of so great a Prince.

Ib. P. 136. L. 7. *After the Word Lorraine, add,* By whom that worthless Creature being raised to the highest Honours, and at last chosen into the College of Cardinals, lived to an exceeding old age, to his own Dishonour, and the vast Detriment of the Realm.

Ib. P. 236. L. 35. *After the Word Lutheranism, add,* by the Persuasion principally of the Duke d'Aumale, who, in pursuance of the Admonitions of his Brother the Cardinal, then residing at Rome, thought thereby to merit vast Favour from the Pope, and from the Clergy and Populace in France.

Ib. P. 249. L. 40. *Instead of,* The Marriage Solemnities were performed with great Pomp at St. Germain, *read,* who, as I am informed, in the Marriage-Articles executed at Ferrara, (that by a feigned Name he might insinuate himself into the Royal Family) by the Advice of his Brother the Cardinal, took the Title of ANJOU. It is certain that John-Baptist Giraldi, who wrote a Synopsis of the History of Ferrara, speaks of him as descended from the Royal Blood: And Jerom Faleti, who served the Dukes of Ferrara as Secretary of State, in his Book of the German War, every where styles Claude and his Son Francis, not Lords of LORRAINE, but of ANJOU: To conclude, Janus Vitale of Palermo, a Poet of no despicable Figure, amongst the Characters of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church published at Rome in the Year 1553. calls the Cardinal Charles, Lord of ANJOU, the Offspring of Kings, and the greatest Honour of the House of ANJOU: Which he would not have done, if he had not learned either from the Man himself or his Domesticks, that he assumed and affected those Titles. From thence the Court departed first to Fontainebleau, and then to St. Germain.

Ib. P. 272. L. 7. *Instead of the Words,* by the Persuasion of certain Persons about him, *read,* by the persuasion of the Duke d'Aumale, the Cardinal de Guise, and the Marshall de St. André.

Ib. P. 281. L. 29. *After,* among others, *add* [in the relation of Paul the III^d's Character] That, under Innocent VIII, he had been cast into Prison, for poisoning his Mother and his Brother's Daughter, in hopes of their Inheritance; that, when he aspired to the Red Hat, and had been thrice rejected by the Sacred College on account of that

that Infamy, at length, through the Interest of his Sister Julia Farnese, who prostituted her Body to Pope Alexander VI. he attained the Purple: That, for the Crime of Immodesty (which he had born in his Sister Julia, and made his Advantage of it), he poisoned another of his Sisters: That, under Julius II. when he was Legate in the Province of Marca d' Ancona, by pretending himself to be one of the Legate's Domesticks, he debauched a young Girl, upon a Promise of Marriage, by whom he became the Father of Peter-Lewis, Constantia, and others: That he lay with Laura Farnese his Brother's Daughter, and was actually caught in the Fact by Nicolas della Quercia her Husband, and also received a Wound by a Ponyard, the Scar of which always remained upon him: That he corrupted his own Daughter Constantia; and, in order to enjoy her with more Freedom, poisoned her Husband Bosio Sforza: That from Clement VII. whilst he was besieged in the Castle of St. Angelo, he by Violence and Fraud extorted the Bishoprick of Parma in behalf of his Grandson Alexander, a Child of ten Years of age.

Ib. P. 281. L. 40. *After Astrologers, add, and Necromancers, and omit the mention of Luke Gaurico.*

Ib. P. 285. L. 18. *After Arms, add, and as he [the Pope] had formerly made use of him in his Pleasures, so he admitted him again to the same State of Intimacy.*

Ib. P. 285. L. 21. *After the Word Christendom, add, Whilst the Cardinals were yet in the Conclave, Letters were intercepted from some of Those, who assisted the Cardinals, directed to their Catamites; wherein they testify their Impatience of the long Absence, in such criminal Terms, that Many conjectured from thence, that, certainly, some obscene Pope would be the Result of that Conclave's Choice, from which such filthy Letters were sent Abroad.*

Ib. P. 288. L. 15. *After Giles le Maitre, add, a Tool to Diana of Poictiers.*

Ib. 288. P. 19. *For too little observant of her, read, too little favourable to the Lusts and Passions of a domineering Woman.*

Ib. P. 407. L. 15. *After the Cardinal of Lorraine, add, a constant Promoter of Innovations.*

V O L. II.

VOL. II. Page 109. Line 2. *Instead of the Words*, finding Favour at Court, *read*, by the help of the Lords of Lorraine, who were even Then projecting new Troubles.

Ib. P. 115. L. 27. *For*, by Valentinois, *read*, by That Witch.

Ib. P. 137. L. 15. *After the Word* Guises, *add*, who sought to make a Profit by false Accusations.

Ib. P. 208. L. 25. *After the Word* retained, *add*, 'till abusing it to the manifest Ruin of the People, they put all things into Confusion by Factions, and brought the Realm to the very Brink of Destruction.

Ib. P. 253. L. 2. *After the Words* Poison administered, *instead of* as the Scots gave out, by the Regent's Brothers, because those Gentlemen were averse to their Schemes, *read*, as was given out, by the Guises because those Gentlemen were averse to the Regent's and Their Schemes.

Ib. P. 253. L. 30. *After* Coligny, *add*, and indeed of the Publick Calamity.

Ib. P. 253. L. 32. *After* Factions, *add*, by sowing the Seeds of Sedition amongst the People.

Ib. P. 253. L. 42. *Instead of*, the Cardinal resolved, &c. *read*, he made use of the borrowed Pretence of Religion, in pursuance of his Brother the Cardinal's Advice.

Ib. P. 255. L. 30. *Instead of*, Family, already grown powerful in France, *read*, Family, already aspiring to Great Matters.

Ib. P. 255. L. 48. *After the Word* renewed, *add*, as the World will be able more fully to discern from those Things, which we shall hereafter deliver upon the same Subject.

Ib. P. 264. L. 28. *After the Word* eluded, *add*, and De Thermes after long waiting to no purpose, and, with Him, the Fortune of the Realm, was betrayed to the Enemy by a malignant Dilatoriness.

Ib. P. 275. L. 25. *Instead of* charges, *read*, justly charges.

Ib. P. 279. L. 41. *Instead of*, from whom he owned himself to have received abundant Satisfaction, *read*, of whom, by reproaching him to the Face with Cowardice in the King's Presence, he declared himself to have taken abundant Satisfaction.

Ib.

Ib. P. 315. L. 43. *After the Word Difficulties, add, However the managed Matters more covertly, attacking Those Persons by secret Arts, whom, she could not reduce to Submission by open Force.*

Ib. P. 352. L. 25. *After the Word Speech, instead of the succeeding Paragraph, read, That this might be done with the more Secrecy, he had presented to the King a Brief, penned with his own Hand, (for he distrusted the Fidelity of his Amanuensis); wherein the Methods of pursuing the Design were explained, and the Names of the suspected Persons were contained; with an Addition of their Dignities, Benefices (as they are called) and Possessions; part of which was designed for the Vultures of the Court, and part required by them for their Sons. And I remember, that I have often heard from my Father Christopher de Thou, a Man (as every one knows) the farthest removed from all Envy, Calumny, and Falshood; that, when he was admitted upon that Occasion to the King's Presence, and, agreeably to his Freedom and Candour, disputed sharply with the King in private, in order to divert him from that Scheme, so fatal to himself and to France, as He in his Prudence even Then foreboded; the King, having nothing to answer, drew the Brief out of his Bosom, for the help of his Memory; upon which, when my Father had cast his Eyes, the King asked him, whether he knew the Hand; and upon his saying, that He well knew the Hand-writing of Le Maître, the King seemed concerned at it, and immediately suppressed the Writing.*

Ib. P. 370. L. last. *After Descars, add, whose Nobility was obscured by the Sordidness of Avarice.*

Ib. 385. L. 3. *After the Word Revelations, add, which he interpreted to be the Pope of Rome.*

Ib. P. 386. L. 2. *Instead of the Words, as what concerned, &c. read, as what, (he clamorously inculcated) concerned, &c.*

Ib. P. 396. L. 42. *After Son-in-law, add, the Duke of Guise.*

Ib. P. 443. L. 4. *Instead of the Words, his troublesome Monitor, read, his Monitor, as being an Eye-Witness of his Disgrace.*

Ib. P. 443. L. 33. *After the Words, triumphant Manner, add, like a young wanton Calf.*

Ib. P. 513. L. 8. *Instead of the Words, The Secret Counsels were thought to be then chiefly managed by &c. read, This was done by the Direction of the Guises, wherein they were thought to be joined by &c.*

Ib. P. 518. L. 15. *After him, add, and Sebastian de Luxembourg, Seigneur de Martigues, the same, whom we have just mentioned to be sent*

by the Guises into Scotland, was said to be pitched upon for the Assassin.

Ib. P. 522. L. 29. *After the Word whom, add, the Violence of the Guises, and &c.*

Ib. P. 523. L. 46. *For the Ingratitude of the Guises, read, the excessive Ingratitude of the Guises.*

Ib. P. 528. L. 47. *After the Word Pope, add, being only solicitous about gratifying his Relations, and careless of all other things, &c.*

Ib. P. last, L. last. *Instead of, another Life, read, a better Life.*



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